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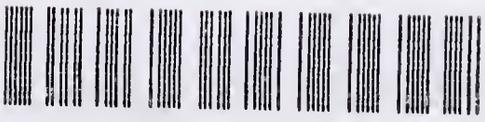
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THE

# EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

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ASSISTED BY DR. J. G. MORRIS, PROF. H. I. SCHMIDT, REV. C. W. SCHAEFFER, AND REV. E. GREENWALD.

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"Es sei denn, dass ich mit Zeugnissen der heiligen Schrift, oder mit öffentlichen, klaren, und hellen Gründen und Ursachen überwunden und überweiset werde, so kann und will ich nichts widerrufen."—LUTHER.

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VOL. I.

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THE

# EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

NO. I.

JULY, 1849.

## ARTICLE I.

### INTRODUCTORY—THE OBJECTS AND POSITION OF THE EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

The Lutheran Church in the United States has long felt the necessity of having a Journal for the cultivation and criticism of its own theology and literature, and for the discussion of those questions which from time to time excite a peculiar interest in its own bosom. This desire made itself manifest at a very early period in our history by the establishment of periodical publications, first in the German, and afterwards in the English language. We would not cite as evidences of this the "Nachrichten" or "Notices" of the progress of the church, and state of the German missions in the colony of the Saltzburgers in Georgia, (published by the zealous Urlsperger of Augsburg, from 1731 to 1767,) or the similar publications relative to the state of things in Pennsylvania and the adjacent colonies, issued under the auspices of the superintendents of the Orphan-house at Halle, from Mühlenberg's arrival in this country, in 1742, until near the close of the century, (1785.) Though somewhat in the form of our periodicals, these admirable, edifying, and extended publications made their appearance irregularly, sometimes at intervals of several years, and are more like our annual Missionary Reports than literary or theological Journals. But though edited in Germany and frequently accompanied by their excellent European editors with very interesting prefaces and other explanatory matter, they are almost entirely from the pens of our first ministers in Georgia and Pennsylvania, and are equally creditable to their



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heads and to their hearts, conclusively proving that they were men remarkable alike for their piety and for their learning. They formed a most important connecting link between the church in Europe and America, and are among the most valuable sources of our church history for that period. Still it is not impossible that these publications may have suggested the idea of the Evangelical Magazine (Das evangelische Magazin) commenced in 1811 under the auspices of the Synod of Pennsylvania and the adjacent States, and continued, though somewhat irregularly, down to the year 1817. In many respects, this oldest may be regarded as the best of all the religious periodicals that have from time to time made their appearance in the church of this country. No one can peruse the volumes which it forms without wishing that it had been continued down to our day, and without being excited to a hearty admiration of the talents, learning, piety, liberal views and good sense of the contributors to its pages. It was under the editorial management of that excellent man, Dr. Helmuth, long the beloved pastor of the German church in Philadelphia, and, so far as we are aware, the principal contributors were his learned colleague Dr. Schmidt, his intimate friend Dr. J. G. Schmucker of York, and Dr. Daniel Kurtz of Baltimore, (the latter two still survive as the connecting link between this generation and the past,) Dr. Lochman, Dr. Endress and others whose memory is still cherished by our churches. Although the articles in this publication are generally brief, yet they discuss, with marked ability in many cases, some of the most important points in theology, both practical and speculative, whilst the history of the church both in this country and in other parts of the world, and the history of Missions particularly, received great attention.

This periodical was, after an interval of nearly twenty years followed by the Lutheran Intelligencer and Lutheran Magazine, (the former established in 1825 and the latter in 1827) in both of which the English language was used as the medium of communication between our writers and the public, and (in 1829) by another German Magazine which revived the title of the first. In all these, particularly in the first volume of the Lutheran Magazine, which was published at Schoharie, New York, the same same tendency to discuss interesting points in our church history and doctrines, or such as were connected with our church-government and benevolent enterprises, is manifest. And the same might be said of the Lutheran Preacher, edited by Rev. L. Eichelberger in

1833–4, and the Lutheran Pulpit and Magazine of Rev. C. A. Smith—published from 1837 to 1838.

With so strong a desire in the church to establish periodicals of this kind, it is natural to inquire, why they were not sustained and what were the causes of their discontinuance? The answer to this question, though it is not the same in all cases, is still sufficiently obvious. Two causes especially combined to prevent success in these enterprises generally; first, the want of a public sufficiently numerous, liberal and enlightened to give these publications a sufficient support, and secondly, the want of leisure in editors and contribulors to produce such articles as the nature of those publications demanded. The first of these points requires but little elucidation. The condition of the Lutheran church forty years since was very different from what it now is. The number of ministers did not much exceed one hundred, and the number of our members was small in proportion. In the state of society which then prevailed, when such periodicals were just making their appearance even among the English churches of this country, possessed of the greatest wealth and strongest in numbers, it was not to be expected that our German churches which labored under such disadvantages in regard to education and intelligence, when nearly all the schools and books, and newspapers even, were in a language unintelligible to them, would be prepared to take much interest in such works. It is, therefore, rather a matter of surprise that the Evangelical Magazine should have been undertaken at all, and so long, and so well sustained, than that it should be finally abandoned. Even its temporary success is the more remarkable when we recollect that the work was so poorly patronized as not to sustain an Editor, and, consequently, this labor had to be undertaken by men engaged in the active duties of the ministry. And how laborious the life of our pastors then was, all who are informed of the state of things which even now prevails among us may realize. That under these circumstances the work could be conducted at all, is proof of the indefatigable industry and zeal of its editor and of his correspondents similarly situated. That the articles could not be long and elaborate was a necessary result both of these circumstances and of the nature of the work, which would not by its size admit of extended discussions.

The same remarks apply substantially to our English Magazines of a later date, although here there are some peculiarities of circumstances worth noticing. The establishment of these periodicals (1825) may be considered as marking an

epoch in the history of our church in this country, and as something like the culminating point in the transition of its eastern (Atlantic) parts from the German to the English language. Although German had at that time ceased to be spoken in most of the pulpits in the state of N. York, it was still the prevalent tongue in the great body of our church in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, and, perhaps, in North Carolina. Here there were very few churches where the preaching was exclusively English, but many where it was entirely German, and generally, where both languages were used, the German was predominant. The suspension of the German periodical some years before had, no doubt, in part at least, been caused by the inroads which the English was making upon our German population, by which many of our most intelligent laymen, educated entirely in English, were disqualified from being profited by a periodical published in an other language, and so, of course, could not be expected to contribute to its support. Still, the transition from the German to the English language was slow. Our ministers especially were loth to give up the language of their fathers.—And who can wonder at this, or blame them? It was not indeed an absolute renunciation of one of man's most glorious endowments, the gift of speech, but it was the sacrifice of one of the richest, most energetic and most noble of modern languages, for what might be designated as a poor, harsh and unmanageable compound of nearly a dozen different dialects, of scarcely one of which has it retained the excellencies. No man, we believe, has ever preached successfully in the German language, or familiarized himself with its copious and flexible vocabulary and admirable structure, with the ocean-like music and sublimity of its deep intonations, and with its noble, various, and constantly accumulating literature, without preferring it even to his own mother tongue if that happens to be the English. Many of those who first introduced the English into the religious services of our church in this country, and thus prepared the way for the disuse of German as the vehicle for the communication of her thoughts, were far from insensible to these considerations. They were in the habit of preaching it to numerous congregations, and were enthusiastic admirers of the language of their fathers. Their use of English, therefore, whether in the pulpit or in writing, or in common life even, was a matter of stern necessity and not of choice. But they were practical men, and they wished to provide for the necessities of the churches and people committed to their care or within the sphere of their influence.

A large and constantly increasing body of these demanded the English, understood no other language, and our zealous ministers, who, for half a century, generally performed what might with propriety be denominated missionary, rather than pastoral labors, employed that language, just as they would have availed themselves of the Chinese, if providence had cast their lot in the Celestial Empire.

But there were two very serious disadvantages resulting from this transition from German to English, both of which operated very unfavorably upon the character and prosperity of our first English periodicals and upon our church literature generally. The one was, that but few of our ministers or members were disposed to appear before the public in a language which was to them, like Saul's armor upon David, untried, unfitting, and so, rather an impediment to their movements than an ornament to their person, or their proper weapon for the attack of giant errors, or for the defence of God's truth and Christ's kingdom. To acquire one language, so as to speak and write it with perfect purity and propriety, is the labor of nearly half a lifetime, be that language what it may, and especially is this the case with a language so irregular, so poor and stiff as the English. We need not, therefore, be surprised at the defective style of the productions of most of our first writers of the English language in this country. On the contrary, their fluent use of two languages, so different in character, cannot but excite the admiration of all who have fairly considered the subject, especially if they have had a little experience in attempts to use them. The general use of Latin by the learned in all parts of the world, is no proof of the contrary of what we here assert; for, in the first place, the Latin is not so difficult of acquisition as the English, and was employed only within a limited sphere of ideas; and, secondly, with all that, it was both spoken and written in such a manner as would have thrown Plautus or Cicero into convulsions to have heard it.[1] The other disadvantage resulting from the introduction of the English language, to which we refer, was, that the number of readers was still small, and that for the same reasons, mutatis mutandis, as we haye already mentioned in the case of our first German periodical. This number was still further reduced and rendered inadequate to the support of either, by the attempt to establish two such periodicals almost simultaneously.

[1] Those who wish to know what the ordinary Latin of the schools was have only to consult that witty work, *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, commonly ascribed to Ulrich von Hutten.

But the final cause of the abandonment of all these periodicals, both German and English, was, *the establishment of our religious newspapers.* The United States may be considered as the proper home, the real paradise of newspapers, which have here become to nearly our whole population one of the necessaries of life almost. It was a matter of course, therefore, that as soon as our Germanic churches became Americanized, they too should want their newspapers. And it was not only right, but necessary that they should have them. We may talk as much as we please about the licentiousness of the press and the mischief which it does (and we fear that not even the so-called religious newspaper can be entirely acquitted of the blame here implied,) but these very facts render its employment by the church absolutely necessary. The chivalrous soldier, at the close of the middle ages, frequently mourned over the introduction of gunpowder into warfare, yet no one but a crazy Don Quixote ever thought of renouncing its use and adhering to that antiquated armor and those now powerless weapons which would only render him an easy prey to his adversary. And just so would we be compelled, if only in self-defence, to employ the newspaper in the service of the church militant. Rightly employed, however, no one can doubt that the religious newspaper is an engine more potent for good than for evil, and one which the church not only may employ, but is also under the most sacred obligations so to do.

Still, newspapers are far from answering all the wants of reading and reflecting minds, which it is in the very nature of religion and the church to develope. Religion is not only practical and active, but also contemplative and retired. We are not only to know what is going on in the church and in the world and to be impelled to do our duty, to act our part in these stirring scenes, but we are also to discuss principles, to examine the foundations upon which our superstructures rest, and carefully to review the course over which we have already gone. But for this are requisite more time and care, greater thoroughness and calmness of investigation than usually marks newspaper articles, is within their very idea or even possible so far as their editors are concerned. The newspaper editor is too busy to go into abstruse investigations and laborious inquiries, nor would his readers pay any attention to them if he did. The object here sought is *news*—the present—that which is upon the surface of things. Hence we can readily explain the fact why a series of articles, even the most able, is scarcely read and rarely produces any consider-

able impression upon the public mind. Such articles soon cease to interest as news, and so are not read, or if they are, the premises are forgotten before the conclusion is reached. But let these be elaborated into a single article for the properly conducted Quarterly, where there is room to receive the whole of it at once, and where it may be approached with calm reflection, just as in any other book, and the case will be very different—that which was "a dull series" in the newspaper, in the Quarterly will become, perhaps, "a most popular article," celebrated either for its sparkling wit or its profound criticism.

But we need not speculate upon this point—it is one that has long been settled all over the world, by almost common consent. The provinces of the Newspaper and of the Review are distinct and well defined. There is a demand for both, and they are by no means antagonistical, but collateral, and should be a mutual help and not obstacles in each other's way. The demand for newspapers among us has been met by the establishment of half a dozen, in all parts of the church, and we think that there is now not only a demand, but likewise a fair opening for a periodical of the other class, if only we can concentrate the confidence and support of the church generally upon it.

It may, however, be made a question whether the Lutheran church of this country has the ability, the intellectual capacity and the pecuniary resources, necessary to produce and sustain such a work, and whether she can be prevailed upon to employ them in this instance—in one word, whether we have better grounds to anticipate success in this enterprise than in those by which it has been from time to time preceded? We think we have shown the main causes of the failure, or rather, of the suspension of our former periodicals of this character. These were, first, the small number of our ministers and the laborious life which they were almost universally compelled to lead, whereby they had but little leisure for study; secondly, the want of a public large enough to sustain such undertakings by their patronage; and thirdly, the efforts made to establish our weekly and other religious newspapers. All these obstacles, we think, are to a great extent removed.—When the first Lutheran Magazine was commenced we numbered but little over *one hundred* Lutheran ministers in this country—now we have nearly *seven hundred.* Then we had not a single literary or theological Institution in active operation, now we have three Colleges, seven theological Seminaries, and various Academies or preparatory schools

which are generally conducted by our ministers. Besides this, our older pastoral charges have been greatly divided, so that there are now from two to six ministers where there was formerly but one. This, of course, gives our ministers much more time and opportunity for study than they formerly had.

As to the capacity of our church to conduct such a work, so far as learning and talent are concerned, it, of course, becomes us to speak modestly. We may, however, observe that whilst the prevalence of two languages in our church is a very serious obstacle in the way of our literary efforts, so far as the pulpit and the press are concerned, it yet has its advantages and perhaps stimulates to study more than it retards progress. Our German origin and associations connect us with the most learned scholars, the most active minds, the most extensive and beautiful literature, and the most profound and most scientific theology in the world. Not only in the libraries of our public Institutions, but in those also of not a few of our ministers, are to be found the works of our ablest theologians both of the earlier periods and of the present day, whether written in Latin or in German. These things cannot but exercise a most important influence upon us, and with all our disadvantages in the want of early and fundamental training, and of that thorough education, which is the only sure basis of literary taste, lofty intellectual attainments and successful authorship, we find a strong tendency among us to study, and the consequent ability to express our thoughts in an effective manner. Besides this, we have always had among us men educated in the best Universities of Germany, which are also from time to time resorted to by our own students from this country, whilst every year increases the number of those who have disciplined their minds by the most thorough education that is to be obtained in the Institutions of the United States. These circumstances, undoubtedly give us some peculiar advantages. If our English style is not the most elegant and vigorous, we yet have peculiar facilities for enriching English literature and theology by pouring into them something at least from the vast treasures of German erudition and those new ideas which naturally belong to a class of men trained or brought by their associations under the influence of a mode of thinking and system of theology essentially different from those prevalent among the various English schools which have hitherto predominated in this country. It is true that German literature has for some time past attracted a very considerable amount of attention, both in this country and in Great Britain, and many distinguished scholars have not

only made themselves familiar with the language, but have likewise transferred many choice specimens of its literature into the English. Several of our leading periodicals in this country make up no small part of their contents by translations from the German and abstracts of German works. But it is obvious that we possess peculiar facilities even for this work, in the familiar and living acquaintance of so large a proportion of our ministers with both German and English. It is not uncommon even for our uneducated people when asked which language they understand best, to reply, that they "do not know—they would as leave speak one as the other." And among our educated men and ministers we know of more than one who write and speak both with equal elegance, so that it would be next to impossible for the acutest judge to say that either was not their native tongue. Besides this, we are trained in this literature and theology as ours, we have a personal, a living interest in it, which it is evident that no study of a language for merely literary purposes can ever give. German literature and theology as coming forth from the Lutheran church will, therefore, naturally and necessarily, be something very different from any thing that can be expected in that direction from the mere English or American scholar, who learns German as he would Latin, and looks upon the theological system of Luther with little more sympathy than he has for that of Confucius.—In this respect the position of American scholars generally is essentially different even from that of those in our church (whose number increases every year) who, although not German or Lutheran by descent, are yet so by education and by sympathy, and who trace their spiritual if not their physical life back to Wittenberg and Augsburg rather than to Oxford or Westminster.

From all these considerations we think it is evident, not only that we have in our church the intellectual ability and the ordinary materials for the successful conduct of such a Review as we propose establishing, but likewise, that we have some peculiar facilities and much that will naturally stimulate and tend to the success of such an undertaking.

As to the pecuniary ability of the church to sustain such a work, it is almost superfluous to discuss the point. Our ministers alone could give it a very respectable list of subscribers, and if to these we should add but one subscriber from each pastoral charge, the work would be able to sustain an editor of its own besides paying its contributors a reasonable compensation for their labors. It may, however, be said

that the work being in English cannot expect to receive the support of the German part of our church. So far as our laity are concerned, this is, undoubtedly, true, but we cannot think the remark applicable to our ministers. Every minister in the United States is under the necessity of acquiring the English language, and even those who come from Germany, if they have not already paid some attention to the subject there, in a short time learn not only to read and speak, but also to write the language of their adopted country. In this respect they often put to the blush those of our American Lutheran ministers (happily few) who having so many inducements and facilities for learning the glorious language of their fathers have not yet attempted it. We already have a considerable number of this part of our ministers upon our subscription list, and we confidently anticipate that we shall receive a very general support from these brethren. When they become acquainted with the design and character of this publication, and its intimate relation to the progress of our proper theology and church principles—when they see that the Lutheran church is one whether it speaks in English or in German, in Danish or Dutch, or whether it exists in Europe or America, in Iceland or Australia—we believe that the great mass of them will feel strongly impelled to sustain this Review, not only by a desire to promote in this way the general prosperity of the church in this part of the world, but also by considerations connected with their own convenience, and improvement. It is true that many of our ministers are in very straightened circumstances, very poorly supported; but books are to a minister among the first necessaries of life, like his tools to the mechanic, and if it at all realizes our expectations, this Review will, ere long, become a book indispensable to all our clergymen. And can it be possible that, after all the progress that the church has made among our English population, so that we now have several hundred churches in which the preaching is exclusively in that language, and when our whole population is estimated at little short of one million, can it be possible, we say, that we are not now able to sustain a periodical the necessity of which has been so long felt and is so generally acknowledged? We think not. We believe that all that is necessary to secure the requisite patronage for such periodical, is to show that it is needed, and to satisfy the church generally with the soundness of the principles upon which it is to be conducted. With this view we proceed to point out the special reasons which, in our opinion, call for such a

publication in the American Lutheran church at this time, the principles upon which we propose conducting it, and the objects to which we expect to direct our attention.

1. *Such a work is needed for the developement and cultivation of our proper theology and literature.* Although, as we have already stated, the Lutheran church in this country has, within the last twenty years, greatly increased the number of its ministers and members and made great progress in intelligence and liberality, its position is still so peculiar, by the prevalence of two languages in it, and by the want of adequate general education in either, that is not yet prepared adequately to support, encourage, or produce a literature of its own. Our ministers are still too few in numbers and most of them educated under too many disadvantages, even where they have the necessary leisure, to cultivate theology as a science, or to produce any great number of works of that character which the proper presentation of our views demands. And even were this difficulty removed, there would be no encouragement for the publication of such works—our reading public is not sufficient to remunerate authors either in German or in English. These difficulties will be met, to a considerable extent, by the publication of a Quarterly Review of the proper dimensions and spirit. Men who have not time to write octavos of a thousand pages, but whose minds are full of the subject, can condense what they have to say into an instructive article of the one-twentieth of that extent. So too, those who would not have either inclination or leisure to read a work of that extent may obtain all that they need from such a condensation. We may, we think, obtain each year from fifty to one hundred carefully prepared articles upon as many different topics in theology and church literature, and suitable to the pages of a review, and our studious ministers and intelligent people may readily and profitably read them. But how different would be the case if independent volumes were to be written upon all these topics! Our ministers would neither have time nor ability to write, nor our people to read, and much less disposition to purchase such a mass of books.

It may, however, be inquired, whether it is necessary for us to discuss such a variety of points, and whether we cannot obtain what we here speak of either from works now accessible to us or from periodicals already established and sustaining a high and merited reputation in this country? Our intelligent ministers will not ask such a question. They well know how difficult it is to supply their libraries with suitable

books—books breathing the spirit and fully presenting the doctrines of the church with which they are identified. They can indeed obtain such works, in almost any quantity, from Germany, but that is attended with great delay and expense, whilst a great many questions of peculiar interest to the church in these "ends of the earth," are, of course, of subordinate interest even there. As to our English periodicals, they are, naturally and necessarily, echoes of the sentiments prevalent in that particular section of the church by which they are originated or sustained, and so, in various respects, antagonistic to that system of doctrines and to that ecclesiastical organization embraced by our church, embalmed in our hearts, and commending itself to our judgments and feelings. Of different national and ecclesiastical descent from us, the other churches of this country take no interest in ten thousand matters that are to us of the holiest character. Our Episcopal brethren will dwell with the fondest interest upon the founding of Jamestown and the vicissitudes of *their* American church which was there cradled, but feel no such sympathy with the church which was, nearly at the same time, planted upon the banks of the Delaware, unless under the mistaken impression that our Swedish Evangelical church is based upon the same principles as the English hierarchy. So our New England friends never grow weary of investigating the history of the little company that was driven by the ruthless hand of persecution from England to Holland, and then borne by the Mayflower to the bleak coast of Massachusetts. But no such curiosity is felt by them in regard to that band of exiles who, after centuries of oppression for conscience' sake, endured by generation after generation, upon the mountains and in the mines and in the sweet vallies of Saltzburg, at length found refuge in the wild woods of Georgia. So the Presbyterian will tell of the sufferings of his forefathers upon the mountains and in the glens, on the hillsides and upon the bleak moors of "bonnie Scotland," and will thus endear the "Shorter Catechism" to his children, and will inculcate the "Westminster Confession" upon his sons as a precious legacy from past ages to the present, but he does not feel the same personal interest in the heroic achievements of Germany, where a toleration of the pure doctrines of the Augsburg Confession was only extorted from reluctant emperors and popes after a century of wars and persecutions. We do not wonder at these feelings—they are perfectly natural. But the Lutheran church also has a history in which we are most deeply interested and doctrines that are equally

dear to us, a literature too that is peculiarly her own. And if we wish to cultivate, to understand, to cherish these we must do it for ourselves—we cannot expect any of our brethren of other denominations, however liberal, to do this for us. This is sufficiently manifested even in D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation, where if Luther is for a while a hero, it is only until Zwingle and Calvin come upon the stage! And if this is the fact in regard to church history, how much more must it be the case in regard to doctrines in which it is still more difficult for those who differ to do justice to one another. And of this we may certainly be assured, that if we do not explain and defend our own doctrines no body else will do it for us.

2. *This is rendered the more necessary by the transition of a large part of our church in this country from the German to the English language.* As is well known, the Lutheran church was never established as such in the British Islands. Although the first English and Scotch Reformers received their views from Wittenberg, owing to various circumstances, the system there taught was never properly developed in Great Britain. It is true the Church of England (as by law established) has been called "the church of Lutheranizing" (ecclesia lutheranizans); still, Calvin exerted rather a stronger influence over it than Luther. It is, therefore, only since her acclimation in the U. States that the Lutheran church has made use of the English language, and even here it is only within the last twenty-five years that she can be said to have employed it for sacred purposes. It is not strange, therefore, that she has no literature in this language. National literature is always of slow growth. It is only of late that English writers have ceased to ask with contempt, "who reads an *American* book?" And even now the great mass of books issued from the American press are reprints of English publications, and all the leading British periodicals are regularly republished here, having, perhaps, as large a circulation on this as on the other side of the Atlantic. When, therefore, we reflect that all our English Lutheran literature has to be produced in this country and in a church the great mass of whose members, even here, still speak German, no one need wonder at its scantiness or at its deficiencies. As in American literature generally, so in that of our American Lutheran church particularly, no great amount of originality is to be looked for, for some time to come. We have too much to do with the practical, are too much occupied with the active duties of life, have been too

little trained to abstruse speculations and learned investigations to have time or ability for such pursuits. We must, therefore, draw upon what our fathers and brethren upon the other side of the Atlantic and the North sea have done for us. And here we have most ample resources upon which to fall back. The Puritan is proud of his "old divines," the Episcopalian is in raptures over the productions of the "British Reformers," and republishes from time to time the "Complete works" of Jeremy Taylor, and Hooker, and Leighton, and Reynolds, and Barrow, and Tillotson and other illustrious names of that class—and this is the foundation upon which their theology is built—these are the great teachers to whom they go to school. But the Lutheran church has names equally illustrious and to whose teachings she can resort with equal confidence. But, unfortunately, their works are inaccessible to the great mass of our church, both ministers and people, in this country, especially to those who use only the English language. To transfer these to the English language and give them their legitimate influence in this part of the church is evidently a duty that we owe both to them and to ourselves. This, however, as expepience abundantly testifies, is not a work that can be done at once. As our Lutheran theological literature has been the growth of centuries, it cannot in a single day nor in a single generation, even, be transferred to a language in which it has hitherto been almost an entire stranger. Besides, so far as this is to be done by translation, peculiar qualifications are required for this work. To write well in one language is not the most common attainment, and the difficuly is, of course, increased where two are concerned. This we see exemplified in translations without number. As an instance in point we may cite Cole's translations of Luther, by which one of the most energetic and liveliest of writers that ever wielded the pen, all whose words are said to have been "thunder and lightning,"[1] has been transformed into one of the tamest and most uninteresting. Nor have we been without experience of this same thing in this country. And yet there is evidently no impossibility in the nature of the case, as we see by the number of successful translations that have been made into all languages, of which our German and English versions of the Bible are examples that are admitted upon all hands. In this respect we suppose that a Review, such as we contemplate, will render essential service, first, by familiarizing us with the literature in question, and secondly,

[1] "Donner und Blitzesschlag, Luther, ist all deine Sprach."—MEL.

by giving this form of literary training, and more frequent practice in writing and translating to a considerable body of men in the church, and by creating and refining the taste for these things among our people generally.

3. *Such a work is necessary to the proper union and cöoperation, and to the highest usefulness and efficiency of the Lutheran church in this country.* It cannot but be a matter of deep regret to all who take an interest in her prosperity, that the Lutheran church in the United States is so imperfectly united, and that its different parts, instead of drawing nearer together, seem of late to have a tendency to separate further and array themselves more decidedly against each other. We cannot conceal the fact that a very considerable diversity of views both as regards doctrine and practice prevails among us. These conflicting elements are more or less separated into different ecclesiastical organizations and have separate organs in newspapers which, patronized exclusively by one party, do not reach, and so exert no influence upon the other. The friendly intercourse between these parties will diminish as their collisions increase, and their sympathies are in great danger of being entirely alienated from one another. This we think should, if possible, be prevented, and against this we propose the Evangelical Review as a remedy. Here we propose that all parts of the church should meet each other as upon neutral ground, and hold friendly intercourse, and exchange opinions with each other. Here we think that they will find that they have much in common—not only a common christianity, but also a common origin, a common history, common sympathies, and many common tendencies, religious principles, and usages. And these undoubtedly are strong bonds by which to attract and hold them together. Nor do we despair of this result. With all our diversities of views and of practice, and notwithstanding all the modifications that a part of our church has undergone in this country, we believe that the church is still essentially one, and has a common substratum of doctrinal and religious character which only requires to be properly developed in order to bring us together in that oneness of faith which has always so strongly characterized the Lutheran church. And we are the more encouraged in this hope by the past history of the church both in this country and in Europe. There has never been the same tendency to separation in our communion as in the English and Reformed churches generally. We see this remarkably exemplified in the late United church of Prussia. Although all

orthodox Lutherans were most decidedly opposed to that movement, and although they constituted the great mass of the people who were to be affected by its operation, rather than have even the appearance of schism, most of them peacefully submitted to one of the most high-handed outrages upon the rights of conscience and the freedom of worship ever witnessed, at least in so called Protestant countries. The movement now in progress throughout Germany for the rëestablishment of the Lutheran church, wherever it had been thus prostrated, is also a proof of the vitality of our faith and of the firm hold that it has taken upon the minds and consciences of its children. Similar to this has been the state of things in this country. There has been among us no tendency to the formation of sects, or to the absolute separation of different sections from each other. However widely we have differed in our views, however violent our collisions, we have never yet formed a "New Lutheran" or an "Old Lutheran," a "Radical" or a "Conservative," a "Northern" or a "Southern Lutheran church." And, however loosely they may have been received, no part of the church has ever yet formally announced its rejection of the Augsburg Confession, or the Shorter Catechism, or in short, of any of our symbolical books. Nor has there yet been any serious attempt to set up any other doctrinal basis as a substitute for them, or any thing like a denial of the Lutheran character of those who receive them. On the contrary, even where new Synods have been formed by the collision of different views and tendencies, these have not professed any difference in regard to what was fundamental either to christianity or to Lutheranism, and the parties thus separated have soon learned to live together in peace and to acknowledge each other as brethren of the same church. It is true that a large number of our members have gone into other denominations, but this has generally resulted, not from dissatisfaction with the religious system of the church, but chiefly from the change of language, the want of preaching in the only language that they understood, or the utter destitution of all church organization and church privileges. And here, too, it is remarkable that our scattered and neglected people have so long retained their attachment to a church from whose communion they were so entirely cut off, and that after years of absence from our fold they have been so readily gathered into it and have in so many instances returned to it from other denominations with which they had in the mean time connected themselves.

These are some of the grounds of our hope for the ultimate union of all parts of the Lutheran church both in doctrinal views and in external organization. But in order that this may take place it is necessary that we should both know ourselves, and know each other, as Lutherans. In the Ev. Review, therefore, we propose to give all parts of the church an opportunity of exhibiting their sentiments. Nor are we afraid that the exhibition of conflicting views will have a tendency to repel us from each other. The experience of every day proves the contrary of this. In civil life the collision of opposite parties, in our national legislature, for instance, does not tend to the destruction of our national union. On the contrary, the first step towards disunion or civil war would be the separation of the different parties into different conventions. So in ecclesiastical affairs, when we come together in our Synods the expression of the most opposite views does not separate us. It is, in fact, only by the comparison of opposite views and by hearing what is said in favor of each that we are harmonized in feeling and united in action. The most hopeless kind of separation is, where the opposite parties will not meet for argument nor listen to each other. If, therefore, the most opposite views should be expressed in this Review, we shall by no means despair of reconciling them or of finally bringing together in the unity of our common faith the different parties that advance them. Our Review is not intended as an authoritative exposition of either the doctrines of the Bible or of the Lutheran church. All that we propose is, that the different parts of the church should here express their views and the grounds upon which they are based and give each other a calm and patient hearing. If they do so we cannot but hope for the happiest results. With prayer to the Great Head of the Church that He would by His Spirit direct us into the truth of His word, we cannot doubt that he will establish us in our most holy faith, so that we "all may be one even as He and the Father are one."

4. These explanations, we hope, will leave no doubt as to *the position of this Review. It is Lutheran, in the broadest and in the strictest sense of the term.* It is consecrated especially to the interests, to the history, to the theology, to the literature of the Lutheran church in this and in all parts of the world. And, as a necessary result of this, it belongs to no particular school or party in the Lutheran church. Taking its stand between Rationalism on the one hand and Romanism on the other, it will endeavor to represent the common sentiments of all who are gathered within the pale of our widely

extended communion, and will take especial pains to make known the views and feelings of all parts of the church in this country especially. And whilst we shall, as already stated, freely admit articles expressing very different ideas, we shall do this, not from a love of controversy or because this is one of our objects, but as the necessary means for the establishment of peace and union among us, by leading us to the same truth, establishing a mutual understanding, and securing sincere respect and love and confidence. But whilst we do not shrink from the presentation of these diversities, we hope that it will soon be found that the points wherein we agree are much more numerous than those wherein we differ, and that there is nothing to prevent us from growing up into "one body" as living members of the same glorious Head. From controversial articles also, we shall endeavor to remove all that asperity and personality, and every thing like a narrow and local character, by which christian intercourse and rational discussion have been so often converted into selfish strife and vain wrangling for victory.

5. *But whilst we thus plainly announce our adherence and attachment to the church with which we are connected, we do not wish to be understood as occupying a hostile position towards any other part of Christendom.* On the contrary, we see much to love and admire in our brethren of other denominations. We acknowledge the Church of England and her representative in the United States as "the oldest daughter of the Reformation," a church that is *almost* Lutheran. We admire the free spirit, the vigorous character, the active enterprize and practical tendencies of the sons of the Puritans, the disciples of Calvin and of Knox. We also acknowledge the service done to religion by our Methodist and Baptist brethren, and trust that we are ready to rejoice with the angels in heaven over every soul whom they convert, and who is washed in that "fountain which has been opened in the house of David for sin and for uncleanness." But in exhibiting and defending the truth as our church has learned it (taught, as we believe, by the Holy Ghost from the word of God) and transmitted it to us, we believe we are doing no wrong but great service to these brethren before whom we desire to let our light shine, that, if they cannot be brought to see matters as we do, they may at least learn to know us better and respect us so far as we deserve their respect. We trust that this Review will not be found deficient in a liberal spirit, and that it will never unnecessarily interfere with, or

assail, or misrepresent even those from whom it may most widely differ.

6. Finally, whilst theology, biblical criticism, church history, church government, missions, education and practical christianity, together with the criticism of works in all these departments, will be the chief objects of our attention in this Review, we shall also feel at liberty to discuss other points of general interest in literature or in the social and moral condition of the world, or of any particular part of it—as is customary in similar publications. Especially shall we feel interested in the state of education both in our common schools and in our higher seminaries of learning, believing as we do that nothing is more intimately connected with the prosperity of the church and the well being of mankind. We shall also take the usual notice of new publications, so far as we consider them to fall within the scope of our Review, favorable to the diffusion of sound knowledge, and not injurious to good morals. Works of this character we shall be pleased to receive from publishers, but do not wish our tables to be burthened with works of fiction, which we have neither time nor inclination to read, and are therefore unqualified to criticise or to describe. R.

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## ARTICLE II.

### THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

It has been a matter of surprise to many, that the Germans, who in their native country are so highly distinguished for their schools and universities, and for the extent of their literary attainments, have been, as a body, so indifferent to this subject here in the land of their adoption. With comparatively few exceptions, all that was desired for their children by the early German settlers in this country, was the ability to read and write and cast accounts. It would seem as though the great object at which they aimed was the acquisition of wealth, and that every thing else was neglected. It is yet within the recollection of many that "ignorant" was a common epithet applied to the German, and what was true of the great mass in this country was unjustly applied, as a term of reproach,

to the father-land. Dr. Kunze, in his correspondence with the directors of the Orphan house at Halle, writes, "The Germans here are, in general, not very desirous of obtaining an acquaintance with the sciences, as they see very little opportunity of deriving external advantage from them; consequently, their notions of things are very limited. According to this standard the English among us form their opinion of all Germany."[1] The solution of this apparent enigma is found in the fact stated by the same writer. "The Germans," says he, "are composed *for the most part* of those inhabitants of the Palatinate, Würtemberg and Alsace, who, in their native country, belonged to the lower classes, and were oppressed with extreme poverty. Their sufferings at home were so great, that any other country seemed a refuge; and their poverty was so extreme that, in order to leave their native land, many of them had to submit to years of servitude in the land of their adoption." To expect, from men of this description, enlarged views on the subject of education, or on any subject, or to expect that they should lay the foundations of liberal institutions in science and theology, broad and deep, and for the benefit of all future times, is to form expectations which no reasonable person can entertain. There were however, amongst the emigrants, men of lofty genius, profound scholarship, vast attainments and ardent piety, who, from the time of their arrival in this country, thought and labored and prayed for the welfare of their brethren. With the early Lutheran ministers, educated in the universities and sent forth by the piety and liberality of the mother country, it was from the beginning a subject of painful interest, how they could elevate the people from their ignorance and sin, and how they could supply the destitute with a living ministry. Their thoughts and purposes, though to many but a bright day-dream, extended even beyond the spiritual necessities of their brethren: They pitied the red man of the forest and the negro on the islands, and laid their plans to establish an Institution by which these benevolent feelings of their hearts, in reference both to their brethren and to the heathen, might be fully carried into execution. The rapidly increasing number of emigrants, the paucity of ministers, arising in some measure from the heavy expenses of the voyage, compelled the

[1] "Die Teutschen sind hier im Ganzen gerechnet, nicht sehr begierig Wissenschaften zu erlernen, zumal sie wenige Gelegenheit vor sich sehen, davon äusserliche Vortheile zu erlangen, daher haben sie auch von ausgebreiteter Erkenntniss wenigen Begriff; wornach denn die hiesigen Engländer ganz Teutschland beurtheilen."—*Hallische Nachrichten*, p. 1377.

German ministers in this country, to occupy all their time in the active duties of their pastoral office. It was not until thirty years after the arrival of the elder Mühlenberg in this country that any successful efforts were put forth to establish a school of a high order for the benefit of our German population. Under the pressure of difficulties increasing daily, through the arrival of new emigrants and the want of well-qualified ministers to serve them, the elder Mühlenberg made the experiment of employing, as Deacons and helpers, men of exemplary piety and well-grounded in the doctrines of the church, whose duty it was to indoctrinate the youth of the church in the principles of the word of God. This step was deemed necessary under the circumstances, inasmuch as the general poverty of the people, and the debts resting upon the most of the churches for the erection of church-edifices, precluded the hope of procuring adequate funds for the founding of such an institution as the wants of the church required. As these Deacons, or Catechists, were educated by experienced and learned ministers, and were governed by them in their labors among the people, they in some instances made such progress in knowledge and were so useful that they were esteemed "worthy of double honor," and were introduced into the number of ordained ministers. [1] This expedient growing out of the necessities of the church, as might be supposed, failed to furnish a supply of ministers adequate either as to qualifications or in number.

After the arrival of Dr. Kunze in 1770, a more direct effort was made to lay the foundations of an institution which should be permanent and elevating in its influence on the Germans. Kunze was full of this idea. It haunted him wherever he went, and could not be banished by the multiplicity of engagements growing out of his profession. He writes, that he "has discovered in himself a peculiar proclivity to be engaged in a school in which the languages and sciences are taught, and that, notwithstanding his multiplied duties, he is burdened with the conception of establishing, by the help of God, an Institution of this description among the Germans of Pennsylvania." Every institution must have a beginning, and Kunze thought that if he could by any honest means become the possessor of twenty pounds, he would purchase the first German student who was encumbered with the debt of his passage to this country and commence a Latin school in an upper chamber of his dwelling. [2] The next day a Mr. Leps,

[1] Hal. Nach. p. 1253. [2] Ib. p. 1375 to 1385.

a student from the University of Halle, unencumbered with debt, but poor, presented himself. The proposition is at once made that he open a classical school, and notice to that effect is published in the newspapers of the city. No sooner did this appear than one of the most respectable members of the Lutheran congregation came to the assistance of Kunze, expressed his great gratification at the announcement of the proposed school and, with another of a similar spirit, obtained the required number of subscribers. An association is formed with the title "*The Society for the advancement of Christianity and all useful knowledge among the Germans in America.*" Mr. Leps was employed, and the school was opened, in the presence of the subscribers, with singing and prayer, on 17th of February, 1773. The beginning was small, (with only fifteen scholars,) but the conception was worthy of a lofty and a christian mind. The Constitution, drafted by Kunze, contemplated three classes of members: 1st, A Board of twenty-four, resident in Philadelphia, whose business it was to conduct the Institution and attend to its daily wants. 2d, Collegiate and other associations formed for useful purposes. These were to be interested in the incipient institution, by means of correspondence, and were to be requested to give their advice, were authorized to make propositions to the board in Philadelphia, and were to be requested to aid by donations of books and money presented by themselves, or to become the channels of such donations from others. 3d, Foreign societies and Ministeria were requested to appoint, out of their number, one or two procurators, for the American Association, who should conduct the correspondence. They were also requested to form an American treasury and to make propositions and give advice for the benefit of the incipient institution. Thus Kunze imagined that a lively and a permanent interest could be awakened for the child of his own creation both in America and in the mother country. Anxiously and ardently pursuing what he conceived to be, and with justice, a great institution for the Germans and their posterity, he submissively and patiently followed the leadings of Divine providence. His object was grand and comprehensive, only too much so for the means under his control; and yet, we cannot repress the conviction that, if his health had been continued and the obstructions growing out of the Revolutionary struggle had not interposed, his heart would have rejoiced in the success of the enterprize. Out of this Association was to grow an Orphan and Alms house, the seat of Missions to the Indians, and before them all, in point of time,

a *University* in which were to be taught the higher branches of science, English law, medicine and theology. In reference to this Association and its anticipated results, Freylinghausen records his views and feelings, as follows: "Every one must admit that the object of Pastor Kunze deserves every encouragement and support, and that such a Seminary would be of wide-spread usefulness should it please God to grant adequate means to sustain in it a sufficient number of suitable laborers (teachers) and awaken amongst our German fellow-believers in America a relish for the higher sciences. In this Seminary the brethren must by all means first direct their attention to the higher sciences, (a course preparatory to a University,) law, medicine, and theology. To the last, the brethren will doubtless next direct their attention, inasmuch as they themselves are capable of giving instruction in it, in order that in this Institution there may be prepared well qualified preachers for the German congregations. In addition to this, if God would qualify some of the young with necessary gifts, and awaken in them a constraining love for the conversion of the wild Americans, Philadelphia would be the most suitable place to train them and to establish and sustain such a mission." [1] It is much to be lamented that Pastor Kunze's health, never vigorous, was so impaired and for such a length of time that he was unable to mature and publish his plans, until the war of the Revolution disturbed the intercourse with the mother country and threw the congregations in this country into such confusion that his efforts were, in that direction, temporarily suspended.

No certain information is in the possession of the writer to enable him to ascertain the condition of the classical school established under the organization just referred to, until the year 1779, when we find it yet in existence. During this year the University of Pennsylvania was established in Philadelphia under the auspices of the State, and amongst the number of its trustees were the clergymen of the different denominations of Christians then established in the city. Among these Pastor Kunze occupied a prominent and influential position. He was one of a Committee of five to report a plan for the University, and thus, in the good providence of God, occupied not only the position which he most desired, but which he was so well qualified to fill. Ever cherishing the idea of an establishment for the benefit of the Germans, he commanded sufficient influence to secure the appointment

[1] Hal. Nach., p. 1504, 5, and 1510.

of a German Professor of Philology, with a Tutor as an assistant, whilst the German students enjoyed the privilege of daily instruction in the English language.[1] Kunze was elected Professor and in a short time had the satisfaction of witnessing the attendance of upwards of thirty students. About this time he accepted an invitation to settle in the city of New York, influenced chiefly by the hope of there advancing the interests of theological education in the Lutheran church. The Legislature of the state of New York had passed an Act for the establishment of a University, in which Act it was proposed that, if any congregation or individual would secure the annual payment of two hundred bushels of wheat, there should be elected, in the University, a Professor of theology, of the denomination to which the donors belonged, or some person whom they might designate.[2] Kunze wrote immediately to Germany, on this subject, and hoped that the way was opened for the permanent endowment of a theological professorship of theology for the Lutheran church. His own language on this subject may express his views more fully. He writes to Dr. Freylinghausen as follows: "In my letter to Mr. Pasche, I stated the contents of an article in our University-act by which authority is given to establish a Theological professorship, so soon as a fund shall have been collected, which will yield annually two hundred bushels of of wheat, or £80 of our currency; and, as I added, this article particularly influenced me to accept of the invitation to New York. Such an Institution, by which men can be prepared for the sanctuary, our church in North America needs, where the harvest is great, and the want of faithful laborers is yet greater. I came here (he writes from New York) in the hope that God would, from time to time, awaken those who, in accordance with this article, would promote the welfare of our Evangelical church in this part of the world. The Institution in Philadelphia might, by degrees, send us students, especially if it pleased the Lord of the vineyard to found certain benefactions (scholarships) for those who would devote themselves to the work, but whose parents are too poor to sustain them in the University, as we can in an especial manner depend upon the poor. My eyes are here directed to the Lord."[3] It was the fond hope of Dr. Kunze that many poor and pious men would receive their preparatory education in the University of Pennsylvania, sustained by patrons in this country and in Germany, and then, by the endowment of

[1] Hal. Nach., p. 1421 [2] Ib. p. 1510. [3] Ib. p. 1504, 5, and 1510.

a Theological professorship in the University of New York, they could there receive their theological training. Mr. Schmidt succeeded Dr. Kunze as preacher, and Dr. Helmuth succeeded him as Professor of German in the University of Pennsylvania. The prospects of education in the church became brighter. "Nothing," writes Mr. Schmidt,[1] "lies nearer the hearts of us preachers than a German educational institution, in which the youth can be prepared for the peculiar service of the church. We have, it is true, a share in the University located here, which we improve. The German section of the University, which receives from the trustees annually six hundred pounds Pennsylvania currency, is not without hope for the future. Helmuth, who superintends this department, teaches seven hours daily, giving instruction in Latin and Greek to the German youth and in German to the English students. As soon as he accepted the professorship to which he was elected, the number of students, which had been small during the preceding year, increased to more than seventy, among whom are some who have determined to study theology. We two preachers, in Philadelphia, propose, in the approaching winter, to make a beginning, in the name of the Lord, to impart to them instruction in the different parts of theology, and, as far as our feeble abilities extend, to prepare them for the office of the ministry. It is true that our time is much circumscribed and our fitness for such an important work small, yet that which is attempted in the fear of the Lord and from no selfish motive, cannot remain wholly without a blessing."

Thus we see what were the feelings and views of the leading ministers of our church in the first half century of her existence in this country; and what were their feelings and sentiments, as expressed in their correspondence with the mother country. Such also we may presume were those of the brethren located in the interior of the land. Nothing of permanent value to the church grew out of the effort either in Philadelphia or New York. All that could be effected, by the personal efforts of these laborious and self-denying men, was accomplished, but with nothing to sustain them except sympathy from abroad and a pittance from their brethren at home, the enterprize sank with the men who conceived it. Their experience and ours shows most clearly that in one respect they failed in foresight. They conceived of nothing but German churches and German preachers. It seems as

[1] Hal. Nach., p. 1516.

though it never entered their minds, that the rising generation of Germans would grow up in the language and manners and tastes of the people with whom they daily associated; and that therefore their church policy, so far as these things prevailed, must be adapted to them. Here was a great and fatal mistake. They desired to build up the church in the German language exclusively, without any regard to the ordinary language of business, of the schools, the pulpit, the courts of justice, and of nineteen-twentieths of the people. Under a similar policy, the Swedish church has become extinct and the descendants of the first emigrants, like many of the Reformed and Lutheran churches, have been merged in the denominations wholly English. Had these learned and self-denying men, whom we venerate and love to honor, at the same time directed their attention to the establishment of English schools, and to the education of men to preach in the English as well as in the German language, our Germanic churches at this day would exhibit a very different aspect.

This is especially true of the congregations in cities and large towns where the influence of the English language for obvious reasons, would be sooner felt. How else can we account for the fact, that, during almost an entire century, the German churches in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, did not increase as did others, with the population of these cities? There were no English congregations formed in their connection, whilst other denominations using the English language multiplied rapidly. At this day we have one German and two English congregations in the city of Philadelphia, when the churches of other denominations number theirs by dozens. One century ago no denomination in that city possessed more than one congregation, and of them all the Lutheran was the most numerous.[1] The city of New York until within a few years, contained but one German Lutheran congregation. It contained one in the time of Kunze. What has become of the descendants of the Germans who, during successive periods, constituted that congregation? They are now a part of the bone and sinew of the English churches.

So far, however, as we are enabled to gather their views of the importance of theology and the best mode of studying it, they present to us a model worthy of imitation. They commenced in the right way, viz. to lay its foundations in the primary and academic education of the people. Every congregation was, if possible, furnished with a schoolmaster who

[1] Hal. Nach., p. 12.

also acted as chorister. The school-house was placed near the church, and was justly regarded as a part of the system of christian education. The schoolmaster, when of proper qualifications, and such only were sought, next to the preacher, was the most important and most useful personage in the congregation. He not only taught the catechism, in addition to the ordinary instruction of a school, but in the absence of the pastor, and by his direction, conducted religious exercises in the church. During their synodical sessions, the condition of the parochial schools was investigated as carefully as the state of the congregation. In addition to this, a project for educating the poor was laid before the proprietors of the Province of Pennsylvania in consequence of which a fund was established in England, for the support of free schools, in the German and English languages, at places in Pennsylvania were they were most needed; and constantly from four to six of the pupils possessing good talents enjoyed the privilege of attending the instructions of the University of Oxford.[1] As a part of a regular system, the value of which they themselves had experienced in the land of their fathers, they established Academies and assisted in the formation and support of Colleges and Universities, as far as their influence extended. Hence the interest they felt in the Universities of Pennsylvania and of New York, and the active part which they took in their instruction. The Lutheran churches derived but little advantage from these institutions, because the young, educated in them classically and scientifically, through the medium of the English language, having lost the language of their fathers and finding no churches where the ministrations were intelligible to them, or where they could minister at the altar, would naturally attach themselves to the English churches. Various facts in their history confirm this supposition.

We now part with the men who composed the pioneers of Lutheranism, who laid the foundations of the church in this country in troublous times, amidst the poverty incident to a newly settled country, and the sufferings attendant upon a long continued and sanguinary war. Their successors in office, though more successful in adapting themselves to the circumstances in which they are placed, so far as the prevailing language and manners of the people are concerned, have displayed much less wisdom in their educational plans, and have accomplished much less in the great work of theological

[1] Hal. Nach., p. 661, and 956.

education. We have, it is true, six or seven theological Seminaries which have seen the light, and a few more are yet lingering, amidst the agonies of parturition; but what of that? Have we any theologians or theological literature as their fruits? We would not institute any invidious comparisons, but we cannot refrain from the conviction that we have but few men, if any, who have grown up under the new order of things, to compare—I mean in theology—with such men as Endress, Göring, and others, who were trained under the fathers of the church. We have commenced at the end, and not at the beginning. We have erroneously imagined that theological Seminaries would supply the church, as a necessary consequence, with sound theologians, as well as active pastors, and that the creation of these institutions would, with the force of an impelling cause, produce the desired effect. One effect is apparent to every close observer that, whilst we have many devotedly pious pastors and impressive preachers, we have very few theologians. There is a vast difference between men, who with a slender intellectual furniture, present stirring appeals to the people, and produce a great excitement on the subject of religion, and then leave their spirital wants unsupplied, and the men who instruct their congregations thoroughly in the wholesome doctrines of the church, and who, when God blesses them with a revival of religion, know how to feed with milk or with strong meat. The activity, zeal, liberality, and indeed the general efficiency of the church will depend very much upon the enlarged views which they receive of truth and duty through the ministrations of the sacred desk.

The weak point in our church has been, and continues to be, to a great extent, the want of education in all its grades, from the lowest to the highest. Primary education is neglected, congregational schools can hardly be said to exist among us, which in the first half century of the church in this country, were its glory. The same is true of the higher grades of education, academic and collegiate. Theology grows out of the masses of the church, just as do ministers of the gospel. When the people are educated, by which I mean, mentally disciplined, and, by the grace of God, become christians, they will necessarily make the word of God their study. They will be capable of comprehending and grasping the momentous truths of the plan of salvation in their logical connection; of distinguishing the food of the soul from the flights of fancy; they will become no mean jndges of what a minister ought to be, and what their own spiritual necessities demand. Now in order to satisfy the wants of men, thus

intellectually and morally conditioned, the preacher must be, not only an eloquent and a pious man—he must be a theologian. He must understand not only the doctrines of the bible in detail, or in their historical connection in the bible—he must understand the relations which they sustain to each other and to the great centre of the christian system, Jesus Christ our Lord. He must understand, and be able to trace the influence of doctrine not only upon the inner life of the soul, in awakening and directing the affections, but also upon the outer man, in their influence upon the developement of conduct. Then, and then only, will he be prepared rightly io divide the word of God and give unto each his portion in due season.

We frankly admit the fact, that theology, as a science, has made little or no progress in the Lutheran church in this country, and particularly that form of it which is found in the symbolical books of the church. This admission is made with no agreeable feelings, and it is intended to prepare the way for the remedy of this evil, by directing attention to its source. We have pointed to the want of education in the church as the great cause. This will be manifest when we consider that there is a reflex and reciprocal influence exerted upon each other by the people and the ministry. An educated people will require a thoroughly educated ministry, and from these will arise the theologians and writers of the church. Where the people are imperfectly educated, the inference is at once made and most erroneously, that they require a ministry of very little mental training or theological knowledge. The consequence will be that men will be admitted into the ministry, licensed and sent forth by the Synods, who are in no sense qualified, with the exception of personal piety. They are filling up stones, it is said by the more intelligent, and in a large edifice such are always needed, and indeed are indispensible; the less intelligent will receive them as worthy members of the sacred brotherhood. The influence of such a ministry again upon the people is, to continue them in their ignorance. They have no just appreciation of the importance of education among the people. If its power is understood and sometimes felt, it is referred to pride or ambition. Such ministers afford very little encoragement to their people to educate their children. In schools and colleges they take no interest, at least they put forth no active efforts to call them into existence and to sustain them. The consequence is, that as few are educated, there are but few to enter the ministry. The church remains destitute, and the motive to receive into the sacred office an increased number of but

partially educated men becomes stronger.. Hence, too, if Institutions for theological education are established, they will be very likely to be modelled according to these ideas or brought under their influence. A very limited amount of education will be considered sufficient, the mode of study will be superficial, the mental discipline next to nothing, and the whole course lame and inadequate to the purposes for which it is designed. At the same time some of the most important parts of theology will be almost ignored by incompetency in the teacher to communicate or in the student to receive.

In such a state of things, theology cannot develope itself, and, what seems to us of more importance, the active charities, the benevolent operations of the church suffer. The onward movement of Christianity is retarded, Christ is wounded in the house of his friends, and the apathy which grows out of ignorance and sin covers the church. The Pilgrims of New England pursued a different course. With the Church they built the School-house, the Academy and the College. The ministry grew out of the people, intelligent, as well as pious. The Theological Seminary, first engrafted upon the College or University, formed with it a necessary connection in the production of a ministry pious, talented and learned, and a people active and enterprising, not only in the ordinary business of life, but in the more important interests of the church and of eternity. Here may be witnessed the reflex and reciprocal influence of ministers and people in the developement of theology, in the dissemination of knowledge, in the calling forth of a numerous and intelligent ministry, and in the exercise of the active charities of life, even to the sending of the living ministry, with the everlasting gospel, to the ends of the earth. What is required of us, then, who so much resemble our congregational brethren in the general features of our church government, is, to imitate them in their schools and Colleges. The ministry must raise the people, and the people will sustain the ministry. On this subject we should preach and pray and labor. The church in its length and breadth should understand its importance. Parents should be led to feel that it is their duty to educate the minds and hearts of their children, much more than it is to discipline their bodies to labor. Individuals and families should learn on this subject to be disinterested, and to see in the education of their children an influence growing up, which is to move the church and the world. "None of us liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself, for whether we live, we live unto the Lord, and

whether we die we die unto the Lord; whether we live, therefore, or die, we are the Lord's." To what other cause than a criminal neglect on the subject of education are we to refer the fact, that there are preparing for the ministry, in the Presbyterian church, O. S., at least four hundred beneficiaries, and in the other division of that church, perhaps as many, and in the congregational churches many more, whilst in our church, with a membership as large as any one of them, there are not fifty! It is the want of primary education; and I would have this truth sounded through the church in its length and breadth, with the voice of a trumpet. It is the want of education among the people. As it was this which lay in the way of the fathers of the church, a stumbling block, arresting the progress of the church in her wanderings through the wilderness, and presenting an impassable obstacle to her onward march and improvement, so is it now, an incubus on her energies, in every department of active christianity and in all parts of the church. We have yet to hear that one Academy, or one College has been fully endowed by the church. We have yet to learn that the importance of a college to the church has been appreciated, even in a small measure, by a tithe of our community. Popular movements and legislative enactments have effected something, but the church, as such, has accomplished comparatively nothing. Of the thirty-two Synods bearing the Lutheran name, there stand forth, as distinguished in this respect, the Synods of Pittsburg, Ohio, Virginia, and South Carolina. The former, though but lately organized, has formed and is sustaining an efficient Academy, which promises much for the future. South Carolina will soon endow her literary institute, if we may reason from present appearances; Virginia has her institute in active operation; and Ohio, with at least four Synods, will surely sustain one College.

Why cannot the Synods in our connection unite and endow Colleges, as the Presbyterians have done, and the Methodists by Conference districts, and the Congregationalists by their Consociations? If ever such an effort was needed in the church, it is now. If ever associations for this purpose are desirable, and contributions to this object will be productive of extensive good, it is now. It is the age of activity and enterprize, and, if we permit our hands to hang down and our knees to become feeble, we shall be swept away by the rush of sister denominations hastening forward to the performance of that work and the occupation of those fields which belong to us, but which we so criminally neglect. We live

in an age of the world distinguished above all others for its profound erudition, for its numerous and astonishing discoveries in science, and inventions in the arts, for its zeal and liberality in religion and education. To be supine and indifferent under such circumstances, is resisting the spirit of the age, and is not unlike sinning against the convictions of conscience and the clear light of the gospel. One important consequence of the want of general education among the people, is the great disproportion in numbers, which the ministers sustain to the members of the church. From the time of the planting of the church in this country until the present, this has been a serious ground of complaint. Our ministers are very much in the condition of the itinerancy of the Methodist church, so far as labor is concerned, with none of the advantages of that system. Their pastoral charge generally extends to four, very often to six, and sometimes to eight or ten congregations. In consequence of this destitution of ministers, our church may be regarded as missionary ground, in which each minister is an itinerant, and in the saddle almost every day of the week. With such a pastoral care, with so many souls looking to him for spiritual instruction, and the number constantly increasing, the most talented and learned man, who would be faithful, could find but little time for study. How is it possible, under such disadvantages, for theological literature to grow among us? Literature of any description is the result not only of thorough education, but also of leisure and retirement. This is true in an eminent degree of theology. Where the minister of the gospel has charge of a small parish, and addresses an intelligent auditory, he possesses the leisure and the motive to study each subject thoroughly, and to throw it into that form in which it will be permanent. Some of the most profound theological productions of the continent of Europe and of this country, are the fruits of the labors of men placed in circumstances similar to those just indicated. But in the Lutheran church in this country it is not unusual for the minister to preach five or six sermons in a week, during a large part of the year, and, in addition, to attend to those pastoral duties, which, under the circumstances, he is able to perform. The evil which is here referred to, and which stands prominently in the way of progress in theological learning and literature, is perpetuated both by the ordinary increase of the church and by the tide of emigration from Europe, which becomes broader and deeper every year. In addition to the disproportionate strength of the ministry to the field which they are required to cultivate, there should be mentioned

the difficulty of preaching in two widely different languages. The acquisition of several languages, for the purpose of studying their literature, and being enriched by their treasures, is comparatively an easy attainment, but to be prepared to preach with acceptance in two languages fundamentally unlike, is an achievement not often performed. Nine-tenths of our ministry are burdened with this difficulty. The church has just commenced the period of transition from her native, unrivalled language to that of the land of her adoption; and this period, judging from the convulsions which are agitating Europe to the very depths of her political and religious life, will not soon reach its close. From these facts, we are prepared to infer that the influence of the ministry and the people, thus far, has contributed little or nothing towards the advancement of theological literature in the church.

We proceed to consider the influence of our Theological Seminaries on the subject under consideration: The first thing which attracts our attention is their number. Seven theological Seminaries would seem, at once, entirely disproportioned to the number of Academies and Colleges in the church, as well as the actual necessities of the case. The Presbyterian church in both branches, sustains only eleven, but then it has under its control at least forty Colleges and many more Academies. We frankly admit that this quantity is prima facie evidence against the quality of our Seminaries. This strikes us as the more remarkable, inasmuch as they do not contain fifty students, all told. One Seminary would have been more than adequate for the training of all the theological students, and as many more as have grown up in the church, from her planting in this country until now. We are aware of the views entertained by those who favor the multiplication of these schools of the prophets, for the local benefits which they confer. But, with all due respect for their motives, we have never been able to understand why theological students, educated at a distance from their native places, would not return and settle among their friends, if their services were needed, as readily as to wander off and locate among strangers. Ministers, possessing the spirit of their master, will settle where they believe they can be most useful, and there, their friends, and the church at large should desire them to settle. In this respect, the Lutheran church, with but one theological Seminary, would have been precisely in the condition of the Presbyterian and Congregational churches, whose pulpits, for many years, were supplied with an able ministry from Princeton and Andover. We cannot understand

why Hartwick, with its many advantages, might not have sent forth into the Lutheran church all her ministers up to this time, educated there as thoroughly as they could be educated elsewhere. The same may be asserted of almost any other Seminary or location.

The direct consequence of the multiplication of theological schools among us, has been to tax the church heavily, and to prevent thorough training. As to the first particular, I have already asserted that not one of our Seminaries is fully endowed. Hartwick, Gettysburg and Lexington, have each one professorship secured. This has been effected at a cost of at least one hundred and fifty thousand dollars to the church. If, for the sake of avoiding the charge of exaggeration, we reduce the sum one-fourth, we have the church taxed to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars to educate annually about twenty-five students. We regard the assertion within the limits of truth, that the three Institutions designated, have not, in all, averaged more than twenty-five theological students annually. The tuition fees alone of these students would be four thousand five hundred dollars, equal to one hundred and eighty dollars each for the year. Now this expenditure might be borne, even if the number of students were less, provided the instruction were adequate. But here we hesitate not to assert, that there is, and from the nature of the case there must be, great deficiency: not from any want of capacity or fidelity on the part of the instructors, but from the peculiar position which they occupy. Where there is but one professor to give instruction, as is unfortunately the case in all our Seminaries, except one, the instruction, which is ordinarily distributed among three, devolves upon him alone. One man, even if he be an intellectual giant, cannot perform the work of three, and therefore the instruction must be deficient. Systematic theology alone is sufficient to engross all the time and attention of one man: and how then can he, in addition, teach Exegesis and Church History with their affiliated subjects? Besides, in most of our Seminaries, the Professors of Theology are expected to give instruction also in studies preparatory to theology, and to preach every Sabbath, so that they are disabled almost as much as pastors, burdened with the labor of a large pastoral charge, who, in addition, give instruction to students in theology. Now, if all these theological schools were merged into one, which would be quite adequate to the existing wants of the church, or into two, for the sake of convenience of location, and the funds, which do not accomplish the end contemplated by reason of

their dispersion, were concentrated upon these, then might we hope that the professors, furnished with adequate support, and in the enjoyment of sufficient leisure, would not only train their students thoroughly in the various subjects connected with theological education, but would also directly contribute to the advancement of theological literature. We cannot but regret that at least five of the seven theological schools are not high schools or Colleges, furnishing nothing more than a preparatory education. We regret it, for the sake of our church in particular, and the cause of Christ in general. If our Synods would direct their attention to the endowment and support of Academies and Colleges, manifesting a lively interest in their progress, and sustaining them with their prayers and active cöoperation, it would not be long until we would have the number of our theological students doubled, and their qualifications for the ministry greatly increased. As we have already intimated, the tendency of the existing state of things, is towards a want of thoroughness in training, which, as long as it continues, will be a stumbling-block in the way of theological developement. Besides, when Theological Seminaries are multiplied beyond the educated materials of the Church, there will always be a temptation to receive students who do not possess adequate preparatory knowledge. Numbers are necessary to justify the existence and continuance of such an institution, and therefore numbers must be secured at all hazards. The effect of this upon young men looking forward to the ministry, is to make them indifferent to a thorough preparatory training; the standard of ministerial education is lowered, the study of theology, that science of sciences, will finally be looked upon as of little importance—the candidate for the ministry will suppose that he can read at home, or with his pastor, and go at once from the merely literary Institution into the ministry; or, if he is too intelligent to do this, his respect for the church in which he was reared, is undetermined, and he resorts to the better organized Institutions of other churches, there to have his sympathy with the doctrines and operations of his own church, to say the least, greatly impaired. Who can doubt that in this way the church suffers in her vital interests? That this has been the tendency of things in our church in this country, can not be denied. After a young man has thus passed through a Theological Seminary, and bears with him a certificate testifying that he has attended to the ordinary studies of the Institution, it is not difficult for him to gain admission into one of our Synods, and obtain from it licensure and ordi-

nation. Thus the influence of our theological schools, unless they are based upon and conducted in accordance with the elevated standard of preparatory and theological education which is demanded by the spirit of the age, is opposed to progress in theological literature.

Concerning the doctrinal basis which is assumed in our theological instruction, we fear that in our zeal for the truth we have pursued the two extremes to the neglect of the safe and wholesome mean. One class of our theologians are represented as pursuing orthodoxy so far as to supersede the bible by our symbolical authorities and the works of Luther, others abandoning the ancient landmarks, are regarded as floating through the regions of theological space, "without a local habitation or a name." We fear, however, that the old orthodox divines of the Lutheran church are but little read by our students of divinity, either in the schools or out of them. Much better would it be to have their minds trained by studying Chemnitz, Hollaz, Calov and Gerhard, than to spend their time in making compends of facts and results, which they have never elaborated, and which therefore can never be called their own. No one, we presume, will deny that our theological students should be directed to those sources whence they may obtain a full and satisfactory acquaintance with the doctrines of the church, not only as held now, in this and other countries, but especially what our fathers believed, when under the influence of truth they became a distinct ecclesiastical organization and maintained their position against the force of argument and the power of the secular arm. We regard our symbolical books, especially, as admirably calculated to teach at the same time correct views in theology, and to foster sincere piety. To neglect them in a Lutheran Theological school, is criminal, to reject them, is to abandon the faith of our fathers and the distinctive doctrines of the church. We prize them because of their historical and biblical character, throwing us back at once amidst the stirring scenes of the Reformation, and exhibiting to to us those truths drawn from the word of God, which were mighty to the pulling down of the strong holds of Satan. This seems to have been the view of the General Synod in the establishment of their Seminary at Gettysburg: for the first Resolution made by them on that subject, declares that "in it shall be taught the fundamental doctrines of the sacred Scriptures as contained in the Augsburg Confession"; and the Professor of Didactic Theology is required to declare solemnly in the presence of God, that he believes the Augsburg Confession and the Cate-

chism of Luther to be a summary and just exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the word of God," and obligates himself to teach nothing "either directly or by insinuation which shall contradict or be inconsistent" with the doctrines which they contain.—(See Constitution of Theological Seminary, pp. 3–10.) But whilst we express our veneration for these symbols, and give them their proper place in the theological instruction of the church, we would not have them taught, as Spener states they were taught in the German Universities, before the establishment of the school at Halle, in 1694, where five or six years were spent in studying these symbols to the exclusion of the word of God, and where Exegesis, which is the only proper foundation of theology, though taught by ripe scholars, could not be sustained. The Holy Scriptures are the prime source whence we must derive our religious knowledge, and we would receive and honor the symbols only because by investigation and experience, we discover that they contain the unadulterated truths of the Bible. With Spener and Francke, we would ascertain the literal sense of God's word by grammatical and historical interpretation, and, comparing the symbol with the word, receive its doctrines because they are contained in the word thus ascertained. These symbols we would use, then, not as bones of contention around which polemics should stand, and snarl, and wage a perpetual warfare of words, but as the Bible should be used by the learned and unlearned, for the obtaining of clear views, and to promote holiness of heart and life. As an exegetical knowledge of the word of God is the only possible foundation of revealed theology, our Seminaries will contribute but little to the advancement of scriptural theology, unless the word of God is explained from its original languages on sound hermeneutical principles. No man can be satisfied that his knowledge is real, unless it is obtained in this way. He may indeed take for granted what he hears, without examination, and he may hear only the truth, yet how does he know it? How can the ingenuous mind be satisfied with hearsay evidence, when he enjoys the privilege of seeing and knowing for himself? How can he linger at the streams more or less polluted, when the springs are gushing forth in original freshness all around him? The progress of theology among us will depend upon the fact whether our students of theology are prepared to study the scriptures in their original tongues, and whether our Seminaries furnish the facilities which are necessary for the thorough exegetical study of the word. These remarks are made, in reference to this subject in particular,

because there is a tendency in certain directions to undervalue it in a course of theological training, and to neglect it on account of the time which is required in preparatory education, in order to make any attainment in it; and because it is not known to many that practical piety and freedom of opinion in religion have their proper home in the exegetical study of the Bible, and necessarily grow out of it.

We cannot close our remarks on the general subject of theological education, in our church, without referring to the influence of the Synods as such. They possess the power of licensing and ordaining to the sacred office, and therefore the ultimate decision of ministerial qualification is vested in them. They have the power to control the instruction of the theological schools indirectly, and to determine whether the standard of attainment shall be elevated or depressed. That there has been a general tendency upwards, during the last ten years, must be apparent to a casual observer. That it is not proportioned to the upward tendency of the masses, is also undeniable. The chief cause is one which cannot but affect every pious heart, viz: the great and increasing spiritual destitution of the church. Annual appeals, of the most touching nature, are addressed to the Synods, for ministerial aid. Congregations organized and willing to support pastors, and multitudes unorganized, wandering like sheep without a shepherd, do not appeal in vain to the sympathies of the christian heart. Our Synods, under the influence of such appeals, have too often introduced into the ministry men of slender abilities and limited attainments. The immediate effect was good, in supplying for a time the wants of the destitute. The ultimate effect, in nearly every case, will be found to be unfavorable to the highest interests of spiritual christianity. Where the minister falls below the educated portion of the community in literary attainments, though he be a pious man, the interests of christianity, and especially of the church with which he is connected, must necessarily suffer. Of this fact it will not be difficult to furnish many witnesses. Such a course of procedure might be pardonable, and may be, in some respects, commendable, when it is impossible or difficult to procure well-qualified ministers of the gospel, and therefore we will rather praise than censure the past. Now, however, such motives are fast losing their force. There is no difficulty in securing the services of any number of laborers, and we have both the ability and the facilities to educate them thoroughly. The church possesses abundant resources. Pious young men of good natural abilities, but deficient in means, are anxious

to study for the ministry. Almost any number of such can be obtained. All that is required, then, in order to secure the kind and the number of men called for by the necessities of the church, is for the Synods individually, if they cannot collectively, to sustain the educational operations of the church now in existence, and send into our schools all the sons of the church who ought to be in a course of training in them. Let our ministers stir up our wealthy parents to educate their sons, and let the Synods delare that no young man of suitable qualifications, who makes application for aid in his preparation for the ministry, shall be rejected, and soon will the halls of our Colleges and Seminaries be crowded with candidates who may there, in due time, be "thoroughly furnished unto every good work." B.

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## ARTICLE III.

### THE GOSPEL IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

*Remarks on Romans* 1 : 2. [*"Which he had promised afore (i. e. the Gospel which he formerly declared) by his prophets in the holy Scriptures.*]

Translated from the German of Dr. F. W. C. Umbreit,* by Rev. Charles F. Schaeffer, A. M., Red Hook, Dutchess Co., N. Y.

When the Apostle asserts in this passage that the Gospel had been formerly declared by the Prophets of God in the holy Scriptures, he maintains, distinctly and unequivocally, that an indissoluble connection exists between the Old and the New Testaments. The important task is now assigned to theological science, of ascertaining, both the prophecy in the Old Testament to which allusion is made, and its actual fulfilment in the New Testament. In illustrating our position that the Gospel *is* in the Old Testament, we shall endeavor to condense, as far as possible, the results which are furnished by our Commentary on the Prophets, [1] to which we refer the reader for the fuller development and confirmation of the details.

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* Theologische Studien und Kritiken–Jahrgang, 1849, Erstes Heft.

[1] Praktischer Commentar über d. Proph. des A. B. Vol. I. Isaiah. 1841. Vol. II. Jeremiah. 1842.—Tr.

It is generally admitted that the Prophets of the Old Testament entertained a profound conviction of the future consummation of the kingdom of God through a Mediator who would appear on earth; but, whether this consummation is the εὐαγγέλιον, (Gospel) and whether the Messiah whose appearance was promised, is the Christian Messiah, are two points which are denied even by many Christian interpreters, of whom some, after stating the most favorable view which they take of the case, concede, merely, that certain Christain elements exist in the prophecies. We maintain, on the contrary, that the Χριστὸς (Christ) of the Old Testament is the Ἰησοῦς (Jesus) of the New Testament, and, that the law of his kingdom is not the old תּוֹרָה (law) merely in an improved form, but one that is entirely new, namely, the εὐαγγέλιον, (gospel) so that the Apostle could appeal, with the strictest propriety and truth, to the former declarations of the Prophets in reference to this subject.

When we carefully examine the peculiar features of our internal or moral nature, we become conscious of the existence in ourselves, individually, of two personalities, if we may be permitted to employ this phraseology; one of these, the higher, far transcends the other, or lower, personality: in its seeming inaccessibility, it belongs to the future, and it is not represented or set forth in the realities of our *present* thoughts, volitions, and actions. This disagreement necessarily acquired unusual prominence in those who lived under the old covenant, to whom God revealed himself in that impressive declaration: "Ye shall be holy for I am holy," (Lev. 11: 45), and to whom he gave the command: "Thou *shalt love* the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." (Deut. 6: 5). In an age as early as that of the Patriarchs, this consciousness of the diversity existing between two persons in one individual is made apparent by the prophetic Spirit who hovers over the historic narrative. *That Abraham*, in whom all the families of the earth shall be blessed, (Gen. 12: 3) is not the same man who declares that his wife is his sister, (Gen. 12: 19. 20: 2) in order to avert danger from himself at the court of Pharaoh or Abimelech. This two-fold personality, nay, this sundering of the same individual, is still more distinctly exhibited in the *name* (to which reference has already been made in this periodical, Stud. u. Krit. 1848. H. 1), of that ancestor who gave to his descendants their most prominent appellation: *Israel* is distinguished from *Jacob* with great precision; it is only at a future day that the *true* Israel shall appear, namely, as

Jehovah's "servant," of whom a description is given in the concluding chapters of Isaiah, ch. XL—LXVI. The same difference between two persons in one individual cannot fail to be recognized in *Moses* also. He who gave the command: "Thou shalt not kill," (Exod. 20: 13) is not the same man who slew the Egyptian in his anger, (Exod. 1: 12). If even an author posterior to him really wrote the words which he represents Moses as using: "The Lord thy God will raise up a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken," (Deut. 18: 15)—they still exhibit, in their spirit, both the advancing culture of the mind and character of Moses, and the progress which he made in employing means for educating his people.

The most striking and important example, however, of this difference between two personalities in the same individual, occurs in the case of King David, who gave distinctness and strength to the Messianic hope of the ancient Jew. Precisely as in the historic narrative, on the one hand, his higher and his lower *man* (Mensch) are repeatedly disunited, so that they even assume a hostile attitude towards each other in the instances of his adultery with Bathsheba, and of the terrible letter which he "sent by the hand of Uriah," (2 Sam. 11: 14) even so, on the other hand, in that image of his higher life, we mean his sacred poetry, which seems to encircle his head like an imperishable crown, we see most plainly his own consciousness of this two-fold character of his being. This consciousness he derived from his own deep knowledge and convictions of sin, and from his fervent piety. Indeed, the fifty-first Psalm is like a mirror which reflects all the peculiar features of his being. Even after the critic has, on other grounds,[1] stated all his objections against the Davidic genuineness of this Psalm, he will still be compelled to concede to

[1] [The language of the last two verses, Ps. 51: 18, 19, "build thou the walls of Jerusalem," &c., deprives the inscription: "a Psalm of David," &c. of all historic value, in the eyes of H. E. G. Paulus, De Wette, and others, as it seems to them to imply that the city and temple lay in ruins, and to contain a prayer for their restoration; hence they infer that the psalm must have been composed during the Captivity, by a poet whose name is lost. But the terms are susceptible of an interpretation in strict accordance both with the profound sorrow which David experienced for the crime committed by him, and with his natural fears that, by having forfeited his claims to the fulfilment of the Divine promises, the walls of Jerusalem would not be built, that is, that the structures which he contemplated or had commenced, would not be completed, and that the strength and stability of the city would not be maintained. Rosenmüller, *ad. loc.* quotes an opinion to which Aben-Ezra assigns great weight, the substance of which is, that a pious and well-meaning captive in Babylon, may have added the two suspected verses, for the purpose of adapting the whole psalm to the situation of his afflicted peo-

the advocate of its Davidic origin, that, if the sentiments which it expresses are recognized as a criterion, no other name could have been more appropriately prefixed to the poem, than that name which is actually given. The Davidic origin of the thirty-second psalm may, possibly, be acknowledged with even less hesitation than that of the fifty-first, to which it bears a strong affinity. But, whatever views may be held on this subject, it cannot be denied, that the plain and simple result of even the most superficial interpretation of the Davidic poems will coincide with the proposition which we have just advanced, and the recognition of the truth of which only is important at present, namely, David's own consciousness of the distinction between a lower and a more elevated personality in himself.

While, then, David unhesitatingly and firmly believes in the stability and perpetual duration of the throne which he received from God through Samuel the prophet, still, guided by his unaffected humility, and his consciousness of his legal and moral defects, he very distinctly perceives that he himself does not constitute the *Ideal* of the *Lord's Anointed.* He is as fully convinced that the divinely established kingdom, which was founded on earth, will also attain to a historical consummation on earth, nay, even in Jerusalem where it originated, as he is convinced that the decree according to which God will, through Israel, redeem all nations from the bondage of falsehood and sin, forms one complete whole, and will be executed. In consequence of such expectations, on the one hand, and of a deep sense of his own inferiority, on the other, a firm persuasion that, at a certain future day, the *true* David, the perfect Messiah, will occupy his throne, becomes necessary to his faith and mode of thought. It is here unnecessary to decide the subordinate question whether David, further, supposed that this distant descendant would be an earthly king like himself, since it does not involve the main fact, that David certainly regarded himself, in his own person, as a type of the Messiah. Unless we admit this last point, many of his psalms, like the twenty-second, to which so much importance is attached, become unintelligible. Indeed, this typical system of David influenced other sacred poets,

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ple. This view Venema is inclined to adopt, and Rosenmüller himself arrives at the same conclusion. It is scarcely necessary to add, that this procedure, which would render any difficult passage liable to the charge of being an interpolation, is sustained by no higher authority than the conjectures of critics, and is not, we believe, prompted by any suspicious features in the existing manuscripts or ancient versions.—TR.]

one of whom affords an illustration in the seventy-second psalm, in which the future Solomon is glorified in the person of the reigning king. The "last words of David," 2 Sam. 23: 2 sqq. are very remarkable. In these, the king disjoins his personality as a type of the Messiah, if we may use the language, from his personality as a human being placed in certain relations of life, and assigns to the former an external position, so that, sustaining now the character of a prophet alone, he pronounces a direct prophecy respecting the *just ruler* who will appear among men at a future day.

The views which we have here developed, enable us to find in David himself, especially, and in the Psalms generally, a historical guide to the interpretation of the Messianic predictions of the prophets, when we design to give them an appropriate historico–theocratic explanation. As the prophets, in the more restricted sense of the appellation, originated in regal, sacerdotal and popular relations and circumstances that did not correspond to an absolute theocratic Idealism, and as they were not kings themselves, it follows, that in their Messianic predictions, the typical character of the king receded from their view, and, sometimes, entirely disappeared. In the first place, they regarded the Messiah as a strictly defined and purely objective personality, distinct from them and their peculiar station. For, while we admit that, at times, a prophet may have adopted a reigning king as a typical substratum of his predictions, as in the case of the prophet Isaiah and king Hezekiah, still, in the largest portion of their Messianic predictions, they certainly omit all imagery borrowed from the reigning king, and, in a direct manner, describe the son of David. In the next place, the prophet, adopting a course analagous to that of king David, regards *himself* as a type, in his capacity of a prophet. He is, to be sure, guided to this course by that moral elevation above the people, the king and the priest, to which his office as a prophet of the truth has raised him, but, at the same time, he recognizes his own vast inferiority to the Ideal of *him* who is perfectly righteous. He is, in this manner, taught to discover the real and true prophet only in one who is yet to come, and whose personality, blended with that of the king as well as of the high-priest, appears, at length, before him, in one distinct image. In reference to the high-priest, it may be added, that, while he is a symbolical reflection of the holy people in his representative character, still, the difference between himself as an individual and the full realization of purity, is sufficiently indicated by the obligation which was imposed upon him to

bring a sin-offering for himself and for his house, on the great day of atonement, (Lev. 16: 6).

The three highest official personages known in Jewish history, the king, the high-priest, and the prophet, furnish, then, a compound image of a Mediator who governs the people, and guides them to the highest blessedness: but, above this image hovers the spiritually glorified form of a moral and religious Redeemer, who delivers all nations from sin and death, and who, "beginning at Jerusalem," (Luke 24: 47) establishes on earth a universal kingdom of truth, righteousness and love, which perpetually enlarges itself and shall endure forever. Let us now take the New Testament as our place of observation or stand-point, and thus survey the coming of the Messiah, who appears in colors of light as he emerges from the restrictions which the influence of local and popular usages had thrown around him; then, in the face of this Χριστὸς (Christ) we cannot fail to recognize the pure and perfect features of the Ἰησοῦς (Jesus). We need not tarry to discuss the question, whether, in the case of one or more of the prophets, a fainter or a deeper popular and Israelite shade may not dim this spotless theanthropic image; we may even concede that while individual Seers are delineating this exalted and magnificent image, the lights and shades occasionally struggle for the mastery, of which their descriptions of the Messianic kingdom may, possibly, afford the best illustrations. For even when the prophets discharge their highest duties, they retain the peculiar and essential features of the human character; they are called forth, animated, and enlightened by the Spirit of God, whose communications are truly and really imparted, in a peculiar manner indeed, but still in harmony with the natural operations of the human mind. We cannot, therefore, give too much prominence to the observation, that our views should be directed exclusively to *that* image, the lineaments of which are derived from the spirit of the Messianic prophecies, in a region above which we see it soaring, and it is this image which, in the most decisive manner, we term the *Christian* Messiah.

Let us, first of all, recollect, that the promised *Lord's anointed*, is not only a king belonging to the family of David, but also a priest and a prophet. When we examine the image of the Messiah, primarily, as a king, it exhibits no features characteristic of a military hero, or of a political ruler, and it is worthy of observation that, when the prophets announce a deliverance of the people from the power of another nation, they never distinctly assign this work to the Messiah, but to

God himself. We find the most striking illustration in Isaiah, ch. 40—ch. 66; here, Cyrus, a stranger, is called the Messiah[1] of God, (ch. 45: 1) by whom Israel shall be delivered from Chaldæan bondage, while it is the "servant" of God to whom the people are to be indebted for moral and spiritual liberty. Indeed, the two celebrated predictions of Isaiah in the ninth and eleventh chapters are sufficient to demonstrate, that in the prophetic delineation of the Messianic image, the political and military features of a hero are by no means visible, but, on the contrary, the moral and religious character of the king predominates, or rather exclusively appears. The promised child, (Isaiah 9: 6) upon whose shoulder the government shall be, is furnished with names, which, as special predicates of his being, express his theanthropic nature; he is prëeminently styled the *Prince of Peace*, who establishes and extends his kingdom forever, not with weapons of war, but with judgment and with justice, as an everlasting Father of love. While the Spirit of God rests upon him, (ch. 11: 2) that is, takes perpetual and uncontrolled possession of him, and exalts to the highest degree the several scriptural gifts of wisdom and understanding, of counsel and might, of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord, he becomes, when thus endowed, a judge who searches the heart, and examines its most hidden recesses with an eye and an ear that cannot be deceived, always scrutinizing and discovering the religious source of every sentiment and act. Further, he protects the poor and suffering, and, clothed with the girdle of truth and righteousness, but not with the sword, he punishes the wicked, smiting them with the rod of his mouth, and slaying them with the breath of his lips; verse 4. In answer to the objection against this representation of a spiritual king of truth, righteousness and love, that, in the mind of Isaiah, the promised Messiah is, literally, a king, since it is said of the latter that he sits upon the throne of David, (verse 7), we claim that it is by no means certain that this expression is not to be figuratively understood, precisely as Christ spoke of himself as a king; indeed, we may derive an additional reason for adopting the opinion that the word is used figuratively, from the fact that we are not able to form the least conception of a literal ruler, who can be called the "everlasting Father," and who establishes a perpetual and ever extending kingdom—we are, naturally, led then to ask: who shall govern it when the Messiah

[1] For some additional remarks upon the scriptural use of the term "Messiah," see note by the Translator at the end of this article.—Ed.

dies? Nevertheless, these difficulties cannot embarrass us, provided that we maintain the christological position which we have already defined, and we might even admit, although we do not desire to be understood as making the concession, that Isaiah, in his Messianic predictions, was not altogether disembarrassed from the idea of a literal king.

We prefer, however, to refute the objection to which we have alluded, by a reference to the view which has already been advanced and established, namely, that the destruction of the temple of Solomon, and the fall of the old Davidic kingdom, when the Captivity commenced, constituted an epoch in the history of the Theocracy, from which we are to date an entire change of the *idea* of the Messiah which had previously existed. It is precisely in this respect, that the free and energetic Jeremiah who is the first with whom we meet in this new period, and who foretells the future amid the ruins of Jerusalem, is not fully appreciated. How significant is the declaration, (Jerem. 3: 16) that the days shall come in which the ark of the covenant shall not come to mind, neither be remembered, and in which no other one will be made, seeing that there will be a new world of the new covenant, such as had not been made with the fathers! The new ark of the covenant is the human breast, and the table is the heart, in which the law shall be written by the finger of God; then shall the outward religion of the law become an inward religion of faith. The fundamental doctrine of the new covenant is the doctrine of God's forgiveness of sin, and the new congregation shall not be divided into the two classes of priests and laymen, but all shall be equal in their knowledge of God, from the least unto the greatest. (Jere. 31: 31–34). The Mediator of this new covenant, a branch of David, bears the expressive name: "The Lord our Righteousness;" (Jerem. 23: 5, 6), he is that most noble one, (נָגִיד) proceeding, as a governor from the midst of the people,—consequently, not the immediate successor of the king—whom God will cause to draw near, that he may approach unto him; "for who is this that engaged his heart to approach unto me?" (Jerem. 30: 21). Does not the king here become a high-priest of purity, who, interceding and purifying, alone has access to the Holy One, because there is no one among men like unto him, that would thus appear before God in truth, not in an external and symbolical manner, but inwardly, with an entire surrender of the heart? And thus, without having instituted an inquiry, we have really found the true Melchizedek of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the type of whom is

found in Psalm 110: 4,—the messenger of the covenant, whom the people sought, after the rebuilding of the temple in the time of Zerubbabel—the Lord, who shall suddenly come to his temple—the Judge, before whom, when he appeareth, none shall stand. (Malachi 3: 1–3). He is the Branch, "from under whom it shall branch up" (Zech. 6: 12, 13 [English marginal version]), who shall build the true temple of the Lord, adorned with the double crown of the royal and sacerdotal office, and terminating the protracted contest between the church and state.

Before, however, we advert to this spiritual and glorified image of the Messiah in the writings of the later prophets, after the laborious restoration of the state under Zerubbabel and Joshua, (Ez. 3: 2, Haggai 1: 1, 12, 14) let us retrace our steps, till we regain the period of the Captivity; and let us address our inquiries respecting the Messiah to Ezekiel, that wonderful prophet, who, in the spirit, builds on the banks of the river of Chebar only an ideal and symbolic temple, from the midst of which flow the holy waters of the word of God, cleansing and vivifying the dead sea of the sin of his people, and penetrating even the ocean of heathenism, (ch. 47: 1–12). Ezekiel describes the Messiah as the shepherd who brings again that which was lost, who, like a new David, a servant of God, is the mediator of a new covenant, in which God will give to his people a new heart and a new spirit, and take away the stony heart out of their flesh, and give them an heart of flesh. (Ezek. 11: 19). The prominence which is given to these two names of "shepherd" and "servant of God," (ch. 34: 23, &c.) in their application to the Messiah, leads us to a more particular consideration of his third, that is, his prophetic office. The prophets are, indeed, termed shepherds by Ezekiel, and, in the concluding chapters of Isaiah, (ch. 40—ch. 66) the prophet is styled, by way of eminence, the guide and teacher of the people; and the servant of God. In this remarkable division of the writings of Isaiah, which is the clearest and most decidedly Christian portion of the Old Testament, it is true that the prophet, while speaking of himself and announcing new heavens and a new earth, does represent himself and his associate, the servant of God, as the mediator of this new covenant of the future, and as the light of the new law for the appearance of which the most remote nations of the earth are waiting; nevertheless, in the delineation of the future Redeemer, he so completely passes beyond his own narrow sphere, that the image which he, at last, presents, becomes identical with that of the Messiah, with this modification,

that, by exalting this conception to the highest spiritual perfection, the Χριστὸς, (Christ) according to him, becomes really and perfectly the Ἰησοῦς (Jesus) of the New Testament. He is well aware, it is true, that the name of *David* is appropriated to the Messiah, and terms him, in this relation, a leader and commander, and, prëeminently, a witness to the people, (Isaiah 55: 3–5); still, he merges the name of "king" in that of "servant of God," precisely as in Ezek. 34: 23, 24, the latter name is applied both to the former historic David, and to the future Messianic David. This is the appropriate and significant name of him whose self-sacrificing and overflowing love, while fulfilling the will of the true God of grace, executed the decree of redemption which, in and through Israel, should bring salvation to all nations; and it is the name by which, in the widest sense, the prophet comprehends the whole body of Jews who had remained pure and faithful, in Chaldæa, the land of idolatry, but by which, in a more restricted sense, he designates those prophets who had been public and fearless witnesses of the truth, who, in the service of the divine word, had innocently suffered in the presence of the world and through the world, yea, who had died in place of the guilty, and precisely on that account had been glorified by God.

But these prophets, even in their highest future glorification through their doctrines, their sufferings and their vicarious death, are nevertheless, in the view of Isaiah, merely a type of the promised Messiah, the true servant of God. He it is, who does not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax, but raises up the bowed down sinner with the promise of the pardoning love of God, who, being a light of the Gentiles as well of the Jews, opens the blind eyes and brings out the prisoners from the prison, (Isaiah 42: 7), and who, as the physician of the sick, invites the poor and heavy-laden, and gives them rest; it is he who, though he had done no violence, (53: 9) and though there was no deceit in his mouth, was yet despised and rejected, but who also, as one that suffered innocently, took on himself the sin and punishment of the guilty, meekly and patiently, not opening his mouth to complain; it is he who, making intercession for the transgressors, poured out his own soul unto death, in order that he, the righteous servant, might justify and reconcile many; and it is he who, on account of the humiliation to which he voluntarily yielded, shall be raised unto splendor and glory, and, having victoriously finished his work, shall divide the spoil with the strong. Thus, in this servant of God, the Messiah

of the old covenant is revealed in his glory as a king, a high-priest and a prophet, while the different characters, blended into one harmonious spiritual whole, appear in a real and historical personality, in Jesus Christ of Nazareth. The servant of God, through obedience, acquires authority to rule; the high-priest terminates the Mosaic sacrifices of animals, and offers himself as a pure and spotless victim; the prophet speaks, suffers and dies.

No hesitation ought, accordingly, to be longer felt by any, to acknowledge that a *suffering* as well as a victorious Messiah is described in the Old Testament.[1] We are, ourselves, fully convinced that Isaiah saw his hope of a Messiah which had undoubtedly been handed down to him, realized in that future servant of God as an individual personality, insomuch that even the earlier and the existing prophetic ideals served merely as faint copies for his own highest and most perfect ideal; and even the biblical critics who cannot share in this conviction are still bound, as christians, to admit that, to the eye of their Redeemer their so-called *collective* servant of God[2] appeared as only one person, which he, as one person himself, regarded it to be his vocation to realize. Nothwithstanding all the arguments which may have been adduced by any writers, we cannot reconcile ourselves to the view that Isaiah, who, more than any other prophet, is absorbed in contemplations of the

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[1] [On this question, and on various interesting historical points connected with the ancient Jewish conceptions of the promised Messiah, see, among other authorities, Ebrard, Wissenschaftl. Krit. d. ev. Gesch. §§ 121—125; the insertion of his facts and arguments, many of which are illustrative of the positions assumed by Umbreit above, but which do not admit of compression, would extend this note beyond its legitimate limits.—Tr.]

[2] [The allusion is to one division of certain critics who will not recognize an *individual* in the "servant of God" so frequently mentioned in the last chapters of Isaiah. According to their view, the appellation of "servant" is used as a *collective* noun, and stands for a *moral person*, as they term it, that is, it denotes an aggregate of persons of the same class or condition, represented under the image of one individual. The "servant" in Isaiah 52: 13—53: 12, is, therefore, the representative of the prophets as a body, or of the whole Jewish people, or of only the virtuous part of the people as a separate class, &c. &c. Those who constitute another division of these critics, and who admit that by this "servant" a certain *individual* is designated, have proposed Isaiah himself as the person, or Jeremiah, or Hezekiah, &c. &c.

The struggle is very visible in all these ill-sustained hypotheses, to evade the force of entire portions like Isaiah 53, Psalm 22, &c., and it is deliberately asserted by these "Christians," as Umbreit here terms them, in contradistinction from the Jewish commentators who accord with them, that not a trace can be found in the Old Testament of the existence of the belief among the ancient Jews, that the Messiah, whose kingdom is described in the most gorgeous terms, as that of a splendid and victorious hero-king, should also *suffer* and die. We do not deny that the idea of a *suffering* Messiah had become faint or even extinct in the days of Christ, and, indeed, we expect to

establishment of the new covenant, and who has portrayed its nature in colors so vivid, that he has been called the Evangelist of the Old Testament, should, nevertheless, have so widely differed from all the prophets who preceded and followed him, as to expect an *everlasting* covenant, independently of a Mediator by whom it should be established; we cannot believe that this book should contain the strange prediction of numerous Messiahs, and of a theocratic–messianic republic,—a theory diametrically opposed to a strict Monarchism, and to the ultimate perfection of the kingdom, as realized in the undivided dominion of the Lord.

When we advance further in this investigation, and inquire into the form which the Messianic hope assumed after the restoration of the Jewish state, under Zerubbabel and Joshua, we obtain the decisive testimony of the prophet Zechariah, that our convictions respecting the existence of a suffering Redeemer in the Old Testament prophecies, are well-founded and true. For this prophet, whose important predictions respecting the kingdom of God and its Mediator, are characterized by great depth of wisdom, not only represents the just and divinely protected King of Righteousness, as riding upon an ass, in a poor (עָנִי) and humble state, into the rejoicing city, (Zech. 9: 9), but also foresees the unspeakable sufferings of the Messiah, "pierced" by his own people, but, subsequently, mourned for in bitterness, when the season of grace and of supplication for grace has arrived, (ch. 12: 10 sqq.). This passage, besides, states a fact of the highest importance: when God says—"they shall look upon me whom they have pierced,"—he, evidently, identifies himself with the Messiah, so that, in completing our conception of the latter, we have obtained in the Old Testament a genuine *Johanneic* element, on which we are particularly anxious to lay an emphasis, because, in this respect, the Old Testament is usually regarded as being defective.

Finally, if, after having found the Messiah of the Old Testament to be in full harmony with the Messiah of the New Testament, we cast a glance at the doctrine which constitutes

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find very little sound theology among the corrupt men of that period. But the consequences of believing that the inspired prophets themselves had not *taught* this doctrine, would be disastrous. In that case, Christ, in his actual history, as suffering and dying, does not really correspond to the predictions respecting the Messiah, in a point of the utmost importance, and the full harmony which really exists between the predictions and the events with which Christ is connected, is converted into a discord that must eventually divest the entire Scriptures of their divine character, and destroy alike our Christian faith and our Christian hopes.—TR.]

the basis of the covenant and of the kingdom of the promised Redeemer, we find the same harmony, according to the evidence of all the prophets: the law is converted unto the Gospel. The leading features of this prophetic Gospel, have already been sketched above, when we necessarily, connected the person of the Messiah with the operations which were to be produced by him; we shall, therefore, merely add those features which are essential to the completion of the image; and, for the sake of brevity, shall again confine ourselves to that book of the prophet, which has, by way of eminence, been called the Gospel of the New Testament. The תּוֹרָה, or law, for which the isles afar off shall wait, and by which judgment shall be set in the earth, (Isaiah 42: 4) is, prëeminently and in truth, the εὐαγγέλιον, or Gospel, of the servant of God; for it is the *joyful message* directed not only to Israel, but also to the Gentiles, that when they shall have turned unto the living and holy God, the time and the kingdom of divine grace and reconciliation will have arrived. The covenant introduced with such revelations, is a new covenant, not like that which God made with the fathers, and which shall no longer be remembered. The kingdom of truth and love, founded by the Messiah, does not, after a Mosaic exemplar, effect a separation between Israel and other nations: the Gentiles also are brethren. The congregation is a communion of saints, guided by the Holy Spirit, (ch. 63: 11). The worship of God originates in the spirit and in the truth; God dwells not in temples made with hands, but in the contrite heart of the humble, penitent sinner; fasting and the mortification of the body do not afford him honor, but he takes pleasure in them that deal their bread to the hungry, and cover them that are naked, (ch. 58: 7); sacrifices are abolished, and the voice of praise, proceeding from pure lips, takes their place; the temple becomes a house of prayer for all the people. The Gospel is preached to the poor, and chosen apostles go forth and proclaim it to all the world.

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## *Remarks on the term Messiah.* *

[In the English Bible we read: "Thus saith the Lord to his *anointed*, to Cyrus," &c. Many passages which seem to

* These remarks, given by the Translator as a Note to p. 45, being too extended for the ordinary form of a Note, will, we think, form no unwelcome appendix to the article out of which they have grown.—Ed.

be partially involved in obscurity, like Matth. 26: 63, Luke 9: 20, &c., become perfectly clear, as soon as we reflect that "Messiah," "Christ," and "Anointed," are equivalent terms, agreeably to John 1: 41. The first, derived from the root מָשַׁח, *to anoint, &c.* is verbally rendered by the second, derived from χρίω *to anoint, &c.*; on the use of the latter word, consult Kuinœl on Acts 10: 38. The words in Psalm 2: 2, "against his anointed" are quoted in Acts 4: 26, "against his Christ" in strict conformity to the original. "The expression Ἰησοῦς in its immediate application designates merely the human individuality, the historic personality of the Redeemer; Χριστὸς, on the contrary, is the sacred official name of the expected deliverer of Israel." Olshausen, Com. on Matth. 1: 1. "It is an error to suppose that the name *Christ* designates an attribute of the Son of God—it always refers to the union of the divine and the human, in such a sense that the divine principle is represented as sanctifying and anointing his humanity." Ibid. on John 1: 14.

The current statement of the subject, namely, that prophets, priests and kings, were usually anointed, should be received, as it appears to us, with some important qualifications. The anointing of *prophets*, by no means, seems to have been generally practiced. With the exception of the command given to Elijah to "anoint" Elisha, (1 Kings 19: 16), we have no other distinct reference to the anointing of a prophet. Even this case is doubtful. When David, in Psalm 105: 15 (and 1 Chron. 16: 22) in poetic language, represents God as saying, in reference to the patriarchs: "Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm," he cannot be charged with an anachronism, in transferring a Mosaic usage to an era when it was not known, but clearly means by "anointed" to designate the sacred character, or eminent rank of the patriarchs, and, specially, their peculiar duty of serving as depositaries of revealed truth. It may be surmised that the word occurs in the same figurative sense when applied to Elisha, for the plain historic narrative (1 Kings 19: 19) omits the literal unction altogether; and we find an analogous case of this figurative use of the word, where the literal meaning is, by the nature of the case, excluded, in Judges 9: 8, which corroborates our opinion. The anointing of *kings* is also to be understood with some important restrictions. In place of being an ordinary ceremony in the consecration of every Jewish king, it derives new significancy from the very fact, that it seems to have been performed *only in extraordinary cases*, and when Cyrus is called the Lord's "anointed," the idea intended to

be conveyed is, perhaps, not that Cyrus is a *king*, but that he is an agent set apart specially for the performance of a particular service connected with religion; in this sense he is called a "Messiah." We gather from the sacred records that the unction was applied only after a complete change of government had occurred; e. g. Saul, with whom royalty originated, 1 Sam. 10: 1; or when the dynasty was changed, e. g. David, 1 Sam. 16: 13; or when the succession was disputed, e. g. Solomon, 1 Kings 1: 34, 39, when Adonijah had attempted to seize the paternal throne; Joash, 2 Kings 11: 2, after the dethronement of Athaliah; Jehoaz, 2 Kings 23: 30, who succeeded to the throne by a popular movement. (See Robinson's Calmet, *Art.* "Anointing," and Winer's Bibl. Realw. *Art.* "König.") The anointing of Absalom, 2 Sam. 19: 10, was, obviously, an irregular and profane act, and is here of no further importance, unless to serve, collaterally, as an illustration of the principle that the royal unction was administered only when the usual course of affairs had been interrupted. Two other kings, Hazael of Syria, and Jehu of Israel, 1 Kings 19: 15, 16, neither of whom belonged to the respective royal families, regarded their anointing as a special call to assume an office which invested the incumbent with peculiar powers, and imposed special duties. When David, during the reign of Saul, shows such reverence towards the king's person, 1 Sam. 24: 6. 26: 9. 2 Sam. 1: 14, he seems to have regarded the unction of Saul as something entirely distinct from his mere royalty; it is not so much Saul, the king, as Saul, the *Lord's Anointed* whose person is sacred in his eyes. The remark of Umbreit, in a preceding passage of this essay, which implies that the idea of a *king* does not essentially belong to the image of the Messiah as it existed in the mind of a prophet, may, *mutatis mutandis*, be applied to David himself, when he uses the term, "the Lord's anointed,"—it is not a mere king whom he describes by the words, and whose attribute of royalty fades before the more splendid character which the unction throws around him, but an individual specially appointed by the Lord for a certain work, by a peculiar ceremony. Now it was the *high-priest* who alone was invariably anointed on assuming the office, and this ceremony was an important feature of his consecration. See Exod. 28: 41. 29: 7. 30: 30. Hence he is called, by way of eminence, "the priest that is anointed," Lev. 4: 3. 16: 32. 21: 10, while there is no evidence that the ordinary priests were anointed. The high-priest's office was the most exalted known in the Mosaic religion, and the religious character of the unction which, in Saul's case, ren-

dered his person sacred, was established by its connection with the high-priest. If "Messiah" is, therefore, in a secondary sense, equivalent to "king" it involves, *à fortiori*, the idea of the high-priest, whom it also designates, Exod. 29: 20. Lev. 16: 32. 21; 10. Numb. 35: 25. When Samuel, before the anointing took place, supposed that an older brother of David was the individual designated, 1 Sam. 16: 6, he calls him, by anticipation, the Lord's anointed. In all these cases, we infer that the unction constituted a special commission from God to the recipient under the old covenant. When the Savior, who was never literally anointed with oil, is, therefore, styled "the Lord's anointed," the appellation represents him as one who assumed the highest offices by a peculiar divine appointment. *His* anointing, which placed him at the summit of power and honor, is described in Isaiah 61: 1, 2, compared with Luke 4: 17–21; the name, "the Lord's anointed" alludes to the *sacerdotal office* of Christ, implies that his *royalty* is of an extraordinary character, and teaches that all previously existing authority is superseded by his own.

As we have already transgressed the limits of a note, we will, in addition to the remark already made, viz. that the anointing of the high-priest was performed in *every* case of consecration, as the rule, while the same ceremony was an *unusual* feature of a coronation, refer only to the fact, that in the profound dissertation on the Messiah, which is contained in the epistle to the Hebrews, while the "throne" is mentioned, e. g. Heb. 8: 1, still the predominant view of Christ there given, is that of a high-priest. Does not then "Messiah" rather imply *pontifex maximus* (chief priest) than *rex* (king)? The entire typical character of the high-priest does not seem to us to have been always made sufficiently prominent; the whole subject, when fully developed, throws additional light on the doctrine of the Atonement.]

## ARTICLE IV.

### STIER'S DISCOURSES OF THE LORD JESUS.

*Die Reden des Herrn Jesu.—Andeutungen für gläubiges Verständniss derselben, von Rudolph Stier, S. T. D. Pfarrer zu Wichlinghausen in Barmen.* 6 *Bände :* Barmen, 1843, sqq. bei W. Langewiesche. [*The Discourses of the Lord Jesus.—Suggestions for the believing apprehension of the same, by Rudolph Stier, S. T. D., Pastor at Wichlinghausen in Barmen.* 6 *vols.*]

By Rev. H. I. Schmidt, A. M., Prof. of German Lan. and Lit. in Columbia College, N. Y.

"Of the making of many books there is no end," says the wise man, and his words seem to be prëeminently true of Commentaries on the Bible, especially the New Testament. In Germany, particularly, one commentary has, for many years past, been following close upon the other, a great number on the entire New Testament, many on detached portions of it, a few on the whole Bible. Many distinct phases of modern theology, "Richtungen" the Germans call them (the word "schools" would be applicable in but very few instances), have their representatives among this immense mass of literature, and, doubtless, there is a very great quantity of it, for the writing of which the world will never be any the better.

It is often said, that we have quite enough commentaries on the Sacred Word; that there are no new discoveries to be made with respect to its truths; that later commentators only repeat what their predecessors have long since expressed, and that it is time there were an end of this writing of learned expositions of the Scriptures. But it is, in various respects, a great mistake thus to think or speak, and all who are acquainted with the more recent theological literature of Germany will think and speak otherwise.

In different minds the same truths are mirrored under very different aspects, and it is not only interesting, but important, because instructive and practically profitable, that phases of truth which do not present themselves to *our* minds, should be reflected into them from the image which they produce in *other* minds. That wisdom which is infinite was pleased to ordain, that the Savior's life and discourses should be recorded by four different Evangelists, whilst one might have sufficed to give us a full length portrait, and even more numer-

ous discourses than we now have from all the four. But this seems not to have accorded with the design of Providence, in whose all-wise counsels it was deemed better that we should see the Savior's character imaged forth by four very differently constituted minds, and receive his teachings, not, of course, in so many essentially different revelations, which would be absurd, but as they presented themselves to four distinct idiosyncrasies. And every attentive reader of the gospels discovers, the more he studies them, with increasing clearness and delight, how they severally exhibit different aspects, various, but all converging, lines of that glorious manifestation of God in the flesh: how they severally set forth truths, or aspects, and relations of truth, which did not equally impress the mental constitution of the others; and how they thus complete each other's work, each furnishing peculiar, important features, which, by their combined effect, set before us a finished, speaking picture, nay, a living, teaching, acting, suffering personage. — It is, moreover, to be considered, that the sacred word is a mine of truth, which can never be exhausted. There is no reason, whatever, why we should be advancing in all other sciences, and stand still, for ever, in the sacred science; why the progress of men toward a clearer, fuller, more profound understanding of scripture-truth, and religious duty, should ever cease. We doubt, whether the Church has yet attained to the stature of perfect manhood in Christ, either as regards intelligence or practice. The time will not come, when highly gifted and cultivated minds, guided by the Spirit of truth, shall cease to throw light on the sacred page, and to be employed, as God's instruments, more fully to open our eyes, that we may behold more and more wondrous things out of his law. However much has been done in the department of critical philology, no one but a tyro would affirm, that philological criticism has reached perfection, and has nothing more to accomplish. The researches of antiquaries, the discoveries of science, sometimes send an unexpected ray upon some passage of holy writ. Mental science is perhaps little better than in its infancy. How much is there yet to explore in the inward world of the human soul—how much to define and classify—to explain and reconcile! The progress of psychology, and of true philosophy, is yet, perhaps, to illustrate many a point of doctrine, to make plainer many a matter of duty. The attacks of enemies of the gospel sometimes render new investigations necessary, so that the obscure may become clearer, and that which is undecided, fixed. But let us not multiply illustrations.

We have been told, that to Fritzsche belongs the honor of being the first theologian who has written a Commentary, philologically of profound and decided critical accuracy; and his work is quite recent. But he is an ultra-rationalist, and we do not care to waste time on the study of his unbiblical commentary, in order to convince ourselves of his critical philological depth and accuracy. Not to mention many other estimable, and truly evangelical commentaries, the importance and value of Tholuck's on the Gospel of St. John, and on the Epistle to the Romans, notwithstanding the great number of those which had preceded them, must be obvious to every one who knows them. But Tholuck is often hasty in his conclusions, superficial and inaccurate, and he has left a great deal to be yet desired. After him came the lamented Olshausen, and, certainly, as a biblical critic and commentator he is far in advance of his friend. Endowed with eminent talents, possessed of great learning, an acute and sagacious inquirer, he was a faithful, profound, and truly devout student of the divine word, and his commentary is deservedly held in high estimation. It is peculiarly valuable for the clear-sightedness, the minuteness and yet comprehensiveness of view, with which he traces, and the distinctness with which he exhibits, the often very recondite connexions between different portions of the gospels, or of the epistles, the order of events, the time, place, and succession of the Savior's discourses, the relations of the several gospels to each other, in short, for the wide sweep, and the profoundly piercing acuteness of his critical eye. Yet Olshausen is sometimes very loose and unsatisfactory in his discussion of obscure or difficult passages, at other times too arbitrary and imaginative in his expositions, inclining, on some points, to rationalistic subtilties; his notion respecting the accumulations, or collected series of discourses of the Savior, in Matthew's gospel, is, to a great degree, purely fanciful; and the tendency of his mind to ultra-spiritualism makes it necessary to be often extremely cautious, ere we adopt his views. His leaning to Final Restorationism is well known to the readers of his commentary; yet his great candor and fairness in commenting on those passages of Holy Writ, which have a bearing on this point, are worthy of all praise.

The most recent [whether Rudelbach's commentary has been completed, we know not] decidedly evangelical commentator on the New Testament, is named, together with the title of his work, at the head of this article: and, certainly, he is a most note-worthy man, and his work is one, which, if we are not widely wrong in our estimate of its merits, is des-

tined to maintain a very high rank in this department of theological literature. To us it has been truly refreshing; we prize it beyond expression; and it is our present business to make our readers somewhat acquainted with Rudolph Stier, and his delightful commentary on "The Discourses of the Lord Jesus." Of Stier's personal history we regret to say that we know nothing. He has long been the pastor, and evidently, the faithful and laborious pastor of a congregation in the beautiful valley of Barmen. As an author he has been repeatedly before the public, and all his works are in the highest degree creditable to his head and heart. We exceedingly regret, that we have not been able to obtain the critique on his commentary upon the Savior's discourses, which appeared in the third number of Rudelbach and Guerike's Zeitschrift für Lutherische Theologie und Kirche, for the year 1844. We are able to give only the following sentence, which the publisher of the commentary has prefixed, in the second volume, to a list of his publications. "No man understands better than Stier truly and correctly to expound the divine word: and for this work the church should give thanks to God; it will give the modern insane criticism of the gospels (der toll-gewordenen neuen Evangelien–Kritik) its deathblow."

Besides the work named at the head of this article, his most important performances are, a Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews; an Exposition, in thirty-two homiletical discourses, of the Epistle of St. James, and a volume of sacred poetry. In Reuter's Repertorium, 1847, No. 6., there is a highly laudatory notice of these thirty-two discourses, from which we translate only the following sentence: "In a homiletical point of view we unhesitatingly reckon these reflections of Stier among the most distinguished works that modern times have produced." Of these poems, published under the title: "Gedichte, christliche und biblische," a very favorable critique will be found in the second N$^{o}$ of "Rudelbach und Guerike's Zeitschrift" for 1847. Even a decidedly rationalistic critic, who writes in "Nro. 363 der Brockhaus'schen Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung, 1845," finds himself obliged, apparently with no little party-reluctance, to ascribe to these poems the highest poetic merit, whilst, of course, their truly evangelical spirit, their strictly christian and biblical character, are distasteful to him.

In the work now more immediately under consideration, his design is to furnish a very full exposition of our Savior's own discourses. Of intervening events, of time when and

place where, of what others said and did, he says no more than the context requires,—no more than is necessary to a complete explanation and elucidation of our Lord's own words, of their meaning, pertinence, scope, and effect. The work consists of six 12 mo. volumes of unequal thickness: but we trust no one will suffer its dimensions to prevent him from studying it, as soon as he can obtain it. We can assure our readers, that we have no where found reason to complain of "too much." We have no brighter hours than those, always eagerly looked for, in which the calls of duty permit us to enjoy the reading of Stier's most delightful volumes. Of the six volumes, four have, each, a separate preface, of which the later ones are, in a good measure, called forth by the harsh and unkind reviews of rationalistic critics. The severity with which he chastizes the arrogance of mere learning, the irreverence and impertinence of speculative rationalists, the self-complacent airs and notions and absurdities, and wilful misrepresentations, and incorrigible perverseness of unbelieving, philosophical theorists, is sometimes positively amusing. No fear of man, though he be a redoubtable Strauss, or a self-sufficient Hegelian, who presumes that without him the omnipotent Sovereign of the Universe could never have attained his highest consciousness, ever deters him from giving utterance to his mature convictions, his honest opinions.

Instead of making an elaborate statement of Stier's design and method in preparing this commentary, it will be much better to let him speak for himself. We shall afford him this privilege, by translating a number of passages found in divers connexions, from his prefaces.

In the preface to Vol. I., after making sundry introductory remarks, in the course of which he shows, that he was perfectly sensible what reception his work would meet with among the learned rationalists of Germany, he proceeds as follows: "It will here again appear, that I, for my humble part, belong to those, who will not suffer the contentions about the shell, which are raging on every hand, to prevent them from enjoying the kernel itself, and from inviting to such enjoyment others, who would much rather be *convivae* (guests) than *coqui* (cooks) at the richly furnished table of the Lord, and who prefer taking the medicine to analyzing it chemically. Let others inspect, with closer scrutiny than the eastern Magi, the swaddling-clothes of Immanuel, I care only for him whom they enfold." Again: "The stand-point of the exegesis which I here give, is purely and strictly *exegetical:*

to this we, who faithfully adhere to it, all lay claim with perfect justice. Hence, to be reviled by enemies, and censured by friends, because we read and understand the Old Testament as Christ and the Apostles read and understood it, we esteem an honor for which we humbly thank our Lord." Again: "Our exegetical stand-point is not that of the seeker or the finder, still less that of him who misses and rejects, but that of possession. The great הִנֵּנִי[1] of the manifestation of God in the flesh, of the Spirit in the letter, has become to us the most certain of all certainties. Permit us, therefore, as so many things are permitted, to speak *as* we believe, and *because* we believe; directly from the word, and not round about it; in its own system, and not according to the system of a science, be it theology or philosophy, nor of any body of divinity, or confession; not translating into heterogeneous forms of language or thought, nor renewing at every point, the strife about the certain and safe ground of possession. And let it not be esteemed impertinent, that we earnestly ask and claim hearing and acceptance for what ought to be heard and accepted by man in his entire being (von dem ganzen Menschen). All just (wahre) exposition of the divine word of salvation, must have at least a paraenetic element, as this word itself is paraenetic throughout, and as, on these pages, not the smallest paragraph will be found, designed merely to feed our curiosity (Wisserei). Nothing appears to us more unnatural than a certain dead, dry mode of treating the words of life, which does not speak from and to the heart, and is styled purely scientific." Again: "I have not neglected the commentaries, either of the unbelieving or of the believing; but I have still more industriously searched out, collected, and, since about twenty years, found, in the most practical use for my heart and office, the immediate emanations of the living text. I openly avow, before God and the world, that all the theology and criticism of the age, the quarter, half, and three-quarters, believing, has since then only confirmed and established me in the joyful confession: I know in whom I believe—I *know* what I read and what I have in that word, which shall abide when the world shall pass away, and the smallest saying of which supplies a better dying-pillow, than all that we might otherwise know and possess." These passages from the preface, indicative of the author's design and spirit, might suffice. Yet, while we trust that those who buy

[1] Behold, I; or: Behold, here am I; rendered, by the authorized English version, in Is. 52: 6. "Behold it is I."—TR.

his work will not omit to read his prefaces, we shall have occasion to give some more extracts ere we have done.

This commentary of Stier's has not only a distinct and well defined character of its own, but it is peculiar, also, in its *method.* It combines the critical and the practical, the learned exposition and the earnest application, in a manner and degree not elsewhere found. While it aims at explaining and elucidating the meaning of our Lord's discourses, it seeks equally to excite in men a sense of their need of him, and to bring them, in the exercise of faith, to his feet and his cross. And let it not be supposed, that the work has received this practical character at the expense of strict exegesis and learned exposition. On the contrary, it presents, on every page, the most satisfactory evidence of vast reading and research, of great and profound learning, and of acute critical sagacity. There is about the work an honest straight-forwardness, combined with an humble dependence on divine aid, and a deep reverence for divine things, for the great mysteries of redemption, which is truly delightful. With all his firm conviction, that he has something substantial and truly valuable to give, the author parades no airs of superior penetration and wisdom. Sensible, that God has given him talents, and anxious to make a faithful use of them, he is convinced that he has gathered fruit from the great tree of living truth, and he desires to communicate of his acquisitions to others. He sees, and hears, and reads, how error, and falsehood, and irreverent rationalism, and infidel speculation, are wantonly trifling with the word of God, and playing their insolent game on every hand, to the perversion of men's minds, and the ruin of their souls, and he deals with all such wilful errorists and corruptors of mankind, with great but deserved severity. Irreligious biblical criticism (what a combination of terms!) meets with no mercy at his hands. As he distinctly defines his position with reference to such philosophical and unbelieving critics, we cannot do better than again translate from his preface to the fourth volume. "With a certain description of criticism belonging to the present age—criticism run mad, as I have called it, and I have no more suitable name for it—people like myself have so much the less reason to trouble themselves, because it receives ample attention from other quarters. If it imagines, in its self-conceit, that it has now succeeded in utterly undermining the Gospel of John, whose legitimacy is attested by so extraordinary an amount of external and internal evidence, that scarcely any other book, sacred or profane, possesses a double seal so powerfully convincing, I shall con-

tribute my not heavy mite to the chastisement and contempt which it deserves, simply by ignoring it, as though it had no existence. I have, for my part, far better things to do, than to assume the duty [1] imposed upon others, of replying to those, who are insane enough to undertake to show, that the Lord of glory, in whose bosom John lay, is nothing but a mythical goblin, a product of later times, or a historico–symbolical substratum, squared and cut out to suit gnostic doctrines. O, that, whenever *such* opponents are to be dealt with, it might always be done with the authority of that truth, which stands firm as the sun in the heavens, and with the παρρησια (free speech) of that faith, which once wrote the subscription: "This is the disciple who witnesseth concerning these things, and who has written these things: and we know that his witness is true." May such brave champions as, e. g. Dietlein and Thiersch, be on their guard, lest, like the latter, they should themselves again construe too 'scientifically.'

That so many of those who believe and see should ever and again drag with them the entire company of the blind, for whom there is no remedy in heart and conscience, but the doctrinal A B C pointed out in Hebr. 6: 1, and should endeavor to restore their sight by means of mere 'scientific discussion,' before they themselves enjoy and faithfully improve the illuminating influence of light, this continues to be the heavy drag (Hemmschuh), obstructing the profitable progress of a believing theology, and of a profound knowledge of the scriptures. For, as there is no science which has no bearing on the faith or unbelief of men, so also there is no merely scientific method which can produce faith in the wilfully unbelieving. At some favorable hour they might be more effectually reached by one who should preach to them repentance, than by all the books of polemic science that are written against them. But there are some who are so evil, that they require, in the first instance, something else than exhortations to repentance. The time will come, when, if our books should last so long, men will be scarcely able to comprehend, how *christian* scholars should have been able, in our day, to deal so softly and gingerly, and respectfully, even with *children of Satan*, as soon as these had once flung around them the mantle of learning—instead of casting their flimsy rags into their faces, which are turned, with a sneering grin, toward Christ."

Stier's own soundness in the faith is beyond all question. The manner in which he announces (Pref. Vol. I. p. xvii.)

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[1] He alludes to the duty laid by the King of Prussia, upon, if we recollect aright, Tholuck and Neander, of replying to Strauss's Leben Jesu.

his belief in the inspiration of the Scriptures, affords evidence, not only of his claims as a safe expounder of the divine word, but of his fervent piety and deep humility.

Those who are acquainted with the different species into which exegesis is divided, will find it difficult to determine to which specific class the work before us properly belongs. This is, however, by no means the result of any vagueness in its character, but rather, as we have already intimated, of its peculiarity. The work is altogether *sui generis*, and will, it is to be hoped, originate a new and distinct class of commentaries. Its most important peculiarity is, as we have seen, the prominence which the author gives to the paraenetic element. This characteristic will render the work exceedingly valuable to preachers; for, in their preparations for the pulpit, they will find it in a high degree, and most delightfully, suggestive. It furnishes, indeed, no dry bones—no *skeletons* for the indolent, but it presents a vast amount of striking and important thoughts, of profound and most profitable reflections, of apt and beautiful illustrations. We shall here give another extract from his preface to Vol. IV., which, while it bears directly on this point, will throw additional light on his general stand-point. "What says the word? This is the inquiry of the expositor. But this, at all events, means in the first place: What does it say to *me?* And as a corrective of narrow-minded subjectiveness is here required, the question will most properly run as follows: What has it said to the church in all ages? Although the last form of the question points directly to the historical method, the aim of this method can again be no other than this: What does the Word say more particularly to the church as it now is, to the believers of my day, to whom it is my duty and desire to expound it, not as a teacher standing without their circle, or above them, but as a serving member? Here, then, we have the consciousness of the present church, so far as the expositor, from his subjective stand-point, correctly discerns it according to historical data, as the *secondary* factor of exposition for the *primary* import of the word. This I designate as genetically historical, with a better right than others thus designate something else. How does the living word speak through me, as a member of the church? This is my exegetical principle, and in accordance with it I hope (as by the testimony of many, I am encouraged to do) more particularly to afford aid to preachers and ministers of the word, who so often find, in the most learned and profoundly critical commentaries, so little that is available, and so many expositions which con-

demn themselves by their utter uselessness for the pulpit." It is to this exegetical principle that he ascribes what has, by way of reproach, been termed "Die ganz eigenthümliche Zwittergestalt," the peculiar form in which his commentary appears.

Stier belongs to no *school*, either in philosophy or theology. He is an independent thinker, and inquirer, ardently engaged in the search after truth. He pins his faith to no man's sleeve —not even Luther's, from whom, though in general, and by his own honest convictions, a very decided Lutheran, he ventures to differ, and does not hesitate to say so. Thus he brings no dogmatic system with him to the study of the Bible, to which the divine word must, perforce, be made to conform. He searches the scriptures for himself, yet in a spirit of great candor and docility. He does not scruple to use his "private judgment," in making out their meaning, yet never despising or rejecting the really valuable aid which others have to give, and above all, with prayerful and humble reliance on the help of that Spirit, who leadeth into all truth. He is truly a Bible-christian, and his one great aim is to learn at the fountainhead of truth and wisdom, and, himself being thence instructed, to instruct others. We do not mean to say that he brought no distinct opinions, no definite doctrinal views, to the critical study and exposition of the scriptures. To say so would be worse than childish. But we do mean that he is not so wedded to his opinions and views, as not to be ready at once to relinquish them, so soon as profound and candid study has convinced him that they are at variance with scripture. Yet, every man that has a mind, has his own way of looking at things—his own peculiar stand-point, his own peculiar mode of thinking—and it cannot be otherwise than that to the investigation of any subject he will bring his peculiar modes and habits of thought, and his decided views and opinions; subject always, if his aim be truth, to correction and amendment. On this subject also it will be worth while to hear what he himself has to say. "The Review [In Tholuck's Liter. Anzeiger, 1844, Nro. 68–70] already mentioned, says, that with me 'the subjective christian life and mode of thinking of the author, and of the present community of the awakened is the primary factor' of my exposition. Here I protest, in the first place, against the merely 'present community,' with its almost anti-pietistically selected, strange adjunct, 'of the awakened;' more particularly, in the second place, against the 'primary factor.' No, for me this truly is and remains the exegetical development of the true meaning of the word, in which I

seek to immerse both myself and the reader. If any one does not find with me, on the whole, this 'genetic' development of the sense of Scripture (apart from occasional errors of previously formed views or opinions, from which scarcely any uninspired expositor can be expected to be free, and which are readily admitted), of him I cannot but apprehend, that the fault is rather to be sought in his eye, or in his spectacles. As regards the *subjective*, I would take the liberty to ask, whether, really, any one has yet invented the art of going out of himself, and whether the proudest vaunting of impartiality, of freedom from bias or prejudice, of objectiveness, is not frequently the mere wail of an inflated subject, utterly incapable of perceiving the object. Whether the best intentioned, most earnest, and all-comprehending method, if designed to proffer any thing at all, cannot, after all, only proffer what the subject possesses of knowledge and experience? It is perhaps only by having the word dwelling in us, and in proportion as it dwells in us (John 5: 38), that we are able to understand and explain it. He that does not, as an expositor, recognize this limit, cannot, any longer, be sensible, that he is, and continues to be, an individual. And in order to point out this limit, the name is placed on the title-page, preceded by 'explained by,' and not by 'revealed through,' as in the case of Swedenborg."

We have read, with great attention and care, various and extensive portions of our author's work, and, if we are capable of judging, he has faithfully and successfully carried out his plan and design, as announced in the passages which we have cited. The fruits of laborious study, of deep thought, of great learning, and of sincere and fervent piety, are manifest on every page. Never attempting to carry any thing into the Bible, or resolved, at all hazards, to find in it his own notions and doctrinal views, he takes the inspired word, simply as it speaks, in its integrity, to the undying spirit of man, and earnestly applies all the powers of his mind, and all the extraneous aids which he possesses, to discover, from its own language, without perversions or arbitrary constructions, its real meaning, and to set it forth with all needful perspicuity and fulness. And surely, with his pure and exalted conception of our blessed Savior's character and design, with his close attention to the peculiar nature of the different occasions on which his discourses were pronounced, with his sagacious estimate of the character of those to whom they were addressed, or by whom they were called forth, with his acuteness in discerning those often very slightly intimated points,

which connect different portions of Scripture, with his calm and unbiassed judgment in weighing every word and circumstance, with his profound learning and his vast reading in Biblical literature, and, in fine, with his keen perception of the practical bearings of our Lord's discourses, and his ready tact and skill in bringing them out, in a highly instructive, awakening, or edifying form, it would be strange indeed, if any candid reader could lay down his book, without having derived from it unspeakable profit, either as a theologian or a christian.

Of his acuteness to discover, and his skill to unfold the character, motives, feelings, and prejudices of those who sought converse with the Savior, we have a striking instance in his discussion of Christ's interview with Nicodemus.—Some, indeed, may be disposed to ascribe his minute delineations of the character, views, and purposes of Nicodemus, to his imaginative powers. But to us they appear exceedingly acute, and strikingly just; and we can ascribe them only to his profound knowledge of human nature, to his accurate estimate of the character of the Pharisees, to his close attention to every word and turn of expression, to his nice perception of slight circumstances, which are apt to escape a vision less keen and practised, and to his sound and correct judgment in assigning to each its appropriate weight and importance.

Take it all in all, we consider Stier's Commentary on "Die Reden des Herrn Jesu" as one of the most (in some respects, the most) valuable and delightful productions in the department of exegesis, that ever proceeded from the German press. Our object has simply been to invite attention to this work, and not to write a review of it. It was our intention to translate, for this article, interesting passages from the body of the commentary itself, and to accompany them with such observations as might seem necessary. But the length, which our remarks have already, unexpectedly, reached, compels us to defer the execution of this design to some future day.

## ARTICLE V.

### LUTHER'S LARGER AND SMALLER CATECHISMS.

By John G. Morris, D. D., Baltimore, Md.

We regard it as a very favorable sign of the times in our church, that the ancient and salutary practice of catechetical instruction, has of late, engaged more than ordinary attention among us. The different periodicals have uttered their almost oracular voice, and not a few of the Synods have passed resolutions commending it to pastors and people. It has been the theme of elaborate pulpit discourses, and of frequent discussion in conferences and at occasional clerical meetings. All this promises the most beneficial results, and is an unmistakeable evidence of the revival of genuine church feeling, as well as of an increasing interest in the proper religious training of the younger members of the household of faith.

It was never true, as has elsewhere been stated, without reason or authority, that the practice has been generally abolished in our church in this country. It was certain, however, that here and there, one pastor might be found, who esteemed himself wiser than his fathers, and suffered himself to be deterred from the performance of it either by his own distate for a plain ministerial duty, by his dislike for extraordinary labor, by the senseless jeers of uninstructed sectaries around him, or by an overweening fondness for every species of innovation. There are few men among us, who are willing to have it said that they have abolished it in their churches. Some who were suspected, have even taken pains to correct the false report, conscious that their loyalty to the church might very naturally be called in question, if they have given up a practice sanctioned by apostolic usage, by the ancient church, by the reformers and by all the good and great men of every age down to the present time. There are very few now who wait for the extraordinary manifestations of grace for the conversion of their young people, without employing the ordinary means, or that they find a religious meeting of some days continuance a good substitute for the old catechetical system. We are glad to hear that most of our pastors give catechetical instruction, even to those who have been awakened at such meetings, before they have been admitted to confirmation and the Lord's Supper, and this must be regarded as a decided improvement on the system that prevailed to some extent not

very long ago. It may be a question, whether, after all, the most wholesome *protracted* meeting for young people would not be one of three or four months' duration with a catechetical class.

Happily, there is not a periodical in our church that is not an ardent advocate for the practice, and it would really be an anomalous *Lutheran* journal, if it were not so. For is it not one characteristic of us as a people? Is it not one of those distinctive qualities by which we are known from many other religious families around us; and is it not especially Luther's catechism, which we all use in one form or other—a book which, if sincerely believed in *all* its teachings, will sufficiently distinguish us from our christian neighbors? We want no broader line than the catechism draws; but then we do not want that line whitewashed out by a diluted and false liberalism, so as nearly to obliterate it. We desire to see it remain in its original breadth and depth, so that we may consistently and honestly reply to the query: "What are the distinctive doctrines of your church?" "You will find an epitome of them in Luther's Smaller Catechism."

Next to Luther's translation of the Scriptures, none of his books exerted so extensive and wholesome an influence on the Protestant cause, as his Larger and Smaller Catechisms. The latter, particularly, was translated into all the modern languages of Europe, and into Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, and Latin. Even the Malabars of India, and other eastern nations, read it in their own tongue. It has been illustrated in many a ponderous tome—it has been made the basis of sermons by the most celebrated preachers of the church—learned professors have used it as the ground of their doctrinal lectures—historians have made it the theme of many a curious and elaborate volume—commentators in scores have expended their strength upon it, and the enemies of the Reformation have assailed it with demoniacal rancor and hate. So much did the Jesuits of a later day fear its overwhelming influence, that they committed in relation to it one of the most villainous frauds that is to be found in literary history. They concocted a catechism, by perverting Luther's words, so as to make it appear a defense of popery, and published it as his own. Even poets, scholastics, astronomers, grammarians, and astrologers not excluded, have expended much ink and paper in versifying and explaining it on the principles of their respective theories. All these numerous writings on so small a book, have continued through a period of more than three hundred years, and constitute a literature so extensive, that no man

can boast of having a thorough acquaintance with it. Even to the present time, the catalogues of German book-sellers announce additional illustrations, and analyses of Luther's Catechism, some of which, however, must be designated as obscurations, for they darken his words, dilute his doctrines, and pervert his meaning. They corrupt instead of correcting; they falsify instead of verifying—"Quot correctiones, tot corruptiones."

These two books were not the first of a similar character which the Reformer wrote and published. Even as early as 1518, he had issued an Explanation of the Ten Commandments and of the Lord's Prayer, and in 1520, a brief "Direction for Studying the Commandments and the Creed, and for using the Lord's Prayer." All the catechisms used in the church of Rome up to that day, embraced only these three heads, and Luther, very wisely, did not abruptly depart at that early period of the Reformation, from the universal custom which had been sanctioned by so many centuries.

Though he was the first of all the Reformers, to prepare such writings for the common people, yet he was not the only one who labored in that department of literature. Not a few of his noble coadjutors, among whom were Tolzen, Bugenhagen, Melanchthon, Brenz, and others, also wrote books of this character before Luther published the two catechisms now under consideration. But this did not deter him from bringing out his books. He was not influenced by that false modesty which often holds back a really good book, nor by fear of the critic, nor by feelings of questionable delicacy to his compeers, who had already occupied the field. He saw that their writings for popular use were deficient in system and order, and that they were not so well adapted to the instruction of beginners in Christianity, whether adults or children. He resolved, then, to publish the two books, called the Larger and the Smaller Catechism, and both appeared in 1529.

The necessity of such writings for that generation, will abundantly appear from the state of catechetical instruction and the prevailing ignorance of gospel truth. Though this mode of teaching had not been altogether abolished in the church of Rome, yet the books used were wretched compilations of legendary tales, silly stories of saints of questionable sanctity; the truth was obscured by grievous errors, and neutralized by the mixture of impious superstitions. Luther himself tells us, "that there was no divine among the Romanists who knew or understood the decalogue, the creed, and the

Lord's Prayer, as well as the children who had been taught by him and his helpers;" and Matthesius, a cotemporary of Luther, who preached and published seventeen sermons on Luther's Life, says: "that he does not remember to have heard in twenty-five years, any thing from the pulpit, in the Romish church, relating to these chief parts of christian doctrine, nor was any thing of the kind taught in the schools."

The direct occasion of writing these catechisms, was the church visitation which Luther and others performed in 1527–8, by order of the Elector of Saxony, in the dominions of that prince. A full account of this is given in Seckendorf's Historia Lutheranismi, Lib. II., p. 101, and we wish we had room for a more extended notice than we are permitted here to give. Melanchthon was appointed to draw up "The Instructions to the visitors of the pastors in the Electorate of Saxony," which were sanctioned by Luther and Bugenhagen. At the request of the Elector, Luther wrote a preface to the Instructions, and they were then published together. He therein defends the measure, and derives arguments from both the Old and New Testaments, to show the propriety and expediency of commissioning prudent and pious men to visit the pastors and churches. This office of visitation has been renewed in this country by the Missouri Synod of our church, which will probably derive much benefit from it. It may be well adapted to their pastors and people, who have been trained under different ecclesiastical influences from ours. It would not suit us in the East, nor our church in this country in any section, whose pastors and people have been brought up uncontrolled by ecclesiastical authority beyond that of their own congregation, and where they are exceedingly jealous of the most harmless aspirings towards ecclesiastical power, on the part of the clergy.

The design of this visitation in Luther's time, was to ascertain the state of the churches—the doctrines of the preachers and hearers—their morals and religious attainments—the condition of the schools—the improvement of the pupils, and the qualifications of teachers. They were instructed to prescribe a better mode to preachers and teachers of discharging their respective offices—to advise the people to support public worship, and to proceed rigorously against the obstinate and perverse; in a word, to make a full examination into every thing that related to ecclesiastical affairs.

To Luther was assigned the electorate of Saxony and the districts of Meissen, and Jonas and Bugenhagen were to take his place if he should be prevented. He found things in a

wretched condition—the ministers and people were pitiably ignorant—the plainest truths of the Gospel were misapprehended, and its most common precepts were misapplied.—But a few extracts from Luther will vividly represent the true condition of affairs. In the preface to the Smaller Catechism he says: "Alas! what a sad state of things have I witnessed! The common people, especially in the villages, are so utterly ignorant of the christian doctrine, and even many pastors quite unprepared and unqualified to teach, who yet are all called Christians, are baptized and partake of the holy Supper, but know neither the Lord's Prayer, nor the Creed, nor the Decalogue, and act like irrational creatures." In his letters he says: "We every where find poverty and want; may the Lord send laborers into his vineyard."—"Our visitation progresses; alas! what wretchedness we behold!"

Luther's soul was moved to compassion, and he at once determined to write the catechisms for the especial benefit of that ignorant people. He tells us that he was compelled by their heart-moving spiritual wants, to present the truth in such a simple form, and he acquitted himself of a duty which lay heavily upon his conscience.

Both these catechisms were published in 1529, and although there has been much discussion on the subject of the priority of publication, the weight of the testimony is in favor of the Larger. Most probably that was issued in January, and the Smaller in October of the same year. To the three principal parts, viz. the Decalogue, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, which were usually comprehended in all the previous catechisms, Luther added two others, viz.: Baptism, and the Lord's Supper. Some of the earlier writers designate six parts in the catechisms, including Directions for Confession and Absolution; but even if Luther wrote this, he did not design it to constitute a distinct head. There is, however, some doubt whether the Reformer wrote it, and hence some ascribe it to Bugenhagen. The ideas at any rate, are taken from Luther's other writings, and almost in his own words. It appears in the second edition of the catechism, and was doubtless, sanctioned by him. In the book of Concord, it is inserted between the articles of Baptism and the Lord's Supper of the Catechism, but it is not separated from the latter; subsequently, there was added another part, called *The Power of the Keys*, founded on *Matth.* xvi: 19, xviii: 18, and particularly *John*, xx: 33. It is well known that these passages have been shamefully perverted by the church of Rome, for her priests claim the absolute power of pardoning sin. Abso-

lution with us, is nothing more than the *power bestowed on ministers of announcing the pardon of sin to true penitents.* It is merely *declarative* and *hypothetical*, and not *collative* and *judicial.* We do not *confer* absolution—we only *declare* it on condition of repentance, faith and holiness. The minister does not set himself up as a judge, but only announces the promise of God. Any other Christian could just as well pronounce absolution, but for the sake of church-order and fitness, the exercise of the right has been limited to ministers. This article in the Catechism was not written by Luther. It does not appear in the earliest editions, nor in any part of Luther's writings, nor in the book of Concord. It has been attributed by some to Knipstrow, and by others to Brenz, and Carpzov tells us that it was doubtless prepared and inserted in the Catechism when the Calvinists tried hard to abolish Confession and Absolution in the churches.

To the Five Articles of the Smaller Catechism, Luther added an appendix, consisting of questions and answers relating to family religion—domestic. civil and ecclesiastical duties. These appendices are, at least, attributed to him, inasmuch as they appear in the earlier editions of the book.—There are two other additions which were considered important in that early period of the Reformation; one, A Form for the celebration of marriage, and the other, for the Administration of Baptism. These were designed for the use of unlearned pastors, and, of course, constitute no part of the Catechism proper. It is not easy to determine when they were first appended to the book, nor even whether they were written by Luther. They were not printed in the first edition of the Book of Concord, which appeared in Dresden in 1580. This gave great offence, not only to the Helmstädt divines, but the Elector of Brandenburg and Duke William of Luneburg, were also deeply concerned about the omission, and, *of course*, not a few *pro* and *contra* pamphlets were exchanged.

The "Questions for those who would prepare themselves to receive the Lord's Supper," were not written by Luther, but most probably by Dr. Lange, one of his friends. They do not appear in the earlier editions, and were not printed at all during Luther's lifetime. No one ever pretended that "The Order of Salvation" came from the pen of the Reformer, but it was written many years after by Dr. Freylinghausen. It follows, then, that *Luther's* Shorter Catechism consists *exclusively* of the "Five Principal Parts" as we have them in the Book of Concord, and all the other appendices must be carefully distinguished from the original work.

The contents of the two books may be summed up as follows: We take them in their original unity, unrefined and *unimproved* by modern hands.

The *Smaller* contains an Introduction, which is not printed in the modern editions. It gives an account of the occasion and design of the book, and directions for its proper use, with admonitions against the neglect of catechetical instruction. It exposes the corruptions of popery, and urges on pastors, parents and rulers, the duty of indoctrinating the ignorant and the young in the truths of the Gospel. It is written in Luther's most powerful style, and reminds us of Melanchthon's words: *Fulgura erant linguae cuncta, Luthere, tuae.*[1] Walch says of this preface, "*lectu dignissima est,*"[2] and we wish it were within the reach of every pastor and parent.

The first chief part consists of an Epitome of the Decalogue, and in the division of the commandments Luther followed that which had been in use for centuries. On this subject, it will be necessary to say a few words in explanation. In all the European, and in most of the American editions, that which is usually called the second commandment, and which forbids the worship of images, is omitted, and in order to make up the ten in number, that which is the tenth in some other catechisms, is divided into two. What was Luther's design in this omission? Did he favor the worship of images and the invocation of saints? No man ever wrote, argued and preached more powerfully and successfully against them. They were both, objects of his implacable hate. Why, then, leave out this commandment? 1. That which is usually regarded as the second commandment, was considered by Luther and multitudes of other learned and good men, in every age of the church, as an expansion and illustration of the first; and as he studied brevity for the sake of the ignorant of his day, he did not insert it. 2. Some of the others are abbreviated for the same reason, particularly the one relating to the Sabbath. He looked upon them both as containing amplifications which he did not think it necessary to insert in his book. 3. There is no division of the Decalogue into numbers in the Scriptures, and hence any division is legitimate, if the ten are retained and the subjects are properly conjoined. 4. The ninth and tenth were divided, because they relate to different objects, and the difference between the numbers must

[1] "Lightnings were all the words, Luther, that fell from thy lips."—R.

[2] "It is most worthy to be read."

be founded on the diversity of objects. The General Synod's edition is thus divided, but it inserts the illustration of the first and the third.

The Lutheran division of the commandments is usually styled the Augustinian, because Augustine was the most distinguished of the fathers, who adopted it. Before him, it was adopted by Clemens of Alexandria, and after him by Beda, Nicholas de Lyra, and a host of other great divines. It was also the one in common use among the Jews, although Josephus and Philo do not follow it. The other division is called the *Origenian*, and was followed by Irenæus, Jerome, Ambrose, and many others.

Each commandment is followed by an explanation which in a few words developes the whole truth contained in it. Never were these "ten words" of God more distinctly and forcibly illustrated in so brief a space. The very kernel of each is brought to light and exposed to the eye and the mind of the reader.

The Second Part contains that ancient symbol of the church, the Apostles' Creed. In his German translation of the third article, Luther very properly has it, *eine heilige christliche Kirche*, (one holy christian church) instead of *Katholische*, (Catholic). This is not a perversion of the original, but it prevents also misconception. The phrase, *eine Katholische Kirche*, would be wholly misunderstood in most German congregations, and would lead to mischievous results. Indeed, the use of the expression, *Catholic church*, in the Creed, is not always understood even in an assembly of English worshippers, but it is more objectionable in German than in English, for no other expression is employed by the masses of Germans to designate what we call the *Church of Rome.*[1] The Romanists abused Luther most unchristianly for leaving out the word *Katholische*, and charged him with falsifying the Creed. But, as in all other questions of a similar character, these furious assailants were sent back to their kennels howling with despair. Gerhard, Scharnel and others, showed that, before the time of Luther, it was customary to recite those very words: *ich glaube eine heilige christliche Kirche* (I believe in one holy christian church)! In the ancient symbols of the *Latin* church, the word *Catholic* does not occur. It was adopted by the *Greek* church, and afterwards came into general use, but when it was added to the Creed is not easy

[1] We observe that at least in one of the German translations of the Episcopal Book of Common Prayer, they have it, eine *Katholische* Kirche, which, we are sure, will prevent its general use among the Germans.

to determine. Walch, Introduct. Lib. II. § 8., discusses this subject at length, and gives much curious and learned information about it. Luther himself did not reject the term *catholic*, but held it to be synonymous, in an ecclesiastical sense, with *christian*. He uses the word in *Smalc. Art.* Part III. § 12. *credo sanctum ecclesiam catholicam, sive christianam*, (I believe in a holy catholic, or christian church).

In his explanation of the first section of the Creed, he recites the benefits we receive from God the Father and our consequent obligations to him. In the second, the benefits from the redemption by Christ; and never was this article more comprehensively treated and thoroughly explained. In the third, the necessity and nature of the means and operations of grace and the benefits flowing to the whole church from the Holy Ghost, are forcibly set forth.

The third part of the Catechism consists of the Lord's Prayer, which he divides into the introductory address, seven petitions and the doxology; each of which is illustrated in his peculiarly pithy and forcible style.

The *Fourth* part treats of the first sacrament of the New Testament, or Baptism, as a means of grace established for reuniting man with God, and is treated under four principal questions. The *first* does not embrace properly an explanation of baptism, but rather those things which are necessary to constitute it, as water, the word of God, including the command in Matth. 28: 9, which is also added.

The *Second* illustrates the benefits or effects of baptism, to which is appended Mark 16: 16. This is, however, not to be understood as limiting the benefits of baptism to the presence of faith, or rendering faith indispensable to a participating in the ordinance. The sacraments are acts of God's grace towards us, and not our acts of devotion or service toward him. He no more asks the consent of a child to be born into his kingdom by baptism, than He consults it about being born into the world. In both instances, He performs the work of His own gracious will. [This is God's part of the work: but on the part of man, *faith* is always required in adults to a salutary reception of baptism as well as of the Lord's Supper; and that in the case of infants faith is an *ultimate* element and essential to their salvation, is also involved in the Lutheran system.]

In the *Fifth*, or last part, the Lord's Supper is treated under four sections. In the *first*, we have the nature, the essential components and divine institution of the sacrament, in the words of its founder. In the *second*, its benefits are set forth;

in the *third*, the manner in which those benefits are produced, and in the *fourth*, our obligations to prepare ourselves for a worthy participation, which is limited to faith.

This, then, is an extremely succinct analysis of *The Shorter Catechism*, but we are not permitted to enlarge.

The *Larger Catechism* is not so well known to pastors and catechumens in this country, even to those who can read it in the original language, as it deserves to be. We have never met with an English translation of it, and that accounts, to some extent, for its limited circulation among us. It is not often seen printed by itself, and the Book of Concord, in which it is contained, has not, heretofore, been so widely distributed as it should be. We are, however, glad to observe strong symptons of a *revival* of symbolic theology among our ministers. Every one of us will be the better in many respects, from studying that immortal work.

But we must return to The Larger Catechism. It is many times larger than the other, and of itself makes a duodecimo of quite respectable size. It has two prefaces, the first of which is very long, and contains a regular treatise on the necessity of frequently preaching the word, and especially of catechetical instruction for the young. It is written in Luther's boldest manner, and contains many of his severest expressions. It is a sort of sledge-hammer style, which would hardly be considered polite in this refined age. His soul seems to be fired with holy ire against his adversaries, the pope, the devil and the priests, and he unmercifully hurls against them all the bolts of his righteous wrath. The Latin translation has been softened down, for we presume that language furnished no words to render the *volcanic* expressions and thoughts of Luther.

The second preface is much shorter, and is properly an introduction to the text. It defines the Greek word *Katechismos*, and enforces the obligation of parents and masters to teach it to their households, and of every body, young and old, of becoming well acquainted with its contents.

The catechism itself consists of two divisions. The first contains the text of the five principal parts of the Smaller, and there is here a still further abbreviation than in the former. After the three first, follow some excellent rules for learning and daily reciting them by children and even adults, and we wish that the counsels of the Reformer were followed at the present day.

In the *second* division, the Five Principal Parts are illustrated at length. This explanation, of course, embraces much

relating to the abuses of popery, which were at that time, familiar to every body. All his extended observations on the commandments are most edifying and impressive. They would not, perhaps, receive the approbation of all modern theologians, particularly, those on the Sabbath, but Luther's views on that subject did not differ from those of all the great divines of that generation. After a short introduction to the Creed, there follows a masterly commentary on that ancient symbol. On the subject of faith and redemption, Luther is always great.

If any man desires to see the nature, necessity, hindrances and benefits of prayer illustrated in a powerful manner, let him read Luther on the Lord's Prayer, which constitutes the third article of this catechism. It is a subject he well understood, for no man ever more faithfully practised prayer, and no man ever experienced more signal benefits from it. He spent hours of every day upon his knees in close communion with God, and knew well how to speak and write of it for the instruction of others. His commentary on the Lord's Prayer has been, for three centuries, printed as a tract, and has been distributed in uncounted numbers. In it, he gives us the results of his own rich experience, and seems to take a peculiar pleasure in writing on it.

His expositions of the two Sacraments, constituting the fourth and fifth parts of the book, ably set forth the distinctive features of the Lutheran theology. They embrace views which are not universally adopted even by those who call themselves after his name, but which we honestly believe will be more highly appreciated the more carefully they are studied and the more thoroughly they are understood. We do not here include all that Luther ever taught, or claim scriptural authority for all his peculiar views on all subjects. If his explanations of God's word do not harmonize with other portions, let them fall, but hear him before you strike him. Let not his teachings be judged by the rules of a false philosophy, or the faint glimmerings of the taper-light of human reason; —let the everlasting Word decide, and it will not be hard to find out where the truth lies. There are some who dogmatically condemn Luther's views on the Sacraments, and yet do not know what they are—they have never studied them, and still presumptuously expect to be listened to by sensible men whilst they prate on a subject they do not understand. Yet these men are ardent admirers of Luther,—they flare up prodigiously when his venerated name is assailed;—they boldly rush into the arena of controversy in vindication of his honor—

but after all, that which is peculiarly distinctive in his theology, they reject.

But, we are glad to see a return to the family mansion by those of Luther's household in this country. They have wandered long enough among the dwelling places of strangers, for they have almost forgotten the language and the plain, blunt manners of their father's family. Some of them have put on strange airs, and have departed from the simplicity that prevailed at home. They have fashioned their theological garments after the ever-varying taste of the modern artiste, and have adopted too many inventions and "notions" of the land so productive of both. Let them come back and re-assume the simple but comfortable garb of the fathers, and eat of the rich, wholesome abundance of the family board.

We need not be surprised at hearing that these books of Luther received, as they well deserved, the most rapturous laudations from many of his admirers. Although many of them did not carry their veneration of them to the same extravagant length with an old Silesian prince, who had them buried with him, because, next to the Bible, he derived more benefit from them than from all other books, yet their admiration knew scarcely any bounds. Polycarp Lyser in his preface to Chemnitz's *Loc. Com.* as quoted by Walch, says, "Luther wrote a short catechism which is more precious than gold or gems, in which the essential purity of the prophets' and apostles' doctrine is so concentrated in one entire body, and is conveyed in such perspicuous language, that it may be deservedly regarded as a canon or rule of faith, for every thing therein is taken from the canonical scriptures. I can positively affirm that this little book contains such a copious fulness of every thing necessary to be known for salvation, that if all faithful preachers of the gospel, throughout their whole lives, were to treat of nothing else in their sermons, than the hidden wisdom of God comprehended in these few pages, and would properly explain it to the common people, and illustrate each part from the Scriptures, they would never be able to exhaust this fountain of immense depth." Matthesius in his Sermons on the Life of Luther, says, "If Dr. Luther had done nothing more in his whole life, than introduce these two Catechisms into families, schools, and the pulpit, the world would never be able sufficiently to thank and repay him."

Many more such testimonies might be given, but enough for the present.

Some persons have objected to the order observed by Luther, particularly in beginning with the commandments, but is not this the real order of salvation? "By the law is the knowledge of sin." "I had not known sin but by the law." How proper, then, that after I have discovered myself to be a sinner by hearing the demands of the law, and feeling myself ruined, I should be directed to the way of recovery developed in the creed—that I should be pointed from Moses to Christ—fiom the law to the Gospel—from Sinai to Calvary—from the broken and condemning covenant of works, to the inviting and saving covenant of grace.

The coherence between the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, which follows, will appear, if we consider the design of the former. It contains the doctrine of faith, and not only in an objective form, that is, the truth that is to be believed, but it also teaches subjective faith, that which we are to exercise in the truth, and which justifies. Faith is one of the operations of grace. Grace alone engenders, preserves and increases it, but as it is a gift of God and to be sought by prayer, it is proper that the nature and benefits of prayer should be considered next. God does not engender immmediately, but has established means of grace through which the Holy Spirit operates, increasing faith in the hearts of believers, thereby rendering their lives more holy. Among these means are the sacraments, which very properly follow in the order in which they are here set down. The system of salvation is thus complete —the connection and sequence of the articles are scriptural, answering to the experience of every man who has fled for refuge to the hope set before him.

Both these catechisms have symbolical authority in our church, though they were not written by command of princes or by resolution of ecclesiastical bodies. Luther wrote them of his own private will. They, however, became so universally popular, (Matthesius tells us that even in his own time, more than one hundred thousand copies had been distributed) that they gradually but silently won their way to this high distinction. The *Epitome II.* says: *Et quia haec relgionis causa*, &c.—"And inasmuch as the cause of religion concerns the laity and their salvation, we also profess our adherence to the Larger and Smaller Catechisms of Dr. Luther as they are embraced in his works, and regard them as a sort of Bible for laymen, in which is contained every thing treated of in the Scriptures, necessary for a christian to know in order to his salvation." The *Declaratio Solida* afterwards adds: "*omnes ..... ecclesiae*, &c. &c., "all the churches of the Augsburg

Confession approve and receive these Catechisms." They are placed in the Book of Concord immediately after the articles of Smalcald and before the Formula Concordiae. The reason why they are placed in this order, and thus after the Augsburg Confession and the Apology, for they were written before either, is, probably, because the former were prepared by public authority, and the catechisms, as stated before, were private writings. All these books had attained symbolic authority before the Formula was written, and hence the latter was placed last.

The Smaller Catechism has been used by most of our ministers in this country, in instructing their catechumens, ever since the transplanting of the church. Numerous editions have been published in both languages, by various Synods and booksellers, and thousands are disposed of every year. Some liberty has been taken in some of the English translations, which we regard as unauthorized and unjust. We shall mention but one instance. Luther says that "the Sacrament of the Altar is the *true* body and blood of Christ under the external signs of bread and wine." The General Synod's and even Ludwig's edition most unjustifiably leave out the word *true* and thus stultify, not Luther, but some other persons! If the Sacrament is at all the body and blood of Christ, which no person denies, it must be his *true* body and blood, and not an unreal or imaginary body. Why, then, not say so? Why mutilate Luther's language, and try to present him in a false light? He is not the first man that has been wounded in the house of his friends. Some additional illustrations have been made to the General Synod's edition, which are very good: for example, an argument in favor of infant baptism, and other explanatory notes. One of our ministers has published two elucidations of the Five Principal Parts (and it has been shown that nothing else in the book can be called a portion of Luther's Smaller Catechism), of one of which more than seven thousand copies have been sold, and the demand for it is increasing every year.

We observe that the last General Synod appointed a committee "to improve the Smaller Catechism ..... to frame suitable questions to elicit more fully the sense of the answers to the original questions .... and to improve the collection of hymns."

This we regard as one of the most important works undertaken by the church, for many a day—more important, even, in our esteem, than the improvement of the hymn book, which a few years ago excited so much interest and discussion.

No body, however, appears to be much concerned about it, and, very probably, the fact of the appointment of such a committee will be news to many. It *seems* to be an easy thing to add a few questions to the catechism, but we look upon it as involving immense responsibility.

We do not exactly know what is meant by 'improving' the catechism, as expressed in the resolution. Any attempt to alter the arrangement, or sense, or language of the original, would be of more than questionable propriety at present; but still we do not mean to intimate that even that might not be done by the united voice of the church. Yet any essential alteration, without the consent of the whole church, would create an interminable controversy, and produce the most disastrous results. But we have no apprehension that the committee design to propose any such thing. We have the highest confidence in their integrity, prudence, and attachment to the church.

As this subject has been brought to the notice of the church, should we not make a complete work of it at once, and endeavor to furnish our people with a catechism that will need no further 'improvement' hereafter? If it were not considered presumptuous, we would beg leave to make to the committee the following suggestions:—Retain the Five Principal Parts of Luther's Catechism just as they stand, but give the commandments in full, as in the General Synod's edition—"Elicit more fully the sense of the original" by additional illustrations drawn from the *Larger* Catechism. Abolish as distinct parts, the other portions written, as we have seen, by other men, but employ them as far as you can, in expanding Luther's answers.—Introduce a short chapter on the mode and subjects of Baptism, and such other matters of a similar kind as may be deemed necessary.—Give us, by all means, a chapter of Instructions to the Catechist and Catechumens—tell *us* how we may most advantageously teach, and *them*, how they may most profitably learn. Furnish us with an introductory chapter on Luther himself, (we have seen some excellent German editions containing such a chapter).—Print all of Luther's original in large type, so that it may be easily distinguished from your own,—mark those questions and answers that ought necessarily to be learned in first going through, with an asterisk, so as to obviate all objection to its size.

No one could reasonably object to this arrangement, for it contemplates retaining all that Luther wrote of the book, and yet does not reject all that he did not write. This would secure a unity and *consequence* of plan, which the book *called*

Luther's Catechism, does not now possess, and if the committee write their portion of it in the same style that Guericke declares Luther wrote his, "in apostolic clearness like that of James, and with practical concreteness," (in apostolisch Jacobischer Klarheit und praktischer Concretheit)—we will say of them, as Matthesius said of Luther: if they had never written any thing else, they will deserve the everlasting thanks of the church.

Abundant materials for such a work are at hand in the immense number of Illustrations of Luther's Catechism that have appeared in past years, and which are yet annually appearing in Germany. We could furnish a catalogue of alarming length, but would particularly recommend certain works on this subject, of the old and modern masters, if it were within our province. On one catechism that we know something about, such men as Carpzov, Lucian, Schmidt and a few others, wrote and thought and prayed five years. Since that time, catechisms have been manufactured with more haste.

This is not the first time that the subject of an "improvement" in the catechism has been brought to the notice of the church. In the fifth volume of the Lutheran Intelligencer, several articles relating to it, may be found, some of which, we believe, were written by ourselves. But as the Persian prince said, "the remembrance of youth is a sigh." In looking back on those productions of our theological adolescence, we were reminded of what Schiller said when he refused to witness the performance of his play of The Robbers: "Ich will nicht mein Magen verderben mit der rohen Kost meiner Jugend," ("I will not turn my stomach with the raw productions of my youth.") No, we trust the committee will not change the form, or the words of the original. We trust it will not be in this country with the Catechism as it is in Germany, where, as Jerome (quoted by Hase) said of the bibles of his day: "We have so many copies and codices, and every one, just at his own pleasure, either adds or subtracts, as seems good to him." Let them take the copy as given in Walch's edition of the Book of Concord, and they cannot err.

It would be an easy transition from this theme to another of immense practical importance,—the benefits of catechetical instruction, including the duty of imparting and receiving it, and the best method of catechising. We do not remember seeing any thing in print on this subject in our church periodicals, for some years. One of our ministers some time ago preached an elaborate discourse upon it at a Synod, and he was politely requested, by resolution, to publish it at his own

cost; but as he had some practical experience of the profits which *writers* receive from pamphletizing, he declined, as he did not feel disposed to reward the *printer* at his own expense.

Great as Luther was, yet he was not above receiving lessons from the catechism. In his Introduction to the Larger, he says, "For myself I can say, that I also am a divine and a preacher—yea, I have as much learning and experience as all those (who despise the catechism) and yet I am not ashamed to do as children do, who learn it. Every morning, and also at other times, I repeat word for word, the Decalogue, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and some Psalms; and although I thus daily read and study it, yet I cannot advance, as I should like, and hence I must continue to be a child and to be a learner of the catechism, to which I cheerfully consent." This reminds us of what Hannah More has somewhere said: "It is a pity that people do not look at their catechism sometimes when they are grown up; for it is full as good for men and women as it is for children; nay, better—for though the answers contained in it are intended for children to repeat, yet the duties enjoined in it are intended for men and women to put in practice. It is, if I may so speak, the very grammar of christianity and of our church; and they who understand every part of their catechism thoroughly, will not be ignorant of any thing which a plain christian ought to know."

But the subject of catechising demands a separate article, and we will conclude in the language of old Thomas Fuller, which we commend to the consideration of those pastors who express their surprise that some of their parishioners wander away after theological mountebanks peregrinating through the country, and opening a religious "show," and to those also who act on the principle, that one protestant church is as good as another: "What may be the cause why so much cloth so soon changeth color? It is because it was never wet wadded, which giveth the fixation to a color, and setteth it in the cloth. What may be the reason why so many now-a-days, are carried about by every wind of doctrine, even to scour every point in the compass? Surely it is because *they were never well catechised in the principles of religion.*"

## ARTICLE VI.

### CHRYSOSTOM CONSIDERED WITH REFERENCE TO TRAINING FOR THE PULPIT.*

By Rev. Charles P. Krauth, A. M., of Winchester, Va.

ELOQUENCE is older than Rhetoric, and great sermons were preached before homiletical treatises were written. Poets do not go to rhetoricians, but rhetoricians to poets, in the infancy of literary science; nor is it until a highly refined state of society and art has been reached, that they so harmonize as to perform a common and inseparable work. Wherever Rhetoric does not base itself upon that which existed and was illustrated before its own origin, it is almost certainly false and affected, so that useful as it is in its sphere, it can only cease to be dangerous to a pure taste, when we constantly appeal from its oracles to that general voice of nature in earlier literature, of which it professes to be the echo. Rhetorical art, which separates itself from examples, and builds up an edifice *a priori*, will not present the general form of nature in which it shines in lovely unity through the great minds of all ages and all lands, but will be the image of one mind, not of mind itself. Nature, when untrammeled most, is most sure to be nature. The earliest writers, in every department, therefore, are worthy of close study, because, by an irresistible law of humanity, they give an impress which never ceases to be felt. They determine some of the elemental features of the department in which they labored, forever. All that follow assist in elaborating to a more scientific exactness the art in which they are masters; but the very cause which imparts increasing perfection to their department of thought, renders less clear those

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* The principal authorities to which reference has been had in the preparation of this article, are the following:

1. *Socratis Scholastici* Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ, Libri VII. Vuolfgango Musculo interprete.

2. *Theodoreti Episcopi Cyrensis* Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ, Lib. V. Joachimo Camerario interprete.

3. *Hermii Sozomeni Salaminii* Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ, Lib. IX. Vuolfgango Musculo interprete, (Froben. Basiliæ M. D. L. VII.)

4. *Jo. Chrysostomi* Homiliæ in Matthæum, lat., Georg. Trapezuntio interprete.

5. *Ejusd.* Homiliæ S. Johannis, lat. Fr. Aretino interpr. (Basiliæ apud Jo. Frobenium, mense Julio. Anno M. D. XVII.)

fontinel principles from which all the rest is evolved. In a word, every thing human has a beginning, of which the middle is an expansion, and the end a perfection. The beginning, therefore, must be known to appreciate all that follows, and it is the glorious work of true history to lead us from the fountains along the streams of human destiny, or to show us far back that little spring bubbling up, from whose river we are drinking life and joy from day to day. A loving veneration for the past, may, therefore, be the offspring of a keen, just, sympathizing and admiring judgement of the present—may be the child of a reflective philosophy—not of bigotry, bibliomania or misanthropy. It is not profitless to step into the domain of ancient mind, even in its heathen forms; the soft light and unearthly melody of that world of supersubstantial shadows, do not merely enchant, they also exalt. To the christian, still more, has the history of those who founded or gave form to the early church, an inestimable value. It presents a page often splendid, sometimes painful, always instructive. All of us, even those who turn up the eyes of their sanctimonious ignorance at the very name of "the fathers," are the children of a thousand influences to which they gave rise; we are the legatees of their virtues and their faults, and he to whom the record of their trials (under the pressure of disadvantages, which would have crushed those who are fondest of sneering at them, into utter nothingness), of their virtues, and of their greatness, has no interest,—is an inflated and heartless sciolist, who can have no more real faith in the progress and

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6. *Johannis Chrysostomi* Selecta. Graece et Latine. De Editionis novæ consilio praefatus est, et annotationem subjecit Johannes van Voorst. Lugduni Batavorum, 1827—1830. 2 vols. 8vo.

7. *Johannis Chrysostomi* de Sacerdotio Libri VI. Ex recensione Bengelii cum Ejusdem Prolegomenis, Animadversionibus integris et Indicibus edidit, suasque notas adjecit A. E. Leo, (Lipsiæ, 1834).

8. *The Life of Chrysostom*, translated from the German of Dr. Neander, Professor of Divinity at the University of Berlin, &c. By the Rev. J. C. Stapleton, M. A., F. L. S. &c. (London, 1846.)

9. General History of the Christian Religion and Church; from the German of Dr. *Augustus Neander*. By Joseph Torrey. (Boston, 1847, 1848), 2 vols.

10. Bibliotheca Sancta a *Sixto Senensi*, Ordinis Prædicatorum, Ex præcipuis Catholicae Ecclesiæ Authoribus Collecta, et in octo libris digesta, &c. Opus post Sacra Biblia omnibus veram ac sinceram Theologiam profitentibus summoperé necessarium. Editio Tertia. (Coloniae, 1586.)

11. Life of John Chrysostom, by *James Davie Butler*, (Bibliotheca Sacra, vol. I. p. 669–792).

12. Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, viewed as a Preacher.—From the German of *C. F. W. Paniel*, by *H. J. Ripley*. Bibli. Sacra, Vol. IV. p. 605–649.

history of man, than he has in the history and progress of baboons. If there be something, yes, if you will, much to prompt a sigh, there is far more to justify the language in regard to the great saints during the whole era of the Fathers, in which he, of a portion of whose greatness we are about to attempt an illustration, speaks of those worthies who had preceded him: "O blessed and happy men, whose names are in the book of life, and who shone like lights in the world! Precious is their memory!"

There is no part of the character and history of Chrysostom which has not interest and value. As a christian, an officer of the church, and a preacher, he has claims of no ordinary character upon our attention. His life, his labors, his sufferings, and his death, were such as to endear him to all holy men. Yet if we would single out that in which lay his peculiar greatness, from which by most direct connection proceeded the lustre of his destiny and the depth of his sorrows—if we seek for that which invested him at once with terror and delight to his own times, and made him an object of affectionate and admiring remembrance to all succeeding ages, we shall be at no loss to find it: the saint and the bishop are outshone by the preacher. That greatness, and yet more the cause of that greatness, possess to every christian minister the highest importance. A well executed developement of the whole circle of homiletical art as illustrated in this great man, would be a valuable addition to our theological literature. In default of any such thing, or any prospect of it, we present this humble offering to the readers of the Evangelical Review.

We shall not aim at any severe precision in the arrangement of our matter, as we glance discursively at the general influences, undetermined at first in their specific object, which the events of after life turned into the current of his oratorical power. We shall also point out the distinct and direct discipline imparted to his mind by education, with the intention, at some future period, of offering the natural sequel to this discussion, by showing what the conjunction of his natural powers and of art made him, and what was the character of that sacred eloquence of which he was a master. Along with these facts, we shall bear in our mind, and occasionally bring upon the surface, the general principles of homiletical science which they illustrate.

The history of Chrysostom would be of immense value did it merely furnish an answer to the question: whether there can be a true spiritual eloquence—whether Christianity extinguishes the fire of genius, or dampens the ardor of imagination,

or crushes the exalted and exalting passions of our nature? Were there no name but his,—had not the first breath of christian eloquence warmed the world through the lips of him of whom it was acknowledged by those who acknowledged not his divinity, that he spake as man never spake—were there not a succession of illustrious and sainted names gilding with a serene but glorious light the period in which they arose,—still would the name of Chrysostom, though it stood alone, as it now stands unapproachable, recall the golden lips on which half a world hung with tearful and breathless interest,—the hand which pointed admiring and repenting thousands to heaven. Eloquence is but the harmony of the external and internal—the marriage of mind and matter—the soul shining in the body—the thought bursting forth through the man—and in Chrysostom we behold the arm hurling the thunderbolt, which, whether aimed at the highest or lowest, scathed where it fell; one wave of which, in anger, would have been sufficient to call forth the seditious fury of the whole population of Constantinople. We see him, for his fame, chosen in the face of bitter and secret enmity, by the common suffrage of clergy and people, to the highest ecclesiastical dignity of the great Metropolis of the Oriental Church,—stolen from one city by imperial orders, and finding it necessaty to retire secretly from another to prevent insurrection. We hear an admiring posterity giving him the name of "golden mouthed,"[1] a title conferred on many, but cleaving to him alone, until the appellation of the orator has displaced the name of the man, and we know him by a title by which he did not know himself. And evidence yet more unshakable remains.—We turn to the records of his wonder-working language, which still breathes and burns, and overwhelms with the proofs of his power, and we feel that Christianity, too, has her eloquence and her power. With the voice that thundered over Greece, and turned back the arms of the Æmonian leader, with the sunlight tones, before which the dark meshes of conspiracy, which was gathering around the queen of the world, melted like frost-work—there comes the voice, and thrill the accents

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[1] "Nomen ab aurato traxit Chrysostomus ore."
Spagnoli de Mantua, (born 1444.)

Theodoret, Socrates and Sozomen speak of him in about six hundred places, under the name of John alone. And what is perfectly conclusive, Sozomen (L. viii. c. 10), mentions that the title Chrysostom, was given to Antiochus, Bishop of Ptolemais, a rival of John, but says not a word about such a title having been given to him who now, by the acclamation of a world, wears it alone. It obtaind currency from the time of the Sixth Synod at Constantinople, A. D. 680. See Van Voorst III, 50.

of one worthy to stand by the side of the Athenian and Roman orators, as strong, as sweet, as persuasive as they.

The story of the life of Chrysostom, so far as it mingles with the general current of history, will be best told to the merely English reader, in Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. He who will turn to the thirty-second chapter of that great work, will find, that even that heart which felt so little sympathy with the triumphs of our faith, could not here escape all the inspiration of his theme; and that Gibbon, for once, praises a christian with some of the warmth which is usually reserved for philosophers, atheists and idolaters. Chrysostom florished at a period when high powers were demanded. He was born in the year 354, at Antioch, nineteen years before the death of Athanasius, and while the controversy in which he bore so glorious a part, was rapidly hastening to its height. He became Lector at Antioch about 370. Ten years later he produced his Treatise on the Priesthood. In the year 386, he was ordained Presbyter, and marked this period of his official life by establishing and extending the usage of the western churches of celebrating the birth of Christ on the 25th of December, instead of the 6th of January. He became Bishop of Constantinople, A. D. 397, and four years afterward became entangled in difficulties with Theophilus, the ambitious and wicked bishop of Alexandria, who had opposed his election, and who now endeavored to ruin him on the ostensible pretext that he had protected the fugitive Egyptian monks, who had espoused the peculiar views attributed to Origen. The next year he was condemned by the Council at Chalcedon, and sent into exile; and in the year 407, he received from the hand of that Master whom he had served so well, the Crown of Life. The age of Chrysostom may be regarded as the most splendid in the history of the ancient church. There was a constellation of great names, any one of which would have shed lustre on a whole era.[1] To estimate the intellectual tone of a particular period, we must not think merely of those who, in the strictest sense were cotemporaries, but of all those who florished about that time, the immediate fathers, the immediate actors, and the immedi-

[1] For brief characteristic touches of the principal fathers by Rapin, see Buddei Isagoge, &c. p. 578. Chemnitz has given a very elegant and discriminating view of the excellencies and defects of the early christian writers, from the putative period of the Apostolic canons, to the time of Cyril, in his "Oratio de Lectione Patrum," prefixed to his Loci Theologici, Wittebergiæ, 1623. There is also much valuable matter in the fourth book of the Bibliotheca Sancta of Sixtus Senensis (Coloniæ 1586), in which he treats of the Catholic expositors of the Holy Scriptures.

ate offspring of the age. The age of Chrysostom was adorned by the names of Eusebius Pamphilius, the father of church history, and the most learned man of his time; of Eusebius of Emissa, skilled as an interpreter; of Gregory Nazianzen, distinguished for his philosophic acuteness, historic richness, and florid elegance; of the illustrious brothers, Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, the first of whom, by his theological soundness, his academic grace and profound erudition, won from antiquity, not without reason, the title of "great," and the second for his nervous and close eloquence, and critical exactness, was honored by the Greeks with the title of "Father of the fathers." The christian student has not yet ceased to hold these names in affectionate respect; nor has he forgotten how Ambrose then shed the light of his learning upon the epistles of Paul; nor how Diodorus of Tarsus, Ephraim Syrus, Theodoret, Isidore of Pelusium, and Theodore of Mopseustia, labored not unsuccessfully to unveil the treasures of the word of God. This was the age of Jerome, who has embalmed his great attainments, his noble mind, and his name to eternal remembrance, by his translation of the Bible, and by the commentaries which illustrate it; the age in which Epiphanius and Cyrill defended the faith once delivered to the saints. Yet from the ranks of the illustrious men of this classic and brightest age of patristic genius, we at once instinctively single out two, shining with peculiar glory, each clearly raised up by God and having a great work to perform—either, beyond question, the greatest man of his time, had the other not been born; dividing the palm, and if denied by the admirers of the other to be first, conceded, even by them, to be second. The first of those is Augustine, perhaps the greatest theologian who rose in the church between the times of Paul and of the Reformation. In him the light of Evangelical doctrine blazed out with a lustre which the darkness of the tremendous night, about to descend on the world, could not entirely quench, but which flickered up at long intervals, until the giant hand of a monk, whose order bore his name, fixed it high as the heavens and brighter than the sun, to be the star of our sinful race, till the heavens shall be no more. But the divine legation of the other, whose name you anticipate, is no less clear. Around none of the names of christian antiquity cluster more of the purest and most sacred associations of our faith, and in the charm and power of genius, Chrysostom stands first among them all. Sensitive as the church of Rome is in regard to her glory, one of her most distinguished and devoted sons in the sixteenth century, says: "The greatest alike in the familiar

exposition of the homily or the loftier qualities of the sermon, is Chrysostom, to whom the Greek church never had a superior, nor the Latin an equal, nor furthermore, is likely to have."[1] Rising in an age in which a high standard had been imparted to the eloquence of the pulpit by the great number of minds of the highest order, who had consecrated to it their powers, great excellence was required even to maintain a respectable position, especially in cities so cultivated, fastidious and changeable, as those in which Chrysostom labored. It is hard to be known at all in the competition of great minds; it is harder to be great among the great; but to be greatest among the great is a rare, a wonderful and a fearful endowment. Never were the noblest talents entrusted to more faithful hands, than those of the ardent, laborious, and holy man, on whom our eyes are now turned.

The age demanded men like Chrysostom. The fewness and dearness of books, made it necessary that an active and inquiring people should seek a supply for their intellectual and moral wants, almost entirely from oral instruction. There was in the multitude a passionate love of oratory and an excitability under its influences, of which we can hardly form a conception. There existed also a horrible corruption of morals, which had not left the members, or even the priesthood of the church untainted, which seemed to increase every day; and to correct which, required great skill and fearlessness on the part of a teacher of holiness. The church, too, was rent by the insinuating and dangerous heresy of the Arians, the conflict of which *seemed* doubtful, at times, in its issue.—Abilities of a very high order were engaged in its defence; emperors and councils decided in its favor—and had it firmly established itself in the city of Constantinople, the results would have been long and disastrously felt in the church. We have said the issue *seemed* doubtful—and the closeness of this struggle from which the truth hardly came forth victorious, is often appealed to as a proof that the general voice of the church may give its assent to error—for from almost, to altogether, the transition seems to be easy. But to our minds the only fair inference from this portion of the history of Christianity is, that the truth is imperishable—that the Church,

[1] Bibliotheca Sancta Sixti Senensis, 171. Casaubon speaking of the Commentary of Chrysostom on Isaiah, uses the following language:—"Opus vere aureum ..... Vix puto, ex omnibus scriptis veterum patrum utriusque linguæ, opus simile exstare illi scripto, si modo exstaret integrum ..... Tanta pietas, tanta in sacra scriptura eruditio, quam in illo viro animadverto ..... non sinit me eis adsentire, qui neoterica atque adeo unum e neotericis toti vetustati anteponunt." See Buddei Isagoge &c., Addenda p. 188.

which is its guardian, is founded on a Rock, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. The history of this controversy demonstrates that, however near to extinction God's truth may appear, it never has been, never will be, never *can* be destroyed. If truth be ever driven from the church, it must be driven from the world. As Jesus was as secure of triumph upon the cross as he now is upon his throne—so was the truth of his essential God-head as certain to prevail, when the dark cloud of a vain philosophy seemed about to obscure it forever —as when Christendom, as she afterwards did, acknowledged it by the voice of her assembled Fathers, wrote it in her creeds, and sealed it with the blood of her martyrs. Precisely where the danger, in the fourth century, was greatest, God placed the bulwark of strength against which its waves dashed only to be broken. No opposition was more ardent and effectual than that of Chrysostom; and he lived to see the truth come forth from the furnace, "where one like unto the Son of God had walked with her," with no trace of the seven-fold flame upon her garment, or on her celestial brow.

The gifts with which nature had endowed Chrysostom, and the training which in the providence of God he had received, were, in many respects, in harmony with each other, and concurred in fitting him for his mission. His parents occupied a high position in society. His father Secundus held an important post in the staff of the chief military governor of the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. On the side of his mother Anthusa, he was descended from a wealthy and distinguished family. Both his parents were christians.[1] At the early age of twenty, and soon after the birth of her son, his mother was left a widow, in which condition, induced by a tender regard to her husband's memory, and a desire to devote herself wholly to the improvement of her son, she remained to the end of her life. It was at the flame of a mother's piety his own was kindled, and he received the selectest influences of his early life, where many of the greatest ornaments of the church, in all ages, have first felt the power of divine truth. With the names of the mother of Theodoret, of

[1] This has been denied by so distinguished a writer as Fabricius, who was misled by the life of Chrysostom by George of Alexandria, in which he asserts that his parents were heathens, and that at the age of twenty-three he received baptism at the same time with his mother. See Johannis Chrysostomi Selecta Græce et Latine—de editionis novæ consilio præfatus est, et annotationem subjecit Johannes van Voorst (Lugduni Batavorum) Vol. II. 56. That his parents were christians before his birth, is clearly stated by Chrysostom himself, as for example in his work De Sacerdotio, L. I. § 5. (Lipsiæ, 1834.)

Monica, the mother of Augustine, of Nona the mother of Gregory Nazianzen, and of Anthusa, it were easy, in more recent times, to enumerate those of many through whose influence their sons have been made the glory, not only of the church, but of the world. It was the care of Anthusa, the mother of Chrysostom, that her son should not receive merely the superficial training of the time, which comprised but a smattering of Latin and civil law, but that he might obtain a thorough education.[1] First among his instructors was Libanius, the most accomplished sophist and teacher of eloquence of his age. Thoroughly versed in the philosophy of the Greeks, wielding the weapons of a glowing rhetoric, and of an intricate and keen sophistry,[2] and passionately devoted to the ancient paganism, Libanius, with all that could promise success, endeavored to poison the mind of his pupil against christianity. This expectation, though sanguine, was destined to be disappointed. Chrysostom had early been led to the Holy Scriptures, the fountain of all true knowledge, and the teachings of a pious mother, could not be rooted out of his mind. His eloquence, which already began to give promise of its future lustre, attracted the admiration of his instructor. We have a letter from Libanius when he was yet a young man, in which he praises a panegyric composed by him on the emperor Theodosius and his children. He tells him that after the receipt of his beautiful oration, he had read it to a number of men, who were themselves public speakers, from whom it elicited every expression of astonishment and delight. He congratulates him on the walk he had opened for his powers, and thinks that his eulogy presents the singular happiness of a great theme treated by one every way capable of doing it the highest honor.[3] But perhaps there is no stronger proof of the mingled admiration and irritation with which the gray sophist regarded his brilliant pupil, than his dying words, in which he declared that he had marked him for his successor, had not the christians stolen him away.[4]

The predominating influence in the education of Chrysostom, was that of the Bible. All his works show a thorough acquaintance with it,—abound in quotation, and are rich in

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[1] Of the solicitous care of his mother, Chrysostom has given a beautiful narrative in the Book on the Priesthood, in the passage already alluded to.

[2] "Contorta et aculeata sophismata." Cicero Acad. 4. 24.

[3] Isidore of Pelusium, quoted by Sixtus Senensis. Bibl. Sancta, p. 269.

[4] Ἐσυλησαν—snatched him away as booty, like robbers. Sozomeni Historiæ Eccles. (Froben. Basil 1557). L. VIII. c. 2. Van Voorst II. 95.

allusions drawn from it.[1] His instructors in the Holy Scriptures were, first, Meletius, Bishop of Antioch, from whose hands he received his baptism, his commission as a Lector, and his ordination as a Deacon; and, afterwards, Diodorus, subsequently Bishop of Tarsus. From the latter, especially, he acquired the elements of a simple historical interpretation.[2] Though the mystical allegory of Origen was so widely admired, we find Chrysostom wholly untainted by its influence, and he remains, by common confession, the great master of ancient commentators, as he is of christian orators. In the retirement of a solitary cavern, he spent two years in committing to memory the whole of the Bible. The Holy Scriptures, he declares to be the exquisite balance in which all things are to be weighed—the test by which they are to be tried—the law by which they are to be determined.[3] "Great, indeed," he says elsewhere, "is the reward of him who reads the Holy Scriptures; vast is their utility: as Paul himself hath borne witness, saying, (Rom. 15: 4.) 'Whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope.' For in the Holy Scripture is treasured all that can heal the soul: whatsoever can dispel folly, can calm the passions, overcome the desire of riches, raise us above grief and pain, clothe us with strength of soul, or fit us to endure adversity with an equal mind: whatever remedy, in a word, may be demanded, is here to be found."[4] "When that which stands not in the Holy Scripture is affirmed, the hearer is ever wavering in doubt: but when the word of the great God comes as witness, the confidence of the preacher, the assurance of the hearer are at once confirmed."[5] To these sacred oracles he directed the attention of his auditors; he urged them by an honorable shame as christians not to show, in regard to the principles of their faith, and the great expositions of them, an ignorance

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[1] In this, though not in this alone, Bernard of Clairvaux was like Chrysostom. Of the great Cistercian it was said that he was so imbued with the language of sacred writ, that without his intending it, and almost against his will, he was forced to employ its phraseology. He furnishes but the string for those celestial pearls. The eulogistic words in which Sixtus Senensis speaks of him, are equally true of Chrysostom: "Undequaque veteris ac novi testamenti sententiis distincta sunt, ceu gemmeis emblematibus, *hisque adeò commodè et aptè insertis, ut ibi nata esse credantur.*"

[2] Socratis Scholastici Eccles. Hist. (Basiliæ, 1577.) Lib. VI. cap. II. Sozomen Hist. Eccles. VIII. 2.

[3] "Ἁπάντων ἀκριβῆ ζυγὸν καὶ γνώμονα καὶ κανόνα." Hom. 13. in 2 ad Corinth.

[4] Homil. xxvi. in Johannem. [5] ad Psalm. 96.

which no other profession displayed in its peculiar department. No protestant divine more frequently, sincerely, and urgently enforces the reading of the Scriptures by all persons of all classes, than does Chrysostom. On the proofs of this we need not dwell; they are found on almost every page of his writings; and that corrupt hierarchy which honors his name by saintship, and tramples on his principles, does not attempt to deny that the whole weight of his influence is cast in favor of the right of all to read the word of God.[1] And thus this sentiment of his is a real evidence of the powerful influence of this great agency on his mind, and not a blind and ignorant idolatry; for his interpretations are of the soundest character, and his works are full of valuable hints on the general principles of interpretation, and concur with proofs of every kind to show that his acquaintance with them was as thorough as his admiration was deep and unfeigned.[2]

The influence of the great classic authors of antiquity was the next powerful agency by which the mind of Chrysostom was formed. The great and simple grandeur of their style, the richness of their thought, the high finish of their workmanship, all were felt powerfully by one whose genius was of so kindred a cast. From them, though the corruption of letters was advancing with fearful strides, he derived a language and style which present a natural ease, an unaffected simplicity, a graceful purity which conspired to raise him to his position

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[1] See for instance the Dissertation by Fenelon, "on the use of the Bible, with illustrations, by Rev. John Fletcher, D.D." (Baltimore, John Murphy, 1847.) Fenelon opens with the candid admission, "that many writers have given themselves a very needless degree of trouble to prove, what cannot be called in question—namely, that the laity were wont to read the Bible during the first ages of the church. To be convinced of this, we need only to consult the works of St. Chrysostom. Thus, for example, &c. p. 1–4. See Chrysostom's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans. Concio III. in Lazarum. Hom. in Joan. XVI. Hom. in Matth. II. in Joan. X. Hom. in 1 Thessal. II. In these passages, and others, he contends at large that all without exception should read the Scriptures, that they are clear to the mind of all, and that they should be translated into the vernacular tongue of all nations. He himself translated, it is said, the New Testament and Psalms into the Armenian language. See Sixtus Senensis, Bib. Sancta, pp. 489—492. There is a very copious citation of the passages in Chrysostom on this subject, to the number of seventy-three, with the assurance that these are but a specimen, in "Flacii Illyrici Catalogus Testium Veritatis" etc. (Lugdun, 1597,) pp. 336—345. Leander Van Ess published a work under the title, "Der Heilige Chrysostomus, oder die Stimme der Katholischen Kirche über das nützliche, heilsame und erbauliche Bibellesen. Darmstadt, 1824.

[2] There is a vast fund of valuable matter collected by Flacius Illyricus on sacred criticism, from Chrysostom and the other fathers, in his treatise entitled: "Sententiæ ac Regulæ Patrum de ratione cognoscendi S. Literas," contained in the Clavis Scripturæ Sacræ. (Lipsiæ, 1695) II. 121–228.

as the most classic and elegant of the fathers.[1] He added their stores to the rich ones furnished by his own experience in the great lessons of human nature; and whilst they softened, perhaps, the theoretical estimate which, as a theologian, he might put upon the original and essential depravity of man, which is a doctrine unknown to heathen writers, they furnished overwhelming and mournful evidence of the corruption to which all mankind, in fact, had come. Taught by the Bible and by these great masters, often unconsciously its best commentators, he holds up to vice a picture of her own ugliness, with a power as masterly as that of Juvenal; he paints the conflict of the christian in the glowing hues with which Homer revives the heroes around Troy; he brings out the narrative of the Evangelists with the picturesque grace of Livy, and with the skill of the lesser, though not less pleasing, poets; he gives to his delineations of domestic life a minute finish, which makes his works the store-house of the antiquary as well as of the christian, and conspires to crown him with a varied reputation, as the classic moralist, theologian, saint, painter and poet of his times.[2]

He employs the truths of general history, also, with sufficient frequency to show his great familiarity with them. His retentive memory constantly came to the aid of his vivid imagination. It ranged over the whole period of ancient history, from the time of fable, to his own age.[3] In the annals of the church he was versed in a high degree. He recounts the toils of the saints and the sufferings of the martyrs with a sympathy which kindles in every word, and seems eager to emulate their holy renown.

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[1] Sixtus Senens. Bib. Sanc. p. 259.

[2] Chrysostom frequently quotes from the Greek poets, as for example from Pindar, from Aratus, to whom he was the first to refer the well known quotation of Paul (Acts xvii. 8.), from Homer, whom he employs frequently in the way of direct quotation and of allusion. He introduces many figures and proverbial expressions from the poets. An ample detail of these is given by Van Voorst, Oper. Selec. &c. II. 154–168.

[3] For instance, he speaks of the tyrant who in vain commanded Socrates to desert philosophy; of that philosopher going to war; of the expulsion of Plato from Sicily; of Demosthenes at the battle of Chaeronea; of the law of Solon, mentioned by Æschines; of the institutes of Lycurgus regarding the Lacadæmonian virgins; of Xenophon laying aside the crown whilst sacrificing, when he heard that his son had fallen at Mantinea. He alludes to various particulars having reference to Diogenes, Alcibiades, Aristides, Epaminondas and Aristippus. From the fabulous period we have the story of Phœnix, son of Amyntor, told by Homer, the marriage of Œdipus, and others on which we cannot dwell. There are occasionally perversions and anacronisms, in referring to matter of this kind, arising from his extempore delivery. See Van Voorst, II. 168–170.

The mind of Chrysostom was imbued, too, with the better philosophy of the ancient world. He constantly employs for the government of life the Socratic or Platonic precepts, but in a christian form.[1]

Among the early and controlling influences of the character of Chrysostom, not only as a man but as a preacher, we are not to forget the monastic life. Having entered with every prospect of a successful and distinguished career on the practice of law, he soon felt disgusted with the artifice and dishonesty naturally connected with that profession in a corrupt age, and cherished an increasing desire to retire from the world and in solitude to consecrate himself wholly to God. Around Antioch were the cells of many monks whose days were spent in devotion and industry, and to their contemplative life his heart continually turned. This disposition was heightened by the fact that Basil, the companion of his childhood, and the friend most beloved in his maturer years, had entered upon this state and was exerting a powerful influence in its favor upon him. It is believed that the opposition of his mother to this step prevented him from taking it until after her death, though during her life he remained almost a monk in his own home. He passed four years in this form of eremitical life, and, with an ardor unquenched, spent two years in complete solitude in a convent, until exhausted nature compelled him to return to the haunts of men.

Fraught as this whole system is, not only with abuse, but in its own nature with manifold evils, it is yet useless to deny that it may, in some cases, be attended by benefits too dearly purchased, indeed, by its dangers, and counterbalanced by too much that is most wicked and revolting, to authorize any apologetic useof this admission. It is certain that the wise and almighty providence of God, which in any mixed influence can neutralize the evil and develope the good, employed it in this case for the production of the happiest results. But it was the monastic system divested of those attributes with which we justly regard it, but rather in a form realizing the pure ideal of its original conception, which formed to so great an extent the character of Chrysostom. It was this life, in *this* form, which he describes so graphically, admires so warmly and de-

[1] Van Voorst, II. 154–158, 170–182. This is an interesting note in Möhler's Symbolism, (New York, 1844) p. 180, which touches on the comparative influence of the various systems of ancient philosophy, as preparative to Christianity. See also a beautiful comparison of the effects of the Stoic and Platonic philosophies, in Neander's Church History. (Philadelphia, 1843,) pp. 18, 19.

fends so eloquently. It was not the sensual and slothful existence which has so often been passed in monasteries that he defends; and the sting of the reproach which ignorance has made against him on account of his admiration and zeal for monasticism, loses all its venom when we recall what was his idea of the true life of the monk; for though a pure christianity shows unto us "a yet more excellent way," this does not prove that the slothful, who know that better path, are advancing more rapidly on the journey of life, than the earnest souls, whose path is more rugged and less direct. Chrysostom's picture is that of men truly detached in heart from the world, engaged in the study of God's word, in meditation, in sacred music and in prayer, laboring diligently with their own hands, engaging in the education of the young, the succor of the distressed, and the relief of the poor. Crucified unto the world, and with the world crucified unto them, they make the pains and trials of the body the joy and strength of the soul.—Weaned alike from the cares and the love of life and the fear of death, they seek the mountain tops, as if they would be nearer heaven,—the wild cavern that they may feel alone with God.[1] They sacrifice the joys of domestic life that they may give themselves to Christ; they renounce the occupations of the world that they may walk in heaven. Often they were weary souls, fleeing like mariners from the tempest, and rejoicing that they had found a haven where their throbbing hearts might be still. With every passion dormant, which worldly cares, griefs, dangers, hopes, or fears might excite, "they sought an abiding kingdom, a city to come, whose builder and maker is God." In the lonely vallies, by the murmuring fountains, in the voiceless wilderness they conversed with God. Far from the poisoned air of the city, and the unhealthy excesses of luxury, pursuing a life, simple, tranquil and systematic, their bodily health and unclogged faculties were in unison with their spirits. Every little garden that sprung up in the wilderness, beneath their cultivating hands became a paradise, the seat of innocence and bliss, where God again walked and conversed with men, but where the tempter appeared only to be driven away with shame. "With the first ray of the morning," says Chrysostom,[2] "nay, long before day, they arise from their couches, their minds

[1] "Felices nemorum—incolas
Certo consilio quos Deus abdidit."
Jean Baptiste Santenil.

[2] Homil. LXIX. in Matt. (Froben. 1517.)

clear and fully awaked: the aching head, the heart worn with care are as far from them as from the angels on high. Their faces beam with the joy and peace which pervade their souls: they come together and their choral song of praise to God rises as from one heart, with one voice; they thank him for the blessings which he lavishes on all, and for those prëeminently by which he has distinguished them. Their song floats to heaven, it mingles in one strain with the angels': 'Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will toward men.' Apparelled with a simplicity suited to their characters, and conformed to the example of the prophets, apostles, and saints of old, in their garments of goat-skins or of camels' hair, they now on bended knees implore that they may be guided safely on the path of life, and that they may reach at last the presence of the great Judge with joy; and as the morning sun begins to shine, they turn to their occupations for the benefit of the poor. The day is spent in alternate labor, reading and prayer. After their homely repast, they return praise in this song: 'Blessed art thou who hast fed us from our youth, who givest food unto all flesh: fill our hearts with joy and gladness, that ever having sufficient we may abound in all things in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom with Thee, be honor, glory and dominion, world without end. Glory be to Thee, O Lord, glory to Thee most Holy, glory to Thee, O King! Thou who hast fed us, fill us also with joy and gladness in the Holy Ghost, that when thou renderest unto each according to his work, we may be found acceptable in thy presence, without shame.'"

Such is the picture on which we have dwelt, not only because of the insight that it gives us of the sort of influence exercised on the great christian orator, at a most important period of his life, but also as characteristic of the times—a picture not without beauty, and which Chrysostom had constantly before his mind when he spoke of the monastic life. And if we allow for the hues with which an ardent devotion, assisted by a strong imagination, and expressing itself with the florid graces of rhetoric, would invest it, such was the life substantially, which, as a monk, Chrysostom passed. It is not wonderful that he, and other good men, were enamored of such a life and disposed to estimate its advantages too highly, its dangers too low. The condition of society was extremely artificial and corrupt to a loathsome degree; the empire was groaning under political oppression and every form of abuse; the indolent, ascetic and contemplative spirit of the east, and the influence of much of the prevailing philosophy, fostered

a tendency to solitude and bodily mortification. But, perhaps, above all, the furious, heartless, and sometimes bloody controversies, equally painful with those which embittered the last hours of Melanchthon, and made him die lamenting the rage of theologians, conspiring with the other causes, naturally inclined good men to withdraw from the scenes of active life, and explain, if they do not justify, the tendency of the times. To this life it is certain that Chrysostom was indebted for the ripening of much that was most valuable in his character, and most potent in his oratory. From the reflective habit it formed and cultivated, from the opportunity it gave for thorough self-examining introspection, which is the only mode of obtaining a radical and profound acquaintance with human nature, from the intimacy with the word of God which he there formed, from the simplicity and severity of morals and personal habits so essential to self-control and clearness of mind, which he there cherished, arose much of his power and of his greatness. In the fascinations of Antioch, amidst the allurements of Constantinople, the rival of great Rome,[1] the presbyter and the arch-bishop retained all the features of the lowly monk; and though abounding in wealth, he was still the enemy of personal gratification and the friend of the poor.

Thus at the era of the Reformation, when God called forth from the cloisters, "the man of his right hand," and others who stood with him, he selected them from the place where they had received the best training the times could afford for their work. When Rome sent the pale and hollow-eyed monk to his vigils; when she trained him to beg in defiance of that shame whose dread once overcome leaves man little to fear, she dreamed not that, like the daughter of Pharaoh, her nursing and training were rearing the prophet, who was to speak the word which should fill her coasts with plagues,—who was to lead forth Israel from bondage, and to send the wild waves upon her hosts, to whelm her pride and her boasting in the sea.[2]

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[1] "Urbs etiam magnæ quæ dicitur aemula Romae,
Et Chalcedonias contra despectat arenas."
Claudian. V. 54, seq.

[2] Compare the remarks of Dr. Schaff in the Principle of Protestantism, (Chambersburg, 1845) pp. 48, 49. a work through which the native land of the author need not feel ashamed to find itself represented on our shores, of which the land of his adoption may well be proud, whose enemies have trumpeted the unquestionable instances of hastiness and almost of arrogance, (even *we*, who claim to be exceeding meek, are still curdled a little at the way Milton is spoken of on p. 143), which are to be found in it, but have either not had the taste to discern, or the candor to confess the general beauty, power and suggestiveness which characterize it in a high degree.

Chrysostom, we have already said, was trained for the practice of law, on whose duties he had actually entered with every promise of a successful career. This preparation was not without value to the future preacher and officer of the church. As a source of mental discipline; as an indirect though overwhelming demonstration of the manifold and subtle forms of human depravity; as a commentary on divine law, of which it is the natural though imperfect image, as natural religion is of christianity, the study of law may prove of high value to the minister of the gospel, and its elementary and general principles might, perhaps, be employed with advantage, in all cases, in ministerial education. The practical character and skill in business which such an experience was likely to impart, caused the ancient church to set it forth as a maxim, "that, except in places bordering on the infidels, a good lawyer makes a better bishop than a good divine,"[1] nor has the church, in ancient or modern times, wanted examples of sufficient lustre to give respectability to the paradox.

We have dwelt at length upon the *training* by which Chrysostom was prepared for eminence in the pulpit, because we regard this as a subject whose importance cannot be estimated too highly. It was when thoroughly educated, formed on the highest oratorical principles of his times, at the age of thirty, in the full maturity of his powers imparted by discipline and time, that he became a preacher. Though his mind was of that high order which exhibits greatness even when comparatively untrained, yet Providence added to the richest natural gifts the highest graces of culture. Art harmonized with nature in what was lavished upon him; and one secret, doubtless, of his success was, that he took so high a view of the learning and discipline necessary for the greatest usefulness in the ministerial office. We know, indeed, that there prevails at present, as there has always prevailed among the illiterate, the half educated and the enthusiastic, a tendency to substitute for perfect cultivation an immature vigor, and to imagine that skill, order, unity, harmony and finish are nothing. There are those who, presuming upon their own natural gifts, the warmth of their temperament, or some oracular inbreathing of the Holy Spirit, deride diligence and knowledge, and by "mocking at the terms when they understand not the things;"[2] secure in their own minds that victory, which igno-

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[1] Edinburgh Encyclopedia, art. Christianity.

[2] The works of Ben. Jonson (Moxon. London, 1846). The Alchymist, To the Reader. In this preface the great dramatist speaks of those who "commend writers (he might have added, speakers) as they do fencers or

rance and assurance never find it hard to win. These men are shocked at such a term as "the art of preaching," which, they would persuade us, is equivalent to soaring nonsense, stage strutting, and every kind of self-display and extravagance. But the experience of all mankind will prove that these defects are found either in the very illiterate, whose taste is unchastened, in the very young whose blood is still warm, or in those in whom vanity and other passions are easily roused and defy control. True art is not the antagonist of nature, but her child, emulating the parent with a holy love. It is the antagonist of false art and of all affectation; it is the nurse of simplicity, and the sponsor at the baptism, which consecrates great minds to their exalted vocation. The object of true art is but the general form of nature stripped of the meanness of the individual and of the sordidness of all particular times, circumstances and influences; the substance without the accidents. Nature only presents beautiful things, but art strives to discover and reveal beauty, to separate what may be confounded—for every beautiful thing has something which is not beautiful, and how many grasp the second when seeking for the first; but Beauty is a perfect and unmingled essence. Art struggles after that which is most natural in nature, and when it falls below nature, it is because nature, with a lower aim, perfectly secures her end, while art, with higher aim, can often come no nearer her glorious goal than to give a sigh and drop a tear towards it. As religion in each saint is imperfect, and its most complete revelation is to be sought in that aggregate of spiritual and moral excellence presented in all saints, and that revelation still presupposes something beyond itself and more perfect than itself, its absolute fountain and source of inspiration, even religion itself in its objective, essential and immutable perfection; so the ultimate object of search to art is that whose image is all nature, but which lies beyond nature and constitutes the idea on which all is framed. Towards this it strives without expecting perfectly to apprehend it. Yet imperfect as it feels itself to be, and confesses

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wrestlers; who if they come in robustiously, and put for it with a great deal of violence, are received for the braver fellows.—I deny not, but that these men, who always seek to do more than enough, may some time happen on something that is good and great; but very seldom; and when it comes, it doth not recompense the rest of their ill. It sticks out, (here Jonson borrows from Quinctilian,) perhaps, and is more eminent, because all is sordid and vile about it: as lights are more discerned in a thick darkness than in a faint shadow. It is only the disease of the unskillful, to think rude things greater than polished; or scattered more numerous (i. e. harmonious) than composed."

with an eloquent beauty, which contributes at once to the highest persuasion of its truth, and to the strongest counter-evidence of it, still true art is an absolute essential in that condition of society in which man has passed from the period of impulse to that of science, and is indispensable to the formation of the highest style of eloquence. In a highly refined social condition, it is absurd to assert that a man can be born an orator. The Indian may utter a wild strain of eloquence, a mingling of oratory and poetry which flames before men whose passions kindle at a touch, and which may exercise a transient power even over civilized man. But we might as well plead that because there is eloquence in the wild gesture and agonizing entreaty of a mother who supplicates you to save her child from the flames, that therefore the lawyer and the minister can be eloquent in their spheres without training. There are momentary circumstances which practically bring back hearer and speaker alike to the position of infant society. The direct plea of self-preservation is the same in every condition of society. Abel was eloquent against the murderous hand uplifted to destroy him, precisely as the most gifted orator, under the same circumstances, would now be; but the moment we step out of the sphere, in which there is a direct operation of the mere instincts, and find ourselves in an advanced and highly complex condition of society, in which one influence in a thousand arises from the character of man as a detached being; we feel that oratory, which must embrace the very picture of the minds and hearts of those addressed, set in the views and passions of him who speaks, must also of necessity exhibit a corresponding advance, and assume a corresponding complexity. The eloquence of the savage transferred, unchanged, to the ordinary sphere of oratory in cultivated society, could only excite contempt and ridicule. It is by a dramatic delusion which transfers us to the scene of his wrongs and the infancy of his social condition, that we admire the records of such eloquence. If a man exercise only the gifts with which he has been born, with which are often confounded, in the grossest manner, the results of culture, his power can only be felt by those who are substantially in the same condition of nature with himself. Men have, in enlightened societies, become orators with comparatively few external advantages, but no man ever became great without any. The difficulties, indeed, under which men of genius have labored, ought often to be counted among their advantages—for what was lost in their education in variety and extent, has been compensated by its greater solidity, their more thorough mas-

tery of it, and by the hardiness and energy of character gained in the struggle by which they force the world to acknowledge their gifts. Yet to relax our efforts to train men for the pulpit on this account would be most senseless. The system of Sparta, which caused all weakly children to be put to death, might secure a community composed more exclusively of able bodied men, yet it was a system not only inhuman but impolitic. In the same way, the system of which we are speaking would kill off all the feeble-hearted and timid, to whom the richest intellectual gifts have often been imparted, so that only a few great and hardy spirits might be left. But it is forgotten how many even of this class have utterly failed, and have been reduced to dispair by want of the advantages for whose importance we are contending. The few who have gained the haven compel us to hear of them, but the wave of oblivion rolls its monotonous surge over thousands, who in the efforts, alike vain, of feebleness or of strength, were swept away because they had not been taught to swim. The substance of what is commonly advanced upon this subject is, that a great genius, with few advantages, can do more than a great booby with many. This, we need hardly say, is cheerfully conceded, and has always been by the most strenuous advocates of thorough preparation. One of the great ancient masters of oratorical art has said, and any one might have said it, for no one denies it: "Plus sine doctrina prudentia, quam sine prudentia valet doctrina," that is, "better is good sense without learning, than learning without good sense;" but the real question is, whether good sense is better without learning than with it. Natural bone-setters and natural orators, whose claims are in conflict with surgical and intellectual training, may be regarded with a smile by all but the victims of their empiricism. For our part, we are compelled to think with Quinctilian:[1] "We should, indeed, congratulate those who

[1] De Institutione Oratoria (Lipsiæ, Tauchnitii, 1829). Lib. II. XII. 12. Lib. XI. III. 2. "Illis quidem gratulemur sine labore, sine disciplina disertis. ——Verum illi persuasione sua utantur, qui hominibus, ut sint oratores, satis putant nasci, nostro labori dent veniam, qui *nihil credimus esse perfectum, nisi ubi natura cura juvetur*.——Multo labore, assiduo studio, varia exercitatione, pluribus experimentis, altissimo consilio constat ars dicendi."

Compare Seiler's Grundsätze vom Predigen und andern geistlichen Vorträgen. (Erlangen, 1786), Einleitung, § 9. A low conception of what eloquence is, lies at the foundation of these false views. Let those who imagine that great orators are scattered

> "Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks
> In Vallombrosa,"

compare their idea of what constitutes an eloquent man with that of one whose opinion is entitled to the highest respect: (Ciceronis Opera omnia ex

are eloquent without labor and without study.——Those may rejoice in their belief, who think that, to be born is all that is necessary to make men orators, but they must excuse the laborious preparation of us who believe that *there is no perfection but where nature is aided by study.*——The art of speaking consists in great labor, persevering study, varied exercise, repeated efforts and the most profound wisdom."

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## ARTICLE VII.

### REMARKS ON THE STUDY OF PROPHECY.

By Rev. J. A. Seiss, Cumberland, Md.

WONDERFUL is the constitution of man! God has not only made him an image of divine intelligence and holiness, but has also left on him the impress of divine omniscience and eternity. His faculties live through a wider range than that of his earthly stay. In memory he lives over the past; and by a strongly marked characteristic of his nature, he bends forward and takes in futurity. He is indeed too feeble to penetrate far into time to come without divine aid, but the consciousness is strong within him that an infinite futurity is necessary to the full scope and play of his wonderful adaptations. In youngest childhood he already asks what will be to-morrow, and decrepid age still finds his thoughts busied about things to be. Often heedless of the past, and but little concerned to understand the present, he spends the hours contemplating ideal scenes, still hoping that rolling years will give them the reality of truth.

The existence of this propensity to pry into the future, together with the impossibility of having it gratified without divine assistance, furnishes us ground to look for a revelation from God. In none of the other desires which the Creator has implanted in our nature, has he mocked or disappointed us. In giving us appetites for food and drink, he also created the materials with which to satisfy them. In inspiring us with ambition and desires to excel, he has given us a world in which to operate, and placed objects before us well worthy

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recens. nov. Jo. Augusti Ernesti. Bostoniæ, 1815. De Oratore 1. 28.) "In Oratore acumen dialecticorum, sententiæ philosophorum, verba probe poetarum, vox tragœdorum, gestus pene summorum actorum est requirendus."

our noblest efforts. In giving us domestic and social affections, he made us opposite sexes and ordained the marriage institution to give them exercise. In giving us a disposition to worship, he also set himself before us as an object entitled to our veneration and love. And from the fact that he has given us these strong and restless desires to know what is to come—these hopes and inward longings after the things concealed in the bosom of futurity—we may readily expect that he has also furnished the means whereby these, too, may be gratified. Accordingly, God has blessed us with prophecy.

The prophecy of which we now speak, is not that deep penetration by which ordinary men sometimes anticipate coming events. This is not above the power of natural reason. All will agree when it is asserted, that, for all time to come, the sun will rise and set—the ocean ebb and flow—the wind blow from divers points—and the seasons alternate. But this involves no prophetic spirit. These things are certain to follow from the constitution and established laws of nature, and may be foretold by any who will ascertain these laws. The astronomer foretells every eclipse of the sun and moon for centuries to come, to the very day and hour. But this is not prophecy. It is a matter of calculation based upon the uniform movements of the heavenly bodies. The experienced politician often predicts, with astonishing accuracy, what is about to transpire. Lord Chesterfield described and foretold the French Revolution long before it occurred; Lord Chatham predicted the American war for independence and its success; John Adams related exactly to the Colonial congress, and Patrick Henry foretold what would be the effect of adopting the Declaration of Independence. But this is not prophecy. All such predictions are made from observations of the common principles which govern human actions. Prophecy is a *miracle*; a miracle of the most remarkable kind; an *intellectual* miracle; a ray of Divine omniscience thrown in upon the human soul. It is an effort of mind far above the most extraordinary effort of unaided reason. It is the declaration, or description, or representation of future things, to which no chain of circumstances were seen to lead, to which no train of probabilities pointed, and which were not to be determined by the operation of any known laws.

Prophecy, like every thing else, has had its counterfeits. It is a plant from whose wide-spread roots have grown many fruitless shoots. The intense desires of men to look into the future, have led to many tricks and queer pretences on the part of the unprincipled and avaricious. The heathen world is

full of oracles and magicians, nor is christendom free from impious pretenders to prophetic inspiration. But when we lay down real prophecy along side of what emanates from such sources, it displays such a prëeminent dignity and glory, that no one can mistake it. It is manifest from its own grandeur and excellence. It declares things so unlikely ever to happen, of such vast consequence to the entire world, in such detailed particulars of time and place, and for so many ages to come, that all who examine it must see, that it can be nothing less than a supernatural communication from Him who knew the end from the beginning. All other oracles relate only to matters of minor importance; are supported for gainful traffic or wilful deception; are delivered in detached fragments, and those in evasive terms; whilst some excuse is always in readiness to account for their variations from the events. Real prophecy is one grand whole. It is a connected system; a building all fitted and framed together. Though it was delivered by different men, in different ages and languages, its unity and symmetry are preserved unbroken. All its writers appear like so many tributaries to the one majestic stream, which runs through all time, and loses itself in the ocean of eternity.

Infidels have often spoken of an obscurity in the prophecies of Scripture, as fatal to their claims to a divine inspiration.—But so far as any such obscurity exists, it seems rather to support than to invalidate their divinity. If they were as clear as the power of narrative could make them, any impudent usurper might put himself forward; and so far as his agency would enable him to conform himself to their history, might exhibit such a fulfilment as should defeat the very purposes for which they were given. It is a necessary feature of real prophecy, to be obscure and and unintelligible in many of its circumstances previous to its fulfilment, and to reserve its complete explanation for the day of its accomplishment. And if the fulfilment of a prophecy will but explain particulars which were prëviously obscure, but evidently in the contemplation of the prophet, it must augment the force of evidence in favor of its miraculous and divine origin. Exactly so is it with respect to the prophecies of Scripture. They are just obscure enough to disguise some of the leading circumstances from those who lived *before* their fulfilment, while they derive from the events explanations satisfying to all who have lived *after* them. Beyond this necessary concealment, there is no disgraceful equivocation—no hiding of the real idea intended to be conveyed. And while heathen oracles were commonly

susceptible of opposite constructions, the Scripture prophecies relating to Nineveh, Tyre, Babylon, and the countries adjoining, together with others respecting the Messiah and the general history of the world, are not even so much veiled by symbolic language as to elude the understanding of the most negligent observers. So that instead of being, what infidels would have them appear, mere riddles intended to puzzle the ingenuity of man, they are real and intelligible disclosures mercifully made from God to us and our children.

## I. *Ought Prophecy to be Studied?*

A negative reply to this inquiry, no reader of these pages will be likely to expect. Yet it is sometimes said, that *the study of prophecy either finds a man crazy, or leaves him so.* Whether such observations are intended to characterize as the veriest fools, such men as Bishops Newton, and Sherlock, and Hurd, Sir Isaac Newton, Campegius, Vitringa, Bishop Newcombe, Nolan, and Brickersteth, it is not for the writer to say. Certainly they are not very happily indited compliments to the memory of these great and good men.

By taking our appeal to the arbiters of all moral and theological questions, we shall probably receive some light as to whether prophecy ought to be studied or not. If we turn to the first chapter of the second catholic letter of the apostle Peter, we may read as follows:—"We have also a more sure word of *prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed.*" To take heed to a thing, (προσέχω,) signifies, to direct the thoughts to it—to fix the attention steadily on it—to observe it with deep scrutiny—to follow it as a disciple follows his master. To take heed to prophecy, then, of course implies the study of it, and the diligent pursuit of what it discovers to us as duty. The same proceeding the inspired apostle approves, and declares that it is "*well*" to do so.

If we turn to one of the most remarkable of the prophetic books, we will find it prefaced by these words:—"Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear *the words of this prophecy*, and keep the things that are written therein." Rev. 1: 3). To *read*, (Αναγινώσκω,) signifies to know—to recognize—to understand accurately. So that we here have a blessing pronounced by the God of prophecy, upon such as shall study and understand it.

And to say that the study of prophecy is improper and unedifying, also conflicts with other statements from the same holy authority. Paul says, "*All scripture* is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for cor-

rection, for instruction in righteousness." (2 Tim. 3: 16.) And the Savior expressly enjoins, "*Search the Scriptures.*" (John 5: 39.) No exceptions are made with regard to prophecy. Nothing is said by way of preference for one portion over another. All is put upon the same foundation. So that whatever we find in the Scriptures, whether law or gospel, doctrine or prophecy, it is all equally entitled to our devout consideration.

But who can doubt the propriety and importance of studying prophecy, when it is considered what overpowering evidence it affords of the Divinity of our religion. These are days of high-handed skepticism. Infidels are at work by organized associations, and by private and personal exertions, to break the hold of christianity upon human affections. It is true that no fears need be entertained of their success. There is no danger that they will ever be able to break the weapons which God has set for the defence of his truth. But still we must be prepared to meet them. Into our hands has come "the faith once delivered to the saints," and it is for us to contend for it against all opposition. In fulfilling this duty, prophecy is one of our strong holds. In this we can take our position with the greatest safety and the greatest power.

God, in his wisdom and goodness, has furnished to every age, just such demonstrations of the truth as are best adapted to the peculiar emergencies they happen to occasion. What could have better authenticated the Divine mission of Christ and his apostles, than the miracles they wrought, and to which they appealed? It is not even to be conceived in what *other* way they could have furnished sufficient evidence to convince their hearers of their supernatural power and authority. They might have prophesied, as they also did; but their prophecies could be of no weight or force until after their fulfilment. So that the very best proofs of their divine commission, which the circumstances would allow, were furnished in the numerous, public, and astounding miracles which they performed. These were things which the people could see and feel for themselves. They were proofs tangible to the senses, and established beyond equivocation, that God was with the men who wrought them.

These miracles, as they are recorded by credible witnesses in genuine and authentic books, written about the time when they were performed, still constitute a strong link in the chain of christain evidence. But they are so remote from our own time, and so closely connected with the period of fable and mythology, that they do not now so forcibly impress us. The

lapse of time has tended to weaken their effect. It is different with prophecy. Here, increase of age gives increase of strength; and the further the event is removed from the utterance of the prediction, the more conclusive is the evidence that it originated in Divine inspiration. It is this accumulated and ever progressive force in the argument from prophecy, which makes it the appropriate and peculiar dependence of the church in these latter ages. And if we were even to concede what is demanded by the sophistical Hume to render a miracle credible,[1] we have it here. So many prophecies have been made, that they comprehend nearly all history; and they are being fulfilled every century among all the nations under the sun. The fulfilment of ancient prophecy is getting to be *the experience of all people;* and this highest of all miracles is now being witnessed by more than half the dwellers on the earth. Thus Providence has anticipated the wily objection with which the infidel would fain annihilate christianity, by working a miracle before his own eyes, and before the eyes of all who will look to see it.

Why, then, not study prophecy? Why not take up this weapon which God has given us, and wield it for his glory? As we are to stop the mouth of the gainsayer by giving him an answer for the hope that is in us, why not go out with him, and point him to those silent desolations, which speak and preach so eloquently for the truth of our Scriptures! Why not invite his steps to the barren rocks where once stood the mighty Tyre,—to the debased people of Egypt, to the forsaken ruins of Babylon, and to the miserable degradations of the once glorious Jerusalem, and there read to him what our prophets said so many ages since? Why not sit down and demonstrate to him, as well we can, how the posterity of Ishmael has been multiplied in the wilderness, their hand still against every man, and every man's hand against them—and how Israel has been removed into all the kingdoms of the earth, where they remain hated and oppressed to the present moment; and thus, as his confidence begins to quake upon its old foundations, also point his thoughts to still more won-

[1] Hume's argument on the incredibility of miracles, is a little like the reason assigned by a certain son of Erin who was convicted of murder, why sentence of death should not be passed on him. "Indeed sir," said the culprit, "I think it very unreasonable and unfair that sentence of death should be passed upon me, when but *two men* swear that *they saw* me commit the murder, and I am sure I can find your honor *fifty men* in Ireland who will swear *they did not see me do it!*" The testimony of the fifty men would just be as conclusive for the Irishman's innocence, as the ordinary experience of mankind would be against the occurrence of a miracle.

drous things that are to be hereafter. We say, why not do this and much more? Is it not a legitimate employment for christian students and teachers to defend their faith? Surely, then, it is right that we should study prophecy.

Even irrespective of the usefulness of the prophetic writings in the argument for inspiration, there are other reasons why they should be studied. They are rich in comfort and edification for the christian's heart. Indeed, we cannot comprehend the scope and glory of our redemption without them.—It is here, only, that we read the grand outlines of God's providence in the world, or learn the real majesty of his counsels of love. To the diligent search and patient study of the humble and devout, a vast landscape is here spread out, filled with wondrous grandeur and surpassing beauty, the horizon of which is fringed with the bright dawning glories of eternity. There is something in prophecy, which, if it be carefully studied, will help to wean us from the world, to place our hearts on heavenly things, and to fit us for an entrance upon pure, uninterrupted, and lasting happiness. At every step there is something to encourage and comfort us under the fatigues and privations of life; to confirm our faith, and to animate our hopes with glorious anticipations. And if at any time we are made to tremble in view of approaching judgments, it is of that salutary fear which leads to greater diligence to "flee the wrath to come." Prophecy also discloses to us such amazing conceptions of God, his majesty, knowledge, power, and holiness, as cannot but help to increase our veneration and awe. It is a heavenly light, revealing to faith and hope many things which are otherwise invisible, and so must necessarily edify and improve those who will study it, in many ways which they cannot anticipate.

Doubtless the student of prophecy will have to encounter difficulties. He will not always find it as clear as light. Peter calls it "a light that shineth in a dark place;" (2 Pet. 1: 19.) and it is not to be expected that every thing will be as plain as open day. In unfulfilled prophecies, as has been remarked, there is a necessary obscurity in many of the circumstances. But all the difficulties in the way of an adequate knowledge of the prophetic Scriptures, are artificial, and of our own creation. They are not to be compared to the obstacles over which the cultivators of other parts of learning are accustomed to triumph. In fact, when we look at it aright, the very obscurities and difficulties which keep so many from looking into the prophecies, are edifying to the soul. It would indeed be hard to tell, whether the glory of God is displayed more in

what He brings out with noonday clearness, or in what he leaves concealed under the surface of ordinary observation. It is a real pleasure to the mind to know that something has been left for it to do. It luxuriates in the exercise of overcoming obstacles, and bringing up the truth from regions which lie beyond the reach of common view. Only furnish to the human faculties the assurance of success, and it is their highest happiness and purest virtue to labor, and to wrestle with difficulties. So the glimmering twilight which hangs over prophecy is in exact adaptation to our nature. There is just light enough to guide, and cheer, and quicken, and excite; and just darkness enough to keep the pride of human speculation within proper restraint, and to make us prayerful and humble. And as God has intended that we shall exercise and cultivate the faculties he has given us, the very study which a correct acquaintance with prophecy imposes, will help to strengthen and prepare them for the study of greater things in another world.

And when we look at the spirit of improvement and patient inquiry which distinguishes the teachers and students of other branches of knowledge, there is reason to be *provoked* to the study of prophecy. See the thousands who devote themselves to mathematics, astronomy, natural history, literature, and the arts, with what untiring assiduity they labor in their several departments! "They aspire (says a cotemporary Journal,) not merely to be respectable, but to be eminent. They believe in the possibility, not only of mastering what others have learned, but of advancing their several branches to a higher perfection; and they shrink from no toil, they hesitate at no expense, that may contribute to that end. They dig into the bowels of the earth to ascertain the nature and position of its rocks, detect the relics of its former inhabitants, and deduce, if possible, the process of its formation. They visit the remotest isles and continents, traverse wildernesses and deserts, and penetrate into the regions of eternal frost, to observe the different aspects of the world, and learn the nature of its productions. They hunt every inhabitant of the air, and land, and sea; delineate their forms, and note their peculiar habits. They draw every tree, shrub, plant, and flower, assign to them their several orders, and ascertain their uses. They exhaust all the resources of science and art in the construction of instruments to extend their researches into the works of God beyond the limits of our orb. They penetrate into the fathomless heights and depths of space; watch the motions of every planet; mark every star; and learn to resolve their complicated

phenomena into their proper laws. Every accession to their stock of knowledge is hailed with enthusiasm, and raises the discoverer to conspicuity and honor. The detection of a new element in the mineral or vegetable kingdoms; the verification of some great law of matter; the discovery of a new planet, resounds throughout the civilized world, and quickens the pulse of whole nations with exhilaration. The students of geology, chemistry, of the animal and vegetable worlds, of the higher branches of mathematics and astronomy, present in this relation a spectacle of intellectual and moral grandeur, that has scarce a parallel. What untiring application! What exhaustless ingenuity in the invention of instruments; in the detection of principles; in the solution of perplexing problems! What a lavish expenditure of wealth; and with what noble aims and results! the mitigation of the physical evils with which our race is smitten; the easier production, multiplication, and the improvement of the means of subsistence; the creation and higher perfection of engines by which man is relieved from exhausting toil; the advancement of the arts which minister to comfort and refinement; the enlargement of our knowledge of God and his empire! And what splendid successes have attended their labors! They have added larger accessions to the circle of useful knowledge during the present century, than had been contributed by their successors for ages. And to what is their success owing? Not to the absence of difficulties; not to a freedom of the great subjects they have investigated, from intricacy. No problems that ever tasked the faculties of man, demand a loftier grade of powers, a larger grasp of intelligence, a greater patience and persistance of application, than the higher questions of astronomy. Their success is the fruit of their genius, faith, and hope; the result of indefatigable industry; the reward of gigantic exertions." (See Lord's *Theological and Literary Journal*, p. 5.)

With such examples of intellectual effort, daring, patience, fortitude, hope, and success before us, how can we reman indolent? Are the themes of Scripture so barren, the science of Theology so perfect, the territory of Revelation so thoroughly explored, as to render further efforts fruitless? What field exhibits more grandeur and promise than prophecy? Like the goodly land to the lonely beholder on Mount Pisgah, it spreads itself before the christian student, and lengthens on in increasing glory beyond the utmost stretch of vision. He only needs the courage and enterprize to cross the Jordan of his own carnal indifference, and his face will be made to shine with the oil of its olives, and his heart to rejoice with the fruit of its vines.

And if others can find pleasure in the wilderness, shall we not be able to find it in Canaan? If so much is to be accomplished by the study of rocks, and beasts, and birds, and stars, why not up, and show the world the sublime facts, the beautiful laws, and the transporting schemes of that Providence which prophecy unfolds?—The Lord have mercy upon us for our neglect of his word! and rebuked by the achievements of men in other departments of intellectual effort, may his spirit guide our way as we for the future apply ourselves more to the prophetic Scriptures!

II. *What are the Rules for the proper Interpretation of Prophecy?*

*First*, we must approach it with a deep sense and humble acknowledgment of our weakness and ignorance. This, indeed, is essential to success in every inquiry which we may undertake. "It is one part of science," says Dr. Good, "and not the least important part, though the lowest and most elementary, to become duly acquainted with the nature and extent of our ignorance upon whatever subject we propose to investigate." (Book of Nature, p. 322.) Especially is this qualification requisite to the successful investigation of prophecy. Disappointment and disgrace will be the inevitable portion of him who ventures upon this exciting ground without knowing his own heart. We must understand our weakness and proneness to stray from the truth, or we shall be in danger of being carried off with crude and confident theories which will subject us to the ridicule of the intelligent, and cover us with confusion and shame, if not drive us to skepticism. The voice of history with respect to this point is too plain to be mistaken.

*Second*, we must come to the study of prophecy with a reverent, believing, submissive, prayerful heart. The reason for all this is, that we are about to deal with the word of Almighty God—the word upon which our eternal destinies depend. There is no room here for witticism, caviling, or foolish speculation. We must bring to this investigation a pure and sober mind, free from erroneous anticipations, and prepared to lay hold of every thing which the prophetic scriptures contain. Our eye must be single and pure, not distorted or shaded by men's opinions. However foreign to our preconceptions the truths which we learn may be, we must be ready to admit them and submit to them. And in our whole progress, we must look for the illumination of that Spirit which first indited them, and which is able to guide us into all truth.

*Third*, we must bring to the study of prophecy a suitable share of lingual, archaeological, geographical, and historical information. The prophecies were written in languages foreign to us, and which often exhibit peculiarities and shades of meaning which our version does not express. It is hence necessary that we have some knowledge of these languages. They were also written in ages whose customs, habits, laws, and institutions differed materially from ours; and without an acquaintance with these we cannot interpret the many allusions to them which the prophecies contain. They refer to different regions and places in the world, and contain many figures drawn from local objects; and hence some acquaintance with geography is needed. Whilst without a knowedge of history we cannot decide what prophecies are fulfilled or unfulfilled, and will be totally unqualified to trace out those wonderful verifications which the Scripture predictions have had, and are every day having in the world. Moderate attainments with respect to these branches will enable us to enter upon the study of prophecy with profit; but the more deeply we are versed in them, the greater will be our success.

*Fourth*, we must be careful to assign to the prophecies their proper scope and latitude. Solid objections may probably be urged against that mode of interpretation which allows of a *double sense*. But it is not to be successfully controverted, that some prophecies do consist of a certain scope which stretches beyond the simple meaning of the words in which they are delivered. Lord Bacon says, there is a "latitude which is agreeable and familiar unto Divine prophecies, being of the nature of the author, with whom a thousand years, are but as one day, and therefore they are not fulfilled punctually at once, but have springing and germinant accomplishments throughout many ages, though the height or fulness of them may refer to some one age." (Adv. of Learn. book 2.) In illustration of this, reference may be taken to 2 Samuel, seventh chapter, where God promises to David a son who should build a house for the divine glory, and whose throne and kingdom should be forever. This prophecy evidently had a "*germinant*" fulfilment in the person of King Solomon; but Paul (Heb. 1: 5.) finds its highest and ultimate fulfilment in the person and work of the Lord Jesus Christ. So also in the prophecy contained in the 24th of Matthew. Here we have a single prophecy apparently referring to one single event; but some parts of it cannot be limited to the single destruction of Jerusalem, while others cannot be carried forward to the end of the world. It cannot, then, be satisfactorily explained,

but by assigning to it that "*latitude*" which will take in Christ's *providential* coming to destroy the Jewish polity, and his *personal* coming at the close of time. And agreeably to this we may also translate his own declaration, "Verily, verily, this generation shall not pass, till all these things be (not *fulfilled* as our version has it, but) *fulfilling*." This peculiar scope in the prophecies of Scripture, is thus beautifully set forth by a popular living writer: "The prophecies of Holy Writ appear to me to have one great peculiarity, distinguishing them from all other prophecies, if any, real or pretended; and that peculiarity I deferentially conceive to be this; that, whereas all human prophecies profess to have but one true fulfilment, the Divine have avowedly many fulfilments. The former may indeed light upon some one coincidence, and may exult in the accident as a proof of its truth; the latter bounds as it were (like George Herbert's sabbaths), from one to another, and another, through some forty centuries, equally fulfilled in each case, but still looking forward with hope to some grander catastrophe. It is not that they are loosely suited, like the Delphic oracles, to whatever may turn up, but that they, by a felicitous adaptation, sit closely into each era which the Architect of Ages has arranged. Pythonic divination may be likened to a loose bag which would hold and involve with equal ease almost any circumstance; Biblical prophecy to an exact mould, into which alone, though not all similar in perfection, its own true casts will fit. Or again, in another view of the matter, accept this similitude; let the All-seeing Eye be the centre of many concentric circles, beholdrng equally in perspective the circumference of each, and for accordance with human periods of time measuring off segments by converging radii: separately marked on each segment of the wheel within wheel, in the way of actual fulfilment, as well as type and antitype, will appear its satisfied word of prophecy, shining onward yet as it becomes more and more final, until time is melted in eternity. Thus it is, perhaps, not impossible that every interpretation of wise and pious men may alike be right and hold together; for different minds travel on the different peripheries." ("An Author's Mind," p. 92.)

*Fifth*, where the language is not evidently symbolical we must take the literal meaning. If we examine those predictions which have already been fulfilled, we shall find an exact correspondence between the fulfilments and the very letter of the predictions. Every thing relating to the overthrow of Babylon, Nineveh, Tyre, Edom, Jerusalem, and to the dispersion of the Jews and the lost ten tribes, is amply shown by

Bishop Newton and Mr. Keith, to have been fulfilled in most precise agreement with the plain words of the prophets. The same is true with respect to those prophecies which set forth the first Advent of our Lord. From these we may then draw the *rule*, according to which to apply ourselves to other prophecies proceeding from the same spirit, and in many cases through the same men. "I would have a preacher explain the Scriptures with connection," says the Archbishop of Cambray, "*according to the obvious sense of them.*" (Dial. Conc. El. p. 191.) "Few things," says Bickersteth, "have occasioned more perverted views than the figurative interpretation of plain expressions. It has thrown away much of the prophetical use and instruction of lengthened and important predictions." (Prac. Guide, p. 15.) And Hooker, usually called "the *judicious* Hooker," somewhere declares, "I hold it for a most infallible rule in expositions of sacred Scripture, that where a *literal* construction will stand, the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst. There is nothing more dangerous than this licentious and deluding art which changes the meaning of words, as Alchemy does or would do the substance of metals, makes of anything what it lists, and brings in the end all truth to nothing."

*Sixth*, where we discover symbols, we must interpret them as the real and inspired representations of the things for which they stand. For example, it is said in Daniel, (8: 20.) "The ram which thou sawest having two horns, are the kings of Media and Persia; and the rough goat is the king of Graecia." By this we understand, that the two-horned ram is the symbol of the Medo-Persian empire, and that by consequence every thing characteristic of that animal, and all that the prophet saw him do or suffer, is to be interpreted of that empire: that the rough goat is the symbol of the Grecian empire, and that by consequence all the distinctive qualities of such an animal, and all that was seen of his doings and fate in the vision, is to be understood of that empire. Again, it is said in Revelation, (17: 18.) "The woman which thou sawest is that great city, which reigneth over all the kings of the earth;" i. e. this prophetic woman is the symbol of a certain city or community, and we must understand all that enters into the description of her, including all her acts or end, as delineating that community. In the same way we must take and interpret every prophetic symbol, its name, its description, its characteristics, its acts, its everything, as the exact and Divine representation of the object or objects for which it stands. Just as every movement and utterance of the dramatic performer on the stage, is

intended to display the character in which he appears; so the qualities, badges, acts, and fates of the Scripture symbols must be received as setting forth the things in whose stead they appear upon the prophetic pages. And unless we are particularly careful to preserve for them this character, it will be impossible to arrive at the clear and satisfactory interpretation of the prophecies.[1]

*Seventh*, we must accurately note the hints which are given by the Scriptures themselves. Most of the prophetic visions, parables, and symbols, have some little explanatory declarations connected with them, which serve as way-marks to guide us to their right interpretation. Thus, in explanation of Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones, it is said, "These bones are the whole house of Israel." By way of interpretation of Daniel's vision of the four terrible beasts, it is declared, "These great beasts are four kings, which shall arise out of the earth." And to unravel the mystery of John's vision in the first of his Revelation, it was told him, "The seven stars are the angels *(ministers)* of the seven churches; and the seven candlesticks are the seven churches." And the same sort of hints and helps are thrown in with nearly all the Scripture prophecies. They are like keys tied along with their respective locks; and if we will only lay hold of them, and put them to their proper uses, we shall gain access to much which would otherwise be totally inexplicable.

*Eighth*, we must consult and compare the best human interpreters. Some may be disposed to object to this rule.—They would have us depend solely upon our own investigations. But why thus go back to begin where our fathers started, when we might be advancing so far ahead by the solid advantages which they can afford us? Why take our stand so low down as they stood when we may stand upon their shoulders? Why fly off to stumble and often to fall, it may be, at last, to rise no more, when we might be led safely and securely by their paternal hands? It is not said that we should always adopt their opinions, or that we should at any time receive their views without investigation; only that we should consult and compare them. They will certainly bring us by shorter ways to the great questions with which we shall have to grapple, and in many instances furnish us no small amount of assistance to decide them. There is scarcely one

[1] Those who wish to see this rule of prophetic interpretation demonstrated, and to witness the important results to which it leads, will be gratified by examining the recent publications of *David N. Lord.*

of them who has not made some discovery worth knowing; and every stroke upon the rock helps something towards breaking it.

*Finally*, we must make it the chief aim in this study, to improve and edify our hearts. Prophecy is not designed for the simple gratification of curiosity respecting what is to be. Nor will the mere speculative understanding of its meaning be of any essential service to us. Its main purpose is, to exercise and try our christian graces; to encorage our hopes; to strengthen our faith; to prepare us for times of suffering by timely warnings of their approach; to increase our patience and zeal with assurances of ultimate triumph and blessedness; to sanctify and make us ready for our inheritance. We are to study it with a view to be made better and happier; to become more heavenly in our thoughts and temper. There is a blessing pronounced upon those who understand, hear, and keep the sayings of prophecy; and for that blessing we should seek.

It is probably the greatest failing of the christians of this generation, that they are too speculative in their study of the Scriptures. They examine them too much for the establishment of philosophical theories, or the trial of old creeds, to the neglect of the practical wants of the heart. We hear them crying out, "The Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible." The shout is echoed from house to house, "The Bible is older than the fathers—truer than tradition—wiser than councils—more learned than universities—more infallible than popes—more authoritative than priests—more powerful than ceremonies—and more reliable for the world's salvation than any or every thing under the heavens!" But how often is that blessed Book degraded into a mere polemic manual from which to draw themes for learned theological harangues, or questions for low and angry debate! It is not that we are hetrodox, but too undevout; not that our minds are not busied on holy themes, but that we do not embed them in our souls, and wrap them up in the warm embrace of our affections. Let us read now a confession from one who long shone as a star on earth, but has lately faded into the brightness of heaven. And as we read, let us vow to God to be more practical and devotional in our Scripture studies.—"I have all my life viewed the truths of Christianity too much in the way of speculation, and as if at a distance from the objects of it. I have not closed with them; I have not laid hold of them; I have not appropriated them. I have been persuaded of the truth of the promises; but not embraced them.

With the exception of an occasional gleam of light and comfort from the freeness of the gospel, I have had no steady, habitual, personal sense of that freeness. I have abundantly acknowledged it, but have not used it. And where is there, then, any evidence to my consciousness, beyond that of a liking and a recognition for orthodoxy, and a general or vague earnest of my being personally and practically, and in very deed, a disciple of the Lord and Savior Jesus Christ? O, my God! confirm my faith, give point, and reality, and decision to my purposes. May the transition from nature to grace be actually undergone by me. Work in me faith with power; and trusting in Christ, may I receive the Spirit as the earnest of my inheritance. It is quite obvious that I do not pray enough; do not depend enough; do not enough break loose and away from the routine of my daily engrossments. Bestow upon me the grace of supplication, O God!" (*Chalmers'* "*Horae Biblicae Quotidianae*," Vol. I. p. 38.)

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## ARTICLE VIII.

### SCHMID'S DOGMATIK OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

*Die Dogmatik der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche dargestellt und aus den Quellen belegt von Heinrich Schmid, Dr. Phil. und Lit. Th. Privatdocent und Repetent an der Universität Erlangen. Zweite Auflage.* [*The Dogmatik of the Ev. Lutheran Church exhibited and authenticated by references to the sources: by H. Schmid, Dr. Ph. &c. &c.*]

The highest interest attaches itself in the present state of theological opinion in the Lutheran church of the United States of America, to a work whose professed object is to furnish a comprehensive and candid statement of the doctrines which characterize the mother church in Europe during the earlier and purer periods of her history. It may be saying much, but the presumption is, not too much, to assert that there are thousands who call themselves by the name of the venerable Luther and glory in him as a great instrument in the liberation of the church from Romish bondage, who have no correct views either of what he taught, or what was taught by his immediate associates. Both clergy and laity are, in our country, to a considerable degree ignorant of the system

which prëeminently distinguishes the Lutheran church, and particularly as it is exhibited in the Symbolical books and the writings of the eminent divines who remained faithful to those books in their exposition of Christianity. This is the less surprizing, as it is undoubtedly true that in Germany itself, abounding in literature which is derived from the fathers of Lutheranism, in consequence of the prevalence of Rationalism and forms of Supernaturalism, exceedingly remote from the primitive Lutheran faith, there has been far less familiarity with the doctrines held by the founders of the church than might reasonably have been expected. The revival of these views, their adoption by some men distinguished alike for piety and an evangelic spirit, their propagation in a modified form beyond the proper pale of Lutheranism, and their introduction into antagonistic communions, have powerfully tended to elicit enquiry in regard to them, and to make welcome any faithful exposition of them which may be offered.

The interest in this system is increased in our country by the notorious fact, that there are now in the United States, men, exercising the functions of the ministry, and their number is increasing, men of talent, learning and piety, who regard the doctrines of the Symbolical books, not only as the truth of God, but likewise as constituting the system which can alone entitle him who receives it to regard himself as a Lutheran. Under these circumstances, it is certainly a matter worthy of curiosity to know what our fathers held and taught, and to make ourselves acquainted with the results at which they arrived in their study of the word of God, and the history of the Redeemer's church. To all who feel such a curiosity, there is an opportunity offered by the author before us of gratifying it. The volume is a moderate sized octavo, containing upwards of 500 pages, and is designed to set forth unadulterated Lutheranism, to display it in its primary and most distinctive features; to represent it as it was before it became modified by influences which changed its original aspects until, apparently, it was finally destroyed by speculation and unbelief. The plan of the author contemplates the exhibition of the entire system of Dogmatik as it appears in the church symbols and in treatises of the earlier divines; and he stops at the period when innovation in the system first appears. "The Theologians," he says in his preface, "that I have used as the basis of my statements are, Melanchthon, (loci Communes theologici, 1543.) Chemnitz, (loci theologici ed. Polycarpus Leyser 1591.) Gerhard, (loci theologici ed. Cotta, 1762–81.) Hafenreffer, (loci theologici Tübing. 1609.) Hutter,

(Compendium theologiæ 1610.) Calov, (Systema locorum theologicorum Vit. 1655–77.) König, (theologia positiva acroamatica, Rost. 1664.) Quenstedt, (theologia didactico-polemica, Vit. 1685.) Baier, (compendium theologiæ positivæ, Jen. 1686.) and Hollaz, (Examen theologiæ acroamaticæ ed. Teller, 1750.)."

With this design, the execution is conducted in the following manner: A condensed summary of the contents of each division of theological science is given in the German language, studded with numerous references to the symbolical books, and the standard divines embraced in the period within which a rigid orthodoxy florished. First the prolegomena are presented, which treat, Chap. 1st. of Theology in general; 2d. of the object of general theology—that is, concerning religion; 3d, the source of theology, viz. revelation; 4th. concerning the sacred Scriptures; 5th. the articles of faith and the symbols of the church. The 1st part, chap. 1st, treats of God, the 2nd of the Holy Trinity, the 3d of Creation, the 4th of Providence, the 5th of Angels. The second part treats of man; chap. 1st, the state of integrity, 2d the state of corruption. Part third treats of redemption, very fully in the various details, in three chapters, of which the 1st unfolds the benevolence of God the Father, towards fallen man, in restoring and rendering him happy; the 2d, the merciful redemption wrought by Jesus Christ; and the 3d the grace of the Holy Spirit in the application of redemption. The fourth part contains a discussion of the means of grace, and this divides itself into three chapters, in which are handled the word of God, the sacraments as means of grace, and the doctrine in regard to the church. The fifth and last part unfolds the novissima, or last things, and presents under as many different heads, death, the resurrection of the dead, the last judgment, the end of the world, the punishment of the wicked and the reward of the righteous. In addition to the classic divines already mentioned, as sources of illustration or proof, the author refers to the Augsburg Confession, the Apology for it, the Smalcald Articles, the Larger and Smaller Catechisms of Luther, the Formula Concordiæ, and the Examination of the Council of Trent, by Chemnitz. That the reader may have a better idea of the manner in which the subjects are treated, a few extracts will now be given.

In § 40, 3d part, 3d chapter, the following language is held:—"In the doctrine concerning the appropriation of salvation through Christ, the first inquiry will have respect to the means by which we can make it our own, and afterwads the

mode in which it is effected. The means are faith, the mode is justification. Both are acts of divine grace, and therefore both are embraced under the head of 'The grace of the Spirit applying salvation.'

### § 41. 1. *Faith.*

"Reconciliation with God being brought about by Christ's instrumentality, inasmuch as he has, in man's stead, obeyed the law and made satisfaction for the sins of the world, salvation is preached and forgiveness of sins is offered, (Luke 24: 47. Acts 2: 38. 5: 31. 10: 43. 13: 38. 26: 18.). Its reception does not require any meritorious work from man, for Christ has done all that is necessary for its obtainment, and all that is required is, that the proffered salvation should be received, the offered forgiveness appropriated in the exercise of faith.[1] This faith is subsequent to the offer of salvation and the perception of what is consolatory in it, and the confidence that this salvation is designed not for others, but for us —a gracious message being profitable only under a conviction of its truth and its applicability to us.[2]

Faith consists of the following parts:

1. *Knowledge*, particularly of the articles of faith—such as Christ and his merits and the grace of God, a remission of sins and salvation obtained thereby from God. Br.[3]

2. *Assent*, that is, the mind approving as most certainly true, and simply to be acquiesced in those things which the Scriptures teach concerning Christ and his merits and satisfaction for our sins, and the grace of God and promises of the gratuitous remission of our sins for Christ's sake.[4]

3. *Confidence*, an act by which the will rests in Christ the Mediator, a present good to us and the cause of other blessings, viz. the remission of sins and eternal life. Br.[5]

Neither of them can be absent and neither alone makes the faith of which we now speak.[6] Faith requires an actual acquaintance with the promises; and a blind and implicit faith is not sufficient, (such as says what the church believes, it believes), but the faith must be intelligent.[7] Faith, further, does not consist in receiving and regarding as true, what is promised, with which there may be a perfect indifference to the truth, (historical faith,) and it is therefore not sufficient to regard simply as true the preached gospel. A general assent is likewise deficient, (a belief in general, that God is just and merciful, and has sent his Son into the world as a Redeemer, but without specific application, James 2: 19). It must be special, (the sinner determining that the general promises ap-

ply to him individually.[8]) Finally, salvation is not secured unless it is embraced with confidence and self-application; indeed, this is to be regarded as the most essential element of faith.[9] Faith is, therefore, the assured confidence of an individual, entertained to a greater or less extent, that he is authorized to rejoice in the salvation of Christ.[10] Such a faith is called special, and saving or justifying,[11] and is the only means of salvation.[12] Such a faith is not the product of human power, for the alienation from God natural to man, can be removed by God alone, and therefore faith is of God's working in us,[13] and the word and sacraments are the means which he employs in conducting men to this faith.[14] If, then, faith is nothing but a divinely wrought confidence in the salvation of Jesus, it does not follow, that the man who is the subject of it, has not undergone a moral change, this is indeed to be presupposed, as salvation would not be received which did not offer comfort, and this comfort implies knowledge of sin and hatred of it; so that where this faith is, there is a holy disposition,[15] which is so necessary, that its absence discredits the faith, indicates that salvation has not been appropriated; (saving faith is true and active and not false and dead,[16]).

This, however, is to be observed, that, although faith cannot be conceived of without religious affections, these are only the attendants of it; that salvation depends on faith alone, and that holy dispositions are in no wise to be regarded as the cause of it. Finally, as we have means of determining whether we have true faith, it can certainly be ascertained whether we have justifying faith.[18] It may be denominated weak or strong as the confidence of salvation partakes of the one character, or the other.[19]

[1] Hollaz. The satisfaction has long since been rendered, but its effect, which is the remission of sins, we do not obtain until we apply to ourselves the general atonement of Christ and make it our own by faith. "For that acceptance (pardon) may be gratuitous, the agent ought to design, by what he does, to communicate some good, and the recipient ought to manifest his willingness to receive it. Its communication to an unwilling person is absurd." Puffend. 1. d. N. & G.

Baier. Although the passion and death of Christ presented all that could be required, in the way of satisfaction from the world, to abolish the debt contracted by its offences, to appease God and to bring about a reconciliation with him; God desired, that sinners should know and appropriate by faith that satisfaction which was made to him by the Son of God in their behalf, and this he desired that in the exercise of faith in the Mediator, there should be an enjoyment of his merits. Faith, in this sense, is subjective, viz.: that which believes, (faith, strictly speaking, which is in a believer as its subject,

and is distinguished as such from an objective faith, viz.: that which is believed); this is the doctrine of faith, which is figuratively called faith, because it is the object of faith. Acts 6: 7. 13: 8. 16: 5. Rom. 12: 6.

[2] APOLOGY for the A. C. Conf. 2. 48. The faith which justifies, is not merely historical knowledge, but assent to the promises of God, in which remission of sins and justification are freely offered through Christ. Lest any one should suppose that it is mere knowledge, we add, further, it is willingly to receive the proffered remission of sins and justification.—81. Thus are we reconciled to the Father and receive pardon, attaining thereby confidence in the mercy promised in Christ.

CHEMNITZ. 1. The Scripture calls faith knowledge and science, Luke 1: 77. Col. 2: 3. Ephes. 3: 19. To faith must be presented and upon it enforced, from the word of God, the decree and history of redemption, the gratuitous and universal pardon, and that God, on account of that victim, desires to receive sinners who betake themselves by faith to him. 2. Because many who hear these things and understand and know them, either neglect, or doubt, or resist, turn away from or oppose, it is necessary that assent should be united to this knowledge—not merely general, but that firm persuasion which Paul calls assurance,—and every one should determine that the universal promise belongs specifically to him, and that he is included in the general promise. 3. After this knowledge and assent, which is in the mind, the heart or the will, under the Spirit's influence, groans and desires, and feeling earnestly the burden of its sins and the anger of God, it desires and seeks that the mercies offered in the Gospel may be granted it. 4. When, in this way, the mind, the will and the heart, are turned from sin and the anger of God, and directed to the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world; that is, when from the sentence of condemnation, denounced by the law of God, recourse is had to a throne of grace, and the propitiation which our heavenly Father offered in Christ's blood, it is necessary to superadd confidence, which relies securely on the divine promise, that the promises of grace will now be applied, and in this way justification be effected and eternal salvation obtained as gratuitously promised in the Gospel.

[3] BAIER. Belief can only take place in regard to those things which are mentally conceived or embraced in simple apprehension. Hence knowledge is commonly regarded as the beginning of faith. That knowledge is necessary to faith in Christ, is proved by John 6: 19. 17: 3. Luke 1: 77. Acts 17: 23. 30. Ephes. 4: 18. Gal. 2: 9.

[4] QUENSTEDT, (IV. 283.) The second act of faith, viz. assent, is more distinctive than the first, (viz. knowledge,) for heretics may have knowledge and yet not assent. Assent is not slight, doubting, vacillating, but should be decided and strong, on which account it is called *the evidence of things not seen*, Heb. 11: 1. Its basis is not ordinary evidence or knowledge of causes and properties, but the infallible authority of God in his word.

[5] HOLLAZ. Confidence is an act of the will, by which the sinner converted and renewed, earnestly desires and seeks the mercy of God, secured by Christ's merits, and embraces him both as a present good and as the cause

of the remission of sins and eternal salvation, and securely reclines and rests upon him.

QUENSTEDT, (IV. 284.) Thus confidence is nothing but the apprehension of the merits of the God-man, appropriating them to ourselves individually. These passages furnish intimations concerning it: John 1: 5, 12. 17: 8. Rom. 5: 18. Gal. 3: 14. Luke 8: 13. Acts 8: 14. James 1: 21. Acts 10: 43. 1 Tim. 1: 15. Appropriation is referred to Job 19: 25. Is. 45: 24. John 20: 28. Gal. 2: 20. foll. It belongs, therefore, to confidence, to seek Christ, Is. 55: 6. Am. 5: 4.—earnestly to seek, Ps. 42: 2, 3. To receive Him with his righteonsness, Rom. 9: 30.—to be embraced with the fullest assent, 1 Tim. 1: 15.; his merits are to be applied, Gal. 3: 26. Phil. 1: 21. and sweetly to rest in him, Rom. 4: 21. Heb. 10: 22. This apprehension belongs to the will and is practical; it involves the reclining of the whole heart and will upon the merits of the Redeemer; is distinguished by desire for and access to Christ, and the application and confident appropriation of his merits, and this is truly confidence.

[6] BAIER. This is the faith which is said to apprehend Christ or his merits, particularly as it is assent with confidence, or confidence joined with assent; consisting of these acts alone, and is designated by either indifferently—the other always being implied. Whence it appears, how faith exists in different faculties: in the understanding and will, as if something compounded and united in divers acts determined to the same object, and preserving a certain order amongst each other and towards that one and same object.

HOLLAZ. Faith is in the intellect so far as it embraces knowledge or assent; in the will in regard to confidence.

QUENSTEDT, (IV. 282.) These three parts of faith are expressed in John 14: 10. 11. 12., where verse 10 speaks of knowledge, v. 11 of assent, v. 12 of confidence. The three constituents of faith are conveyed in the phrases, believing in God, (credere deum), believing God, (c. deo), trusting in God, (c. in deum). To believe in God is to believe that God is. To believe God is to regard as true what he has spoken. To trust in God is by believing to love, by believing to be united to him, by believing to adhere to him, and to be incorporated with his members. Heretics can have the first, the second the orthodox alone, the third the regenerate, and therefore the last always includes the first but not the contrary: the first two pertain to the intellect, the third to the will; the first and second respect the entire word of God, the third the promise of grace and the merits of Christ."—(Quenstedt, ibid.)

This is a long extract but an imperfect specimen of the work. It will serve to show the spirit and the manner in which the discussions are conducted. We have furnished but a part of the proofs for the text given above. They will suffice as specimens and serve to make known the author's plan. The numerals in the text refer to illustrations similar in style to the specimens which we have given above. Every position taken is amply sustained by his authorities, and clearly and forcibly set forth, and the word of God is abundantly referred to in proof of what is alleged.

We cannot do better in our attempt to make known the precise character of the work, the circumstances under which it has originated, and the objects to be accomplished, as well as its relation to other productions somewhat similar in character and better known to our public, than by transferring to our pages a notice of it presented in Harless' Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche, vol. 9. (1845) page 160, & fol. :—"The tendency of modern theology is remarkably similar to that of the Reformation: then it was emancipation from scholasticism and return to the ancient ecclesiastical teachers, and finally to the sacred writings, and from this point Theology renovated in all its extent the church; now the tendency of theology is decidedly to the period of the Reformation, the palmy days of our church, and aims from thence to invigorate itself and to construct *de novo* a mighty edifice. To this tendency must we ascribe the republication of the writings of the Reformers, the Symbolical books of the Evangelical church, and many other admirable works of an earlier period, and these being made more generally accessible. The older systematic treatises on theology could not remain long unnoticed, and, accordingly, so early as 1821, the deceased AUGUSTI brought out the first system of dogmatik of the Lutheran church, the *Loci Theologici* of Melanchthon, (1521), as in its third centurial jubilee, for the promotion of the study of the older theology. But this return to the earlier period gave rise to other affiliated literary productions, viz. such as aimed to give the old Lutheran doctrines in a systematic form; as instances, we may mention the *Hutterus Redivivus* of Hase, and the work of Schmid, now before us. These two authors pursue different courses. The celebrated author of Hutterus Redivivus designs to revive the memory of the older views—to reproduce them as an offset to the rationalism and supernaturalism of the present day, and to show that they have power and dignity enough to occupy a very respectable position, and for this purpose he compares the old and the new, and displays what can be said in favor of the old. The old theology in Hase occupies comparatively a small space, and covers merely the essential points, and those particularly which admit of comparison with the modern theology; and as a consequence Hase makes his own views prominent, averring unhesitatingly that he occupies the stand-point, which the ancient Hutter, without detriment to orthodoxy, would occupy in the nineteenth century. Dr. Schmid's aim is very different. He keeps aloof from all comparison of the prevailing views, and aims to present objectively the old Lutheran dogmatik in

its totality. His task is a purely historic one, and his aim to present a true account, both as to form and substance, of the theology of the Lutheran church, in the period of primitive Lutheran orthodoxy. In the accomplishment of this, the author seeks in brief, clear and distinct paragraphs, to display the doctrines of the Evangelical Lutheran church as they were systematically unfolded by the old divines, and then establishes what he affirms by extracts from them, that his readers may put themselves in possession of as perfect as possible a representation of the system of that period, both as to form and substance. The proof passages are selected with great industry and skill, and they are so happily adjusted that there is scarcely any repetition, but every additional citation completes and amplifies the preceding; affords new proof of the point, or opens a more comprehensive, universal and complete view of it; moreover, objections and deviations of opponents, or of other churches, are not passed by in the authorities, and hence it happens that entirely new topics are introduced—as page 68, the relation of the earlier to the later symbols; on the meaning of the word symbolism; on the relation of the symbolical books to the Scriptures; on the the necessity of symbolical books, and on the oath in regard to them; p. 142, on the difference between the christian doctrine in regard to providence and that which prevailed before it; p. 144 and 145, on the reference of providence to the commencement, the progress and the end of human life; p. 402, ff., on the name, import and number of the sacraments," &c. Passing over some points similar to what has already been introduced, the reviewer remarks, in the close of his article: "The entire exhibition is exceedingly convenient for inspection, and furnishes, not only by the division and arrangement, a perfect insight into the theology of the old Lutheran church, but gives us a lively picture of the depth and fulness of the old Lutheran divines, in the judicious selections which have been made from their writings.

These divines have, in a special degree, this peculiarity, that faith, knowledge, and life appear in the most beautiful harmony; they believe what they know, and they seek to know and master what they believe, and appear mainly to know and believe what is essential to the christian life and of real value, and it is this which imparts to their writings a singular freshness and power."

The question may be asked, is this theology of any importance to the Lutheran church in America? To this question, which has not unfrequently been put, and particularly since

these views have again been brought before the church, answers have been furnished with great readiness, and we may venture to say with an emphasis, which was not justified by either a very thorough knowledge of the subject or even a decent acquaintance with it. It is affirmed by young divines and by old, some of whom, we fear, cannot read the divines whom they condemn in the language which they employ to convey their ideas, that all this divinity is obsolete—it belongs to a dark age and to half illuminated men—that it is deserving of no respect and reflects no special credit on its authors. Its peculiarities are regarded as beneath criticism, and based upon views which can find no tolerance, not a particle, in the deductions of reason and an enlightened exegesis of the word of God.

Others, with a better appreciation of the gigantic intellect employed in these researches, according to our earlier divines eminent abilities and extraordinary devotion to the interests of theology and theological science, nevertheless maintain that such advances have been made in every department of theology, since the days of Luther, Melanchthon, and their immediate successors, that we may safely discard their instructions, those we mean that were peculiar to them, and feel confident, too, that if they could now reappear amongst men, or if they had their existence granted to them in the present era of light, they would be the first to dash their own system in pieces, and foremost in placing themselves in the ranks of modern orthodoxy. But even admitting that these views are correct, it by no means follows that we should be indifferent either to the writings of the Reformers, the Symbolical books, or the system of the earlier divines. They belong to the history of the church which we call our own; they have, independently of intrinsic value, a high historic importance. No man, who has a tolerable acquaintance with them, can say that they do not contain, on all vital points of christianity the noblest instruction, in all christian experience the amplest developments, and in all points of christian ethics the purest lessons.

Our verdict is unequivocally in behalf of the study, the thorough study of this theology. We would have it thrown over our church with a liberal hand; we would have all our ministers acquainted with the Symbolical books; we would have them all versed in the distinctive theology of the church. We would have introduced into our theological schools the study of the symbols, and didactic and polemic theology so administered as to bring before the view pure, unadulterated

Lutheranism. The gain to our ministry and to our church would be immense, if this course were adopted. As things are, we have no standard, no guide. Every one is left to fix his own views; and whilst we presume there is general agreement in our church on the fundamental doctrines of the Bible, our ministers display, in the opinions they entertain, sometimes a decided Calvinistic influence, sometimes an extreme Arminian, sometimes a Pelagian. There is, we think, very little of the ancient theology, about which we need entertain any doubt; the mass of it has never been, and we believe never will be, surpassed. Some points may be found untenable—some may need modification—the defence of the whole may be placed, in some respects, upon a surer basis—but, take it all in all, we do not expect it ever to become obsolete. It is not designed that the inference should be made that the writer agrees in his views with these theologians; he does not mean to endorse every thing that they have written; he does not intend to intimate that wisdom has died with them; he does not think of disparaging the labors of later theologians; he does not avow it as his belief that the period of progress terminated with the labors of these men; he does not believe that future advances are not to be made in the knowledge of God and divine things; but grateful for what has been done by great men in a great age,—admiring the power of intellect, the strength of logic, and the skill in holy writ displayed by these Lutheran Fathers, believing that they were more than ordinary men, and deeply imbued with the spirit of the great Author of Christianity—he simply proposes that they shall be honored for what they have done, that their cause may be heard, that they may be decorously treated by their sons in this western hemisphere, and that they may be made subservient to our instruction in all truth and righteousness, so far as they evince themselves capable of becoming so. Indeed, if we would refute their doctrines, we ought at least know what they were, and fully to comprehend them; and if we would do it effectually we should go back to the fundamental principles on which their system is based, and destroying the foundation secure an easy victory over all that has been made to rest upon it. Should this work of demolition be undertaken by us, we shall discern that the very weapons which we will employ may be gathered from their own writings, and enjoy the satisfaction of knowing how they would meet our polemics by looking at what was done by them, when their cotemporaries met them with the same instruments. It is, indeed, a singular fact, very singular, we think, that all this stolidity,

as it is regarded so often, and so easily refuted, should, nevertheless, as has been intimated already, be revived so extensively in our day, revived after the intellect of man has exhausted itself in devising systems of every description, has employed itself in producing opinions of every shade and hue —it is strange that it should now seek repose and satisfaction in these exploded dogmas, and embrace them, not only as a rich treasure, but as the only satisfactory account of the contents of the Book of God. This in itself ought to temper our bitterness of condemnation, soothe the anger with which we are ready to assail them, and induce us to believe that the cause of the opponents of the older orthodoxy is not so clearly established as to preclude the necessity of any further investigation.

Schmid's work has been translated in the United States, but has not been put to press or published. It would be rendering a good service to our church to bring it out. It may be doubtful whether the patronage would justify the expense, but we think that the increasing desire to become acquainted with the doctrines of the church, and the demand for the Symbolical books are symptomatic of a return to better feelings than have prevailed in regard to the church, and that the time has passed away in which we are to assume every phase which may be presented to us, to glory that we are like every body, and, consequently, are nothing in ourselves, living only by the breath of others. These are signs of the times—they mean that the things which have been, can be no more; that the church is returning to the sobriety of her better days, and that theology, systematic and biblical, may expect to receive attention such as it deserves. Let, then, the holders of this book, in its translated form, as soon as they can, without incurring loss, bring it out; and although their labors may be followed by no pecuniary profit, they will do good; they will aid in making known the patristic theology of our church and prepare the way for an intelligent determination of the extent to which we can subscribe to the orthodoxy of other days.

K.

## ARTICLE IX.

### CORPORAL PUNISHMENT AS A MEANS OF DISCIPLINE IN SCHOOLS.*

By Benjamin Kurtz, D. D., Baltimore, Md.

On the subject of discipline in schools, we assume as an axiom, the principle, that *obedience and order are indispensable to successful instruction.* Judicious rules of government must be proposed, and these rules *must* be maintained and enforced. The prosperity of the school and the good of each individual pupil, demand it. But *how* and *by what means*, is this great desideratum to be secured?

We are by no means prepared to admit that corporal punishment may safely be entirely dispensed with; especially not in the present condition of our schools. We cannot admit that it is a "relic of barbarism;" "inconsistent with the principles upon which our High School is established;" that "boys so disciplined" can exercise only "the slave's vices;" that "their hands will be upon every man's property and their tongue will be a fountain of lies;" that "degraded in youth and wicked in manhood, ..... they will startle society with their crimes." The lessons of universal experience as exhibited throughout the civilized world, scatter this gloomy

* About a year ago the Board of Commissioners of the Public Schools in Baltimore, (twenty in number, selected by the City Council, in the ratio of one from each of the twenty wards of the city,) passed a Resolution, abolishing the use of the rod in the male High School of the city and substituting "moral suasion," and, as ulterior and final measures, "suspension and expulsion." After a trial of some eight months, we have been informed, it was the opinion of several of the Commissioners that this change in the discipline had not operated favorably, and a resolution was accordingly offered to rescind the former resolution and restore to the teachers the right of corporal punishment. The subject, as we learn, was argued with unusual freedom and perseverance at several meetings of the Board, and it was at length determined, by a considerable majority, to return to the original mode of discipline. The minority entered upon the records of the Board a well written "Protest" against the measure, and the writer of the subjoined article was appointed on the part of the majority, to prepare a "Rejoinder," which was subsequently in like manner recorded in the archives. This statement will explain to the reader several of the allusions contained in the article. The article comprehends the substance of a speech delivered by its author before the Board, while the question was in process of discussion, and is committed to the press in compliance with the wishes of the majority who heard it read, and of many others who were anxious for an opportunity to read it. It is but fair to add, that several pages of the original document have been stricken out by the author, as void of *general* interest, having exclusively a *local* application.—Ed.

picture in shreds to the winds; nay, the unexceptionable deportment and habitual reverence for law and order, characteristic of the objectors themselves, who have generally been educated in schools from which corporal punishment was not banished, constitute the most triumphant refutation of these groundless prognostics, and prove that they must be regarded as mere declamation, or the unrestrained figment of a deluded imagination.

We take pleasure in conceding to reason or "moral suasion," to the fullest extent, all the influence that its warmest advocates can justly claim. We are convinced that governing by *kindness* is decidedly "a more excellent way. Love is transcendantly a beautiful and powerful element in human character; it is that which most assimilates us to the Deity, the fountain of all moral and intellectual perfection; it is "the magician's wand, in its potent control over the rebellious and angry passions of the soul." But, that regularity, order, and submission to approved rules can be secured by exclusively moral influences, and in the absence of even authority to have recourse to coercive measures, however wisely such measures may be employed, is a position to which we cannot assent. We indeed believe that the rod should, in general, be used sparingly, impartially, with great discretion, and only when all other proper influences have been exhausted; never while the teacher is under the influence of passion; never capriciously, cruelly, or excessively; rarely or never in the presence of the assembled school, but privately, always with manifest reluctance, a just regard to the dispositions of the offender and the magnitude of the offense, and an adequate explanation of the necessity of the measure, on the principle, that the general interests of the school and the advancement of the *many* must not be sacrificed to the waywardness of *an individual.* Under these and other just limitations, we should suppose, that all parents who truly love their offspring would sanction the measure in question, and feel greatly indebted to the teachers for thus aiding them in training their sons for future usefulness and respectability.

Teachers who habitually violate such restrictions in administering discipline, thereby prove that they are deficient in one of the essential qualifications for their high vocation, and should not be retained at the head of any school even for a day.

Having thus defined our position, we proceed to state some of the arguments by which it is sustained:—

I. The highest authority to which we can appeal, and from which, with christian men, there ought to be no dissent,

is that of Divine Inspiration;—and we are happy to remark, that on this subject we are supplied with the most unambiguous instruction. "He that spareth his rod," says the wisest of men, "hateth his own son; but he that loveth him, chastiseth him betimes."[1] "Foolishness is bound in the heart of a child, but the rod of correction shall drive it far from him."[2] "Withhold not correction from a child, for if thou beatest him with a rod, he shall not die."[3] "The rod and reproof give wisdom, but a child left to himself, bringeth his mother to shame."[4] These quotations are too plain to require comment, and as there can be no discrepancy between "the aguments urged from the old dispensation, and the teachings of the Gospel of love," as has been maintained by some, we find that the New Testament inculcates the same principle. Nay, the very "chiefest of the apostles" asks with astonishment: "What son is he whom the father chasteneth not?" and then declares, that so utterly incompatible with parental duty and affection is the withholding of merited corporal chastisement, that the father who withholds it, treats his offspring "as *bastards* and not as sons."[5]

In accordance with this sentiment is also the declaration of the same distinguished personage, that "the heir differeth not from a servant."[6] But if the son during his minority, differ nothing from the servant, then it is plain that it was the Apostle's doctrine, that corporal punishment should be inflicted on the one as on the other, when demanded, under the administration of pedagogic no less than domestic government.

II. *Our next argument we derive from the divine moral government of the world.* Remonstrance and expostulation, or in other words, "moral suasion," is invariably first employed in the administration of God's moral government. And to render this more efficient, we find every human mind endued with an original inherent moral faculty, denominated *conscience*, which approves or accuses according to the character of our actions.

But if this means prove ineffectual, corporal chastisement is uniformly resorted to, as well in reference to nations and communities, as to individuals. In proof of this fact, we refer to the annals of the Ante-diluvian world, the Jewish people, and all the nations of Europe, as well as to each man's individual history. Indeed, we are physiologically so constituted, that we cannot habitually violate the laws of nature, without in-

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[1] Proverbs 13: 24. [2] ibid. 22: 15. [3] ibid. 23: 13. [4] ibid. 29: 15. Vide also Prov. 10: 13. and 29: 17. [5] Heb. 12: 7—8. [6] Gal. 4: 1.

curring corporal punishment, and this punishment is always proportioned with unerring precision to the degree of moral turpitude attaching to our infractions of those laws. As illus trations, witness the sad spectacle presented in the personal experience of the poor inebriate; the gay libertine; the thoughtless spendthrift; the heartless miser; &c. Thus we perceive that the practical procedure of the Governor of the Universe, strictly corresponds with and corroborates his own wise, abstract teachings. Would, that our own theory and practice, were always in like manner in harmonious accordance with each other!

III. Our third argument is derived from the example of *all well-regulated human governments*, both public and private, or civil and domestic. In both cases moral influences are first employed, but if they fail to preserve order and secure obedience, peremptory authority, coercion, and corporal punishment, are invariably resorted to. Thus, the principle for which we contend, is universally recognized and sanctioned, whether we look to God or man, whether we raise our eyes to the skies or cast them abroad upon the earth.

IV. But, after all, "experience is the best teacher;" abstract argument is of little value if in conflict with stubborn facts; hence it is truly said, that "an ounce of sober experience is worth a pound of speculative theory." Our fourth consideration is accordingly taken from the *universal experience of all ages and countries*, and especially of Prussia and other countries in Germany, and of Scotland, in all of which pedagogics have been most profoundly studied, reached their highest degree of perfection, and where education and scholarship have achieved their most glorious triumphs, gathered their greenest laurels, and attained the most elevated pinnacle of human admiration and world-renown. In all these countries it has been ascertained, after the most mature investigation and the fullest experience, that while every desirable purpose in the government of a school should be *aimed at* by intellectual and moral means, yet it is unwise and in many cases must prove disastrous, to strip teachers of authority and deprive them of the right to coerce obedience when other means are found inadequate. Ought we not to profit by the lessons taught us by older and more experienced countries, in ancient as well as in modern times? If human nature were less corrupt at present than formerly—in this hemisphere than in the eastern—in Baltimore than in other towns—in our cities than in country villages, we might find a pretext for making an experiment, which, with scarce an isolated exception, has re-

sulted in disappointment, and suffused the cheeks of its precipitous advocates with the blush of mortification and shame. So long as human nature remains what it has uniformly been ever since the primeval apostasy, and the allurements to moral delinquency retain their inherent force and accustomed charms, instances of aberration will transpire which may not be restrained by reason and expostulation, and must be brought under the absolute prohibitory influence of physical power. This is unquestionably due to the more ductile class of youths, who with proper management may be governed without the rod, no less than to the intractable and rebellious. For it is a flagrant injustice to the well-disposed, to subject the former to constantly recurring temptations, and to impede their progress in study, for the sake of exercising undue indulgence and a mistaken leniency towards the latter.

It was observed by Locke, and has since been frequently remarked by others, that our instructors in dancing, drawing, or fencing, seldom inflict personal correction: and why then, say they, should the teachers of Greek and Latin? To this it is sufficient to reply, that the acquisition of these so-called accomplishments is rather an amusement than a study, requiring neither very laborious nor very irksome application; and that submission to the teacher is enforced, when necessary, not by a rod in his own hand, but by the authority of the parent at home and that of the master at school.

V. A fifth consideration in favor of our position, may be found in *the impatience under restraint and actual disobedience characteristic of the rising generation in our country.* In a recent conversation with a distinguished divine, he several times employed the phrase: "the signs of the times;" on being asked what he meant, he ranked foremost in these "*signs*" the disobedience and recklessness of boys and girls; adding, "I am surprised that so striking a *sign* should escape the notice of any one." We once travelled with a remarkably accomplished old English lady, (a near relation of the learned and pious Bishop Wilson, of Calcutta,) who had made "the tour of the States," and written very sensibly respecting our country. We asked, her what had struck her most forcibly in her travels? To which she promptly replied: "the waywardness and turbulence of your children, and the refractory spirit of your half-grown and full-grown sons and daughters. O Sir! I can't tell you how amazed I am in beholding such distressing scenes of premature independence and filial disobedience." "You can hardly be said," she continued, "to have *children*, they are mostly 'free and independent' *young gentlemen and*

*ladies* before they have fully begun to be children." "And," she added, "the patient tameness with which parents submit to all this, is no less remarkable than the rebellion of their offspring." While we were conscious that this picture was too highly colored, we could not but admit that there was too much truth in it. You may make the tour of Germany without witnessing a single street-fight between boys; the beautiful flower-garden; the clustering grape-vine and bending fruit-tree; the delightful umbrageous "Allee," shading the public highway for continuous miles; the richly ornamented public promenade, vocal with the song of the homely but enrapturing philomel, and abounding with fruit, flowers and fountains,—need not be constantly guarded in order to protect them from the ravages of lawless boys. There no defaced and broken milestones, bespattered hand-boards, mutilated works of art, &c. mark the Vandal devastations of self-willed juveniles. And there, let it be remembered, no sickly sentimentalism in reference to coercive discipline has found foothold; no hasty and unwise abandonment of the rod from pedagogic and domestic government has met this countenance. How different the aspect of things in our country! We would almost as soon encounter a Mexican banditti as a knot of American "rowdy-boys," in any of our larger cities. We take pleasure in conceding to our excellent system of Sunday-schools and other moral agencies of the church, all the salutary influence that can be claimed for them. But for these instrumentalities the evil we complain of would, doubtless, be still more enormous.

To what must we ascribe this alarming spirit of lawlessness? Various causes may be assigned, but we hold that one of the most pregnant is the want of faithful family government, and the opposition, too prevalent, to every thing like effective discipline in school. Not content with casting away the authoritative power which God has vested in them, parents have also refused to allow it to be exercised by the preceptors and governors of their offspring in school. The clear and decided teaching of the wisest of men,—a man inspired of God as well as enlightened by the most extensive experience,—passes for nothing with them. Infected with the delusive spirit of pseudo-reform, swayed by a false affection, a misguided leniency and a blighting partiality, they are contributing all they can to render their sons and daughters wretched, to treasure up grief for themselves, and inflict through the fruit of their own bodies a withering curse upon society. And is this the time, and this the country, to hasten the downward

progress of such radicalism by the complete prostration of the teacher's authority in our public schools?

But it is proposed to substitute suspension and expulsion, should moral means prove ineffectual, as even more deterring than corporal punishment itself. This remedy, however, is more to be dreaded, if possible, than the disease itself. It is better to try to instruct boys even while in a state of insubordinaton, than to exclude them wholly from the benefits of education, and give them over to utter ignorance and recklessness. The moral malady of indolence and disorder is first invited by lax and ineffectual discipline, and then, instead of appropriate efforts to eradicate it, the unfortunate victims are cut off, disgraced, and consigned to almost certain destruction! This is adding degradation and ruin to gross neglect and unpardonable innovation! What is the consequence? Why, a large proportion of boys are annually discharged from our higher schools and colleges before they have any thing like an advantageous education, mainly on account of the want of proper habits of study and subordination, which our modern system of "moral suasion" is inadequate to establish. Hundreds of boys, of talented boys, who might have become scholars and gentlemen, the pride of their parents, an honor to their race, and benefactors of society, have been branded with ignominy by expulsion from school, an expulsion courted and superinduced by the repudiation of the only effectual means to restrain them, and this at the very juncture when they most needed such restraining influence! And now, just sufficiently educated to increase their capacity for evil-doing, they are roving about in the world with an indelible stigma fastened upon them, which strangles every noble aspiration, paralizes every dawning effort to reform, and drives them to increased desperation. That such unfortunates should become a nuisance to society, vagabonds and fugitives on the face of the earth, bringing down the gray hairs of their parents with sorrow to the grave, and finally winding up the dark drama of their criminal career in prison, or on the scaffold, is just what, in the common course of events, we are bound to expect.

In view of these facts, we cannot but deprecate that dangerous radicalism, which, under the guise of reform, is aiming to destroy all coercive power in families and schools, no less than in communities.

It is a remarkable and pregnant fact, that we have never met with an old and experienced teacher of established reputation in his profession, who would venture to assert without

qualification, that a high and uniform degree of discipline could be secured by *moral means* alone. The rod, when not wrested from the preceptor, even though very rarely used, nevertheless exerts an influence which tends greatly to promote good order. The unanimous testimony of the best and ablest teachers in every country and age, especially in those countries where the most successful school-systems have been adopted, is all on the side we are advocating; if there be any dissenting voices they are so few and far between, as to remain unheard and lost amid the loud and concurrent tones of the great bulk of the enlightened world.

*Quinctilian*, the great rhetorician, is the only ancient author of celebrity, who is against us. But even his judgment seems to have been swayed more by the indecent and barbarous mode in which corporal punishment was inflicted in his day, than by a conviction of its abstract impropriety; and by his own confession, the general practice of ancient times was always in favor of our views. We are happy to have it in our power to add, that the example of the best of our modern schools lies in the same direction. If boys obstinately refuse to be governed by reason, they *must* be controlled by authority; if kindness have not the desired effect, the virtue of the birch must be tested. "If," says the distinguished and honorable H. Mann, "if the teacher's mind cannot overmaster the pupil's mind, in its present condition; and if the teacher's heart be not of such superior moral power as to overcome and assimilate to itself the heart of the pupil, there is one resource left;—the teacher's physical power is superior to the pupil's physical power, (for the teacher has a legal right to summon all necessary assistance to his aid,) aud with this superiority he *must* begin the work of reform. Order *must* be maintained; this is the primal law. The superiority of the *heart;* the superiority of the *head;* the superiority of the *arm;* this is the order of means to secure observance of the law."[1]

The intimation in the "Protest" that such a course may "transform the high spirit of an American boy into a confirmed habit of slavish obedience," we regard as a mere rhetorical florish to round a fine sentence. While there is much in the "Protest" which we admire, and most of the remarks in favor of moral influences, have our entire approbation, we are free to confess, that with the sentiment just adverted to which has the appearance of a lure thrown out to captivate the unthinking, we can have no sympathy. Why, even *Busby*

[1] "Common School Journal;" Boston, June 1, 1846, p. 161.

himself, hardly more celebrated for his *talents* than for his *severity*, in the conduct of his school, was not more reverenced than *beloved* by those, who felt the good effects of his authoritative and rigid discipline as well as of his instruction.

*Mr. J. Orville Taylor*, than whom few men in our country have more profoundly studied, or written more wisely on this subject, says: "*I know* that with *some scholars* you *must use force;* but in the first place try the influence of persuasion and reason." ..... Again, "True it is, that the teacher *must have authority;* he is the governor of his little republic; and *must be obeyed.*" ..... Once more: "Punishments will sometimes be found necessary. But severe punishments should be used with great care."[1] On the subject of inflicting punishment *privately*, we entirely coincide with Mr. Taylor, when he remarks: "Punishments should seldom, if ever, be inflicted before the school. The fear of being laughed at, or called a fellow of 'no spunk,' will prevent the criminal from yielding as soon as he would otherwise do, if his pride was not touched by the presence of his associates. When the criminal is arraigned before the school, he will be less inclined to confess his fault and ask the forgiveness of the teacher." .... "The teacher should take the offenders aside, where they may be unseen and unheard; and then show them the nature of the offense, and its consequences upon the school and its authors. If he find punishment necessary, he should administer it with calmness and affection, convincing his pupils that he is pained because he loves them."[2]

"Crimes," continues Mr. Taylor, "which are common to many of the scholars, should be made known and corrected before the school. Such as the use of profane language, lying, quarreling and disrespect. These crimes the teacher should publicly reprimand."[3]

Even Mr. Jacob Abbott, late principal of the Mt. Vernon Female school, Boston, a gentleman of most extensive experience, who has written an excellent book of some hundreds of pages for the express purpose of discouraging the use of the rod, and advocating "Moral Suasion," admits, that although moral influences are the chief foundation, &c., yet that his "system is a system of authority,—supreme and unlimited authority, a point essential in all plans for the supervision of the young. But it is authority secured and maintained *as far as possible*, by moral means."[4] A philosopher once urged the

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[1] "The District school;" pp. 98—99. [2] Ibid. pp. 100—101.

[3] Essay on Education Vol. I. p. 64. [4] Vide "The Teacher," p. 3.

doctrine we are combatting, upon Coleridge, alleging that it was unfair and hurtful to restrain or coerce the youthful disposition. "I showed him my garden," says Coleridge, "and told him it was my botanical garden." "How so," replied the pseudo-philosopher, "it is overgrown with weeds!" "Oh," rejoined Coleridge, "the weeds, you see, had an early start, and I thought it injurious to *force* the soil towards roses and strawberries."

The testimony of Dr. Barrow, of London, author of the Bampton Lecture for 1799, deserves to be quoted.[1] "The decisive argument, however, for governing a child by authority, is *the impossibility of governing him by any other means.*" .... "To attempt to manage him by reason, as some modern theorists have recommended, *is beginning where we ought to finish.* Reason is the last of our faculties, which attains to its maturity; or, rather, it is the maturity of all our faculties together. It is the *end* at which we aim in education, not the means by which we pursue it." We entirely concur with Rosseau in this respect, that we may with as much propriety, require our sons to be six feet high as to exercise judgment in a degree beyond its development. In other words, we must not expect to gather the fruits of autumn, while we are contemplating the blossoms and beauties of spring.

Again, says Dr. Barrow: "Of all good discipline at school, I have ever seen reason to believe, that this, to wit the, rod, must continue to be what it has hitherto been, the beginning and the end, the basis and the completion."[2] ..... "It is indeed easy," he continues, "to declaim on the tyranny and cruelty of the too frequent use of the rod; to enumerate instances of its misapplication and excess; to suppose extreme cases, in order to subject them to censure and reproach. How difficult soever it may be to *prove*, it is still easy to assert, that the constant fear of chastisement is a principle of action adapted only to the slave, and the frequent infliction of it, treatment fit only for beasts of burthen. Nor can willing auditors of such declamation be wanting in an age, where the exertion of parental authority is continually relinquished for the indulgence of parental affection; and the permanent advantage of our children daily sacrificed to their immediate gratification." ..... "Upon the pretext, accordingly, of excluding corporal punishment, many schools have risen amongst us, (in England,) with the rapidity of exhalations; but for the want of the utility, which such punishment would have

[1] Essay on Education, Vol. I. p. 64. [2] Ibid. Vol. II. p. 141.

secured, have with little less rapidity disappeared. .... "The motives which affection and liberality can supply, will not longer be able to counteract the love of ease or the love of play. The pain and shame of correction alone will be found permanently efficacious. Who indeed would submit to the drudgery of repetition and composition, but from the apprehension of some greater evil, as the consequence of idleness or disobedience! A pupil will sometimes not only neglect his task, but refuse to perform it; and even declare his contempt of every penalty short of corporal chastisement. It will often happen that the assistant teachers, and sometimes that the master himself, will be purposely insulted. There will be occasion to repress swearing or obscenity, deliberate falsehood, and even fraud or theft. For these offences personal chastisement will be found indispensibly necessary. The rod *must* be employed to correct habits which otherwise lead to a life of infamy and terminate in a death of shame."[1]

We should be inexcusable if, on such a subject as this, we omitted to refer to the testimony of the late "Head Master of Rugby School," that master-intellect, profound scholar, and prince of teachers, the late *Thomas Arnold, D. D.* His able biographer, *Stanley*, informs us that Arnold "retained flogging" ..... but it was confined to moral offenses, such as "lying, drinking, and habitual idleness, while his aversion to inflicting it, rendered it still less frequent in practice than it would have been according to the rule he had laid down for it." But in answer to the argument used in a liberal journal, that it was even for these offenses and for this age degrading, he replied with characteristic emphasis:—

"I know well of what feeling this is the expression; it originates in that proud notion of personal independence, which is neither reasonable nor christian—but essentially barbarian. It visited Europe with all the curses of the age of chivalry, and is threatening us now with those of Jacobinism. .... At an age when it is almost impossible to find a true manly sense of the degradation of guilt or of faults, where is the wisdom of encouraging a fantastic sense of the degradation of personal correction? What can be more false or more averse to the simplicity, sobriety and humbleness of mind which are the best ornament of youth, and the best promise of a noble manhood?"[2]

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[1] Essay on Education, Vol. II. pp. 142—145.

[2] Jour. Educ., Vol. IX. pp. 281. 284.

If, however, the use of the rod still be deemed objectionable by some, let it be remembered, that no species of discipline has yet been devised against which plausible objections may not be adduced. It is one of the imperfections of human things, that to almost every good is annexed an inseparable evil. One of the monarchs of antiquity is said to have promised a magnificent reward to him, that should invent an untried pleasure; and he, who should discover an efficacious means of enforcing juvenile diligence and obedience without any necessity for a resort to the rod, would deserve to be ranked amongst the benefactors of mankind, and receive the thanks of all future ages.

The punishment of *expulsion* for obstinate misconduct, which the minority advocate, as a final substitute for personal chastisement, we have already adverted to. We shall only add, that we deem it much more severe, and far more degrading than that for which it is intended to be a substitute. The lad thus expelled and disgraced, bears the stigma through life, and is often rendered desperate so as to have no encouragement or spirit left to even attempt a reformation. If corporal punishment be objectionable, much more is this withering extremity, and hence it should scarcely ever be resorted to; certainly not until the last flickering ray of hope to reclaim the culprit shall have been extinguished, and the interests of the school imperiously demand it. The legality of this crushing species of punishment is even beginning to be questioned, and by a recent decision in one of the courts of Massachusetts, it was declared to be inadmissible, since boys who may be deemed fit subjects of expulsion are the very ones who most need to be kept under the restraining and reforming influences of good schools. To what degree of severity personal correction may be carried, it is of little importance to inquire, because impossible to determine with precision. "Punishment," says Barrow, "must be regulated, not so much by any general rule, as by character and occasions." Locke mentions a mother with applause, who eight times repeated the chastisement of whipping before the stubbornness of her child was overcome. "*Had she stopped*," says he, "*at the seventh correction, her daughter had been ruined.*" The parent must be content to resign his son to the discipline of a school of reputation, and to the discretion and humanity of an approved master; and the master must always bear in mind, that, however atrocious may be the offenses brought before him for animadversion, his authority is not only delegated, but circumscribed within very narrow limits; that though he is necessa-

rily allowed the power of punishment, it is always another man's child, whom he is to punish; that he is permitted to exert, not greater, but less severity, than the parent might reasonably exert in his place; and that no cause or provocation whatsoever, can justify any such chastisement as may permanently injure the features, the limbs, or the health of the boys entrusted to his care.

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## ARTICLE X.

### HYMNS FROM THE GERMAN OF LUTHER, ACCORDING TO THE ORIGINAL METRES.

By William M. Reynolds.

No. 1. A version of "*Nu freud euch, lieben Christen gmein.*" *

1. Rejoice ye ransom'd of the Lord,
   Now banish all your sadness,
   Tune all your hearts with one accord,
   And sing aloud for gladness:
   Tell what the Lord for us hath wrought,
   At what a price our souls he bought,
   And all his wondrous goodness.

2. A thrall of Satan once I lay,
   Beneath death's gloomy power,
   Sin rack'd my soul by night and day,
   And deeper, deeper ev'ry hour,
   From that which gave me birth, I fell;
   No peace within my breast might dwell,
   Sin reign'd in all my nature.

3. Good works with me could naught avail,
   By them I must have perish'd;
   To goodness dead, I dar'd assail
   His law who me had cherish'd!
   My anguish drove me to despair,
   Whilst death frown'd on me ev'ry where,
   And hell yawn'd just before me.

4. Then touch'd my wretchedness the heart
   Of Him who reigns in heaven,
   He deign'd his mercy to impart,
   And show my sins forgiven—
   My father's heart yearn'd over me
   What greater love than this could be
   Which gave his richest treasure?

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* In making these translations I have before me the admirable work of Dr. *K. E. P. Wackernagel*, "Das Deutsche Kirchenlied von Martin Luther bis auf Nicholas Herman und Ambrosius Blaurer. Stuttgart, Liesching, 1841." Wackernagel has every where been careful to restore the text of the original edition.

5. "Go my beloved Son," said He,
Thou who my glory wearest,
Now let the world my mercy see
Whilst thou salvation bearest;
Now burst their bonds, and free from sin,
Destroy the reign of death, and win
Eternal life for sinners."

6. The Son obey'd the Father's voice,
He own'd his virgin mother,
Let all the world aloud rejoice,
He hath become my brother;
Yea, he my humble form assumes,
And Satan to perdition dooms,
And thus his kingdom cometh.

7. To me he said: "Cleave unto me,
Thou shalt not be rejected,
I gave myself to death for thee;
Thy ransom is effected;
For I am thine and thou art mine
And, though ten thousand foes combine,
Thou shalt be mine forever.

8. The foe indeed will shed my blood,
And on the cross will slay me,
But this I suffer for thy good—
Let faith on this still stay thee—
My life the pow'r of death shall break,
Mine innocence thy guilt shall take,
And thus shalt thou be blesséd.

9. Unto my father now I go,
From earth ascend to heaven,
But there my love I still will show,
My spirit shall be given;
He shall, 'mid ev'ry grief, console,
And into thy benighted soul
Shall pour the light of heaven.

10. What I have done and taught below
That do and teach thou ever,
That God's own kingdom here may grow
Its glory failing never.
But of the words of men beware,
Lest they should prove a fatal snare,
And rob thee of thy treasure." AMEN.

No. 2. A version of "*Ah Gott von Himel, sieh darein.*"
(The 12th Psalm.)

1. O God! look down from heav'n, we pray,
Thy tenderness awaken!
Thy saints, so few, fast fade away—
Hast thou thy poor forsaken?
Thy word no more is taught aright,
And faith from earth hath vanish'd quite—
O Lord, our God, revive us!

2. They teach but falsehood and deceit
   By their own heart invented,
And in their varying creeds we meet
   Few truths thy word presented—
One chooses this, another that,
Contending for they know not what,
   Tho' specious their appearance!

3. From teachers of false doctrine, Lord,
   Thy church, we pray, deliver,
They undertake to rule thy word,
   As wiser than its giver.
Who shall control our tongues, they say,
Who dare prescribe another way,
   Who has dominion o'er us?

4. God therefore saith, "I will arise,
   My poor they are oppressing,
I see their tears, I hear their cries,
   Their wrongs shall have redressing.
My healing word shall now appear,
The proud shall think its truths severe,
   But it shall save the humble

5. As silver sev'n times purified
   Is known and priz'd the higher,
The word of God, when fully tri'd,
   Doth deeper love inspire:
The cross but proves its greater worth,
It shines abroad o'er all the earth,
   Enlight'ning all the nations.

6. O God, preserve it pure, we pray,
   In this vile generation,
May we still walk its perfect way,
   And see thy full salvation;
Here may it make the simple wise,
And there, beyond the glitt'ring skies,
   Fill ev'ry mouth with gladness.

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## ARTICLE XI.

### NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

1. *Rudolph Garrigue's Catalogue of Books, Periodicals, Maps, Atlases, etc. published in Germany from July 1st to December 31st*, 1848. New York, 2 Barclay st. (Astor House,) April 1849.

This is a finely printed volume of over three hundred pages 12 mo. Although bearing upon its title-page the impress of *New York*, it was, we suppose, printed in Germany, as it is the usual

semi-annual "Book-sellers' Catalogue" of that land of books, which we might almost suppose to be the annual reproduction, in a somewhat changed form, to be sure, of the leaves of the forests with which Teutonia was once covered, but which have long since disappeared before the power of civilization of which these books are either the ripest, or, as the case may be, the rankest product. Not even the rocking and upheaving earthquake, and outpouring, fiery flood of the volcano of Revolution can there check the flood, the annual inundation, of books. And it would be strange if it should, for the constantly accumulating, deepening and widening intelligence of Germany, of which her literature is both the cause and the effect, is, doubtless, one of the main influences that have given an impulse to this revolution. The instinct of despotism long since foresaw this, and hence the sleepless vigilance and iron hand with which the censorship of the press was conducted. But all that labor was lost, and worse than lost, for you might as well attempt to bottle up all the lightning of the atmosphere in Leyden jars as to prevent the diffusion of intelligence, free thought and free speech in the world, or in any part of it where a particle of it exists—the utmost that you can do will be to collect together what may give the awkward operator a shock, whilst enough will still be left in the earth and in the atmosphere either to fertilize and vivify, or to descend in a storm of vengeance upon the head of the guilty offender, and so to purify the moral atmosphere. We do not mean by this to approve of all that is done in German or in any other revolutions, any more than we approve of the Machiavellian and Metternichian policy of kings and despots by which these excesses are provoked. But we do mean to argue against those German and other conservative literati, and theologians especially, who fear that these revolutions are to usher in another age of barbarism, and that science, religion and literature will expire amid the convulsions that rend society. No, as we have already said, these revolutions are the offspring of increasing intelligence, and it is not for a moment to be feared that the child will lay parricidal hands upon its parent. It is a matter of course that the business of book-making, like all other business, will be temporarily suspended amid the clash of arms and the throes of a revolution, but just as all other business ultimately revives and is stimulated and invigorated by increased liberty, so will this. Oppression is, indeed, a heavy weight upon all human interests, but nowhere is liberty

more needed than in the movements of the mind of one of whose fundamental faculties it is a characteristic attribute.

In fact the Catalogue before us already gives evidence that thought is beginning to flow in its wonted channels. Though it shows a falling off of nearly one-third when compared with the corresponding Catalogue of last year, it still contains a sufficient array of names and subjects to maintain the long established literary ascendancy of Germany over all other parts of the world in the quantity, at least, if not in the quality of its books. As an illustration of this we may mention that "The London Catalogue of Books published in Great Britain, with their sizes, prices, and publishers names, from 1814 to 1846," that is for thirty-two years, is only an 8vo. volume of 542 pages, whilst the German Catalogue for this single year of depression, 1849, will be a 12mo. volume of at least as many pages, and not less than half the contents. Menzel (as quoted in an interesting article in the Edinburgh Rev. for April, 1849, on "The Vanity and Glory of Literature," p. 152, Am. Ed.) says, "In Germany alone, according to a moderate calculation, ten millions of volumes are annually printed. As the Catalogue of every Leipzig half-yearly book-fair contains the names of more than a thousand German authors, we may compute that at the present moment there are living in Germany about fifty thousand men who have written one or more books. Should that number increase at the same rate that it has hitherto done, the time will soon come when a catalogue of ancient and modern German authors will contain more names than there are living readers. ..... In the year 1816 there were published for the first time more than three thousand books; in 1822, for the first time, above four thousand; in 1827, for the first time, above five thousand; and in 1832, for the first time, above six thousand; the numbers thus increasing one thousand every five years." (Gordon's Translation of 'Menzel's German Literature.') The translator adds, from the Conversations–Lexicon, the numbers published annually to 1837 in which year they were nearly eight thousand." So that during those five years the increase was nearly *two* instead of *one* thousand. A rough calculation of Heyse's Catalogues for 1846, gives us eleven thousand as the number there recorded for that year, and we do not believe, judging from the Catalogue which has suggested these remarks, that the whole number for 1848 will fall at all short of

this. Quite a respectable number that, we should think, for the first year of Revolutions.

It is true that a comparison of these catalogues shows that the public mind is now directed to some subjects with considerably more interest than formerly, whilst in some departments of literature the falling off is very remarkable. Thus in the department of "Staats- und Rechtswissenchaft. Politik. u. Statistik" (The sciences of Statesmanship and Law—Politics and Statistics,) the number of publications is nearly doubled. It is curious to observe, too, that this is the first time our familiar word "Politics" makes its appearance in the German catalogues—a very significant and important addition, undoubtedly, to the old "Staatswissenchaft." But in the department of Theology *the falling off* is, comparatively, nearly the same, whilst "Philosophy" shares no better. This we do not think is a subject of any great regret, for we suspect that it is mainly such theology and philosophy as that of D. Strauss and B. Baur that have "fallen off," these gentlemen now finding in politics a much more congenial theme for the exercise of their talents We hesitate not to say that the sooner such gentlemen give up theology and philosophy altogether, the better it will be both for them and for the world in general, and for Germany in particular. But to the friends of orthodoxy, could our voice reach across the Atlantic, we would say, now is the time for you to exert yourselves. Formerly "whilst you slept, the enemy came and sowed tares,"—Improve now the opportunity that you have of retrieving what you have lost. Instead of wasting your time in wailing over what you so generally regard as the "new and damnable heresy" of Revolution, make use of the liberty which is thus given you to reorganize the church in accordance with the principles of that greatest and wisest of revolutionists—Luther. Labor to infuse new religious life as you see politicians laboring to infuse new political life into the people—and be assured that you will not labor in vain.

Doubtless many good works in theology, as well as in other departments of literature, are for the present suspended or retarded in their appearance, but we may hope that this evil is only temporary. Besides, there is some truth in what Dr. Ullman says in his Preface to the volume of the "Studien u. Kritiken," for 1849, pp. 4, 10, 13. "We have, in fact, suffered from a surfeit; it is good for us to be put upon a simpler diet, and placed in a condition not only

to taste what is presented to us, but to digest it in a healthy manner. Our existence really continued more and more to threaten to be a one-sided literary one; it is salutary for it to be again rëestablished more upon actual life, that subjects may be presented to us that more deeply concern man, and questions started that can only be solved out of the depths of the human mind and character. Even theological literature may now admit of considerable thinning; the trees of its forest stand too thickly together; if the number of shoots is somewhat diminished, the more vigorous and more healthy trees will have room to grow, the higher and to spread their branches the more widely."—"Science indeed—this, verily, is the sorrowful and lossful experience of us Germans especially—science, verily, is not the only thing that makes a people great."—"Theology, especially, is no abstract science, but, taking its rise in the depths of our life, it finds its ultimate object and goal in *life*."

There have not been, and we hope there never will be, men wanting among those most distinguished in German literature, and in German theology especially, who have fully understood this, and, so far as their circumstances permitted, acted in accordance with it. Luther, Paul Gerhardt, Arndt, Francke, Spener, Oberlin, and some whom we could name in our day, have undoubtedly been eminently *practical men.* And as Germany stands confessedly at the head of the civilized world in *theory*, we hope that she will now, permitted to move more freely, put herself in an equally advantageous position in *practice*, and by the union of the two attain the highest elevation and happiness that can be realized by our fallen and imperfect nature here upon earth. Hoping to see continually increasing and brightening indications of this in her literature, we shall always examine with deep interest these semi-annual Catalogues which advise us of what is passing in the German mind. The American public, and especially that part of it more immediately interested, in German life and literature, as the readers of the Evangelical Review generally are, are under great obligations to Mr. R. Garrigue, the enterprising publisher of this Catalogue, for the facilities which he thus, and by his promptness in supplying any work issued from the German or Scandinavian press, gives for our intellectual intercourse with Germany and with the kindred mind of Norway, Sweden and Denmark.

2. *The works claiming to be the Constitutions and Canons of the Holy Apostles, including the canons, Whiston's version, revised from the Greek, with a Prize Essay at the University of Bonn, upon their origin and contents; translated from the German, by Irah Chase, D. D.* New York, D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway, 1848.

This book is a most valuable addition to our theological literature. True, these Constitutions and Canons called "Apostolic," and referred to the inspired penman of the New Testament as their authors, or even to Clement, as their collector, are a most impious and manifest forgery. Still, there is no doubt that they belong to a very early period of christian literature, and throw great light upon the religious life and earlier history of the church. Besides, they have exerted such an influence upon the form and fortunes of the church, now for more than a thousand years, and give us as it were the very germ out of which has sprung the whole system of papal despotism and hierarchal assumption, that no intelligent theologian can well afford to be ignorant of them.

The learned investigation of the sources, and searching analysis of the contents of these writings, presented in the able essays of DR. KRABBE, are well worthy of study. They throw great light upon that impious system of "pious fraud" by which the "mystery of iniquity" early began to work, and by which, mainly for the purpose of establishing the power of the clergy, or rather, of the bishops, not only such works as the "Heavenly Hierarchy of Dionysius," and the undoubtedly spurious epistles of Ignatius were forged, but likewise works of truly apostolic men, such as Polycarp and Ignatius, were mutilated and corrupted and made to teach doctrines of which their authors never dreamed. We have no doubt whatever that this system of forgery and interpolation has been carried much further than is commonly suspected, and we cannot but regard it as a remarkable instance of divine interposition that, under such circumstances, the integrity of the Scriptures has been so wonderfully preserved. What, indeed, was to prevent those whose champions have taught "that the end justifies the means," and who have exalted the authority of a translation, often manifestly incorrect, above that of the original records of the divine word, from laying violent hands upon that word itself, whose free circulation among the people they have so greatly feared and

so violently denounced? Nothing, we believe, but the fear of exposure, and the direct intervention of Him who gave that word to the world. But to return to the book before us :—

Dr. Chase has performed his part of this work very creditably to himself. His translation generally reads well, is clear and satisfactory, and, we presume, faithful to the original. Some of the sentences are a little stiff, but such things will creep into translations. The Dissertation on the Canons was originally published in the Bibliotheca Sacra, that best of our American Reviews, which is almost in itself a sufficient guarantee of its merit. The enterprising publishers have brought out this book in their best style, and deserve, and will, no doubt, receive the thanks of our theologians generally.

3. *The unaltered Augsburg Confession, as the same was read before, and delivered to, the Emperor Charles V., of Germany, June 25th*, 1530 *: And the three chief symbols of the Christian Church : with historical Introductions and critical and explanatory Notes. By Christian Heinrich Schott, pastor of St. Peter's Church in Leipsic. Carefully translated from the German.* New York, printed and published by H. Ludwig & Co., 1848.

This translation is an important contribution to the literature of our American church. We fear that there are great numbers of our church-members, who do not possess, and many who have never seen the venerable Confessio Augustana—the confession to which, assuredly, we still adhere. We feel grateful to Mr. Ludwig for thus offering it to our people in a neat form, at a very moderate price, and with very valuable additions, as pointed out in the title, given above. The historical Introduction to the Augsburg Confession contains a succinct. but well-told, and, for ordinary purposes, quite satisfactory narrative of the origin and progress of the Reformation, up to Luther's death, expatiating, more particularly and extensively, on the preparation and presentation of the confession itself, detailing sundry important particulars respecting it, and giving an account of the disputes between the Lutheran, and the Zwinglians. The notes are judicious and instructive, containing much matter that must prove interesting and valuable to general readers, and also to ministers, who may not have access to original sources. A book of this kind has long been a desideratum, in our

American church, and we sincerely hope that it will have an extensive circulation. Its chief defect consists in the numerous Germanisms of its worthy and faithful translator. But as these do not, in many instances, materially obscure the sense, and hoping that they may be reminded in a future edition, we cordially commend the work to the careful perusal and study of American Lutherans.

4. *An historical and critical View of the Speculative Philosophy in the nineteenth century. By J. D. Morell, A. M., complete in one volume. From the last London edition.* New York, Robert Carter, 1848.

This work, which has met with an exceedingly favorable reception in Europe, has perhaps, scarcely attracted, in this country, all the atttention which it deserves. It is far superior to any thing of the kind ever before attempted in the English language: nay, it is the only full and satisfactory account, historical and critical, of modern philosophy, that we possess in the English language. The author has evidently brought to his work peculiar and eminent qualifications. His acquaintance with the progress of philosophic speculation and inquiry, from the earliest times, and with the many systems, that have been, at different times, promulgated, is comprehensive and profound. He devoted a long time to the study of philosophy; became first a disciple of Dr. Thomas Brown, but subsequently learned, better than he had done before, to appreciate the philosophy of Reid. Yet, not satisfied with the results thus far attained, and "hoping to probe the questions relating to the foundation of human knowledge more to their centre," he "attempted to read Kant's "Kritik der reinen Vernunft," and some few other continental works; but they, for the most part, opened a region so entirely new, that he felt quite unable to compare their results *as a whole* with those of the Scottish metaphysicians."—"Desirous, however," he continues in his preface, "of pursuing the subject still further, I repaired to Germany; I heard Braudis and Fichte expound German philosophy in their lecture rooms, and spent some months in reading the standard works of the great masters. The different systems, which were here contending for the preference, gradually became intelligible; but, alas! they stood alone—in complete isolation; to compare their method, their pro-

cedure, their aim, their results, satisfactorily with those of our English and Scottish philosophy, appeared, as yet, almost impossible. To gain light, therefore, upon these points, I turned my attention to France; the name of Eclecticism seemed too inviting to be turned away, as it often is, on the charge of syncretism or want of profundity; and my hopes were not altogether deceptive. I found, or thought that I found, in the writings of Cousin, and others of the modern eclectics, the germs of certain great principles, upon which a comparison of all the philosophical systems of the present age could be advantageously instituted, and saw, that such a comparison would be of very important service to one, who should be anxious to travel, as I had done, over the broad field of European metaphysics."—"It was with a view of supplying the want which I had myself felt, that I began the sketch which has now swelled into these volumes; and it is in the hope that it may afford to others what I myself vainly sought for, that it is now ushered with all its imperfections before the public.

The plan of the work, as a whole, may be stated in very few words. First, I have attempted to explain and illustrate the general idea of philosophy, and to deduce the fundamental notions from which it springs. Having grasped the idea of philosophy *generally*, I attempted next to point out the different views which have been entertained of its details; in other words, to classify the different *systems* which have been in vogue, more or less, in every age of the world. Having obtained four great generic systems as the result of this classification, I have endeavored, in the first part of my plan, to trace their history from the revival of letters, to the opening of the nineteenth century; in the second part, to follow up that history more minutely to the present age; and in the third part, to discover their tendencies as respects the future." Preface, p. iv. sqq. We have given these quotations, because the author's design is best stated in his own words, and his plan best described by himself.

The four generic systems referred to in this passage, are: sensationalism, idealism, scepticism, and mysticism. As eclecticism is not, sensu proprio, a distinctly defined, independent system, he does not designate it as such; yet, of course, it receives all due attention in the progress of his historical and critical discussion. In the present state of philosophical inquiry, we presume that the

author would himself prefer to be ranked among the eclectics—a school, whose researches are very extensive, while the results attained are more reliable and satisfactory than those which are reached by investigations, however acute, which are pursued in any one isolated direction.

The work has been highly commended by Dr. Tholuck, Dr. Chalmers, and other European writers; it will be invaluable to those, whose duty it is to lecture on the history of philosophy, and to present to classes of students, a general view of the results at which metaphysical inquiry has hitherto arrived.

5. *The Germania and Agricola of Caius Cornelius Tacitus, with Notes for Colleges. By W. S. Tyler, Prof. of Greek and Latin, in Amherst College. New Edition.* New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway, 1848.
6. *The Histories of C. C. Tacitus: with Notes for Colleges, by W. S. Tyler, Prof. of Languages in Amherst College.* N. York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway, 1849.

Perhaps no uninspired writer of antiquity, certainly no Roman writer is more interesting and more deserving of study than Tacitus. As a historian he has no superior, and to find his equal in the whole range of literature, ancient and modern, would not be easy. Even so far as mere style is concerned, and though he is classed in what is called "the silver age" of Roman literature, he will not suffer by comparison with the most brilliant of our modern writers, whether English or Continental. Nay, we suppose that the most illustrious of those writers, Hume, Gibbon, Schiller, La Martine, McCauley, would consider it the highest compliment that they could receive to bring them into any thing like a favorable comparison with him whom we must still pronounce "the greatest of historians." It is, in fact, almost amusing to see how McCauley, the representative of that latest form of modern literature, the Review, has, when turned historian, imitated the great Roman critic, not of books, but of human hearts. What admirer of Tacitus when reading, for instance, the beginning of McCauley's History of England, can fail to be reminded of the commencement of Tacitus' Histories? Take the following sentences as specimens: "I propose to write the history of England from the accession of king James the Second to a time which is within the memory of

men still living."—"Initium mihi operis Ser. Galba iterum, T. Vinius consules erunt." The two paragraphs which follow the sentence just quoted from McCauley, seem almost an echo (and, we must say, a faint one, though musical,) of that magnificent passage the second section of Tacitus, commencing "Opus aggredior opimum casibus, atrox bellis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace saevum." And, in the same manner, the third section of Tacitus may be said to have suggested McCauley's third and fourth. We might, in fact, show how the popular Englishman has reproduced almost every sentence of this part of our author whom most people would be disposed to designate as "the obscure and musty old Roman." But we have not here space to go into such an analysis. Nor do we design by this to derogate from McCauley's merits. On the contrary, we congratulate him upon his good taste, and cite this as another evidence in favor of the study of the classic writers of antiquity, viz. that they not only serve as the most correct models upon which to form the taste, but that they invigorate and stimulate the intellect, and by the richness of their suggestiveness well reward all the time devoted to their perusal. We cannot, however, leave this subject of Mr. McCauley's imitation of Tacitus without directing attention to the identity of the plan upon which each proceeds. Tacitus commences by foreshadowing the great events which he is about to unfold—McCauley does the same. Tacitus briefly in his Histories, more generally in his Annals, reviews and sums up the history to the point from which he proposes to start out,—"Ceterum antequam destinata componam, repetendum videtur, qualis status urbis," &c.—McCauley devotes his first three chapters to this work. But to return to the books before us:

It follows from what we have said that we look with decided favor upon all attempts to familiarize students with this model of historical writing. Nor can we deny that few writers stand more in need of elucidation than our favorite. But here the fault is not his but ours, or rather, it is a necessary result of the progress of time and of the difference of language by which we are so widely separated from the age in which Tacitus wrote. But why, it may be asked, why is Tacitus so much more obscure than the Roman writers by whom he is preceded, or than his cotemporaries even? Because he is the perfection of them all, taking them all up into himself and condensing and concentrating all their vigor in himself,

besides adding much that is peculiarly his own. In order to understand Tacitus, therefore, we must be familiar not only with his peculiarities but with the whole circle of Roman and a great deal of Grecian literature. In view of this, it might be made a question, whether it is proper that students in College, who can, at most, only get the elements of a classical education, should undertake the study of this author? A moment's reflection, however, will leave no doubt upon this point. It is the object of a classical course of study, among other things, to enable the scholar to enter advantageously into any department of literature to which he desires to devote himself, and especially to give him some idea of the character and contents of the writings of those master-minds that have rendered an acquaintance with Greek and Latin literature indispensable to all who would wield the pen or the tongue, or form a correct estimate of those who have done so, or even enjoy the highest degree of intellectual pleasure and profit from the efforts whether of the speaker or of the writer. It is evident, therefore, that a classical course of study which should leave out this most philosophical of historians, would be exceedingly incomplete.

But we suppose no argument is needed upon this point, and that no one will doubt the propriety of *Prof. Tyler's* design in preparing an edition of Tacitus for Colleges. And, so far as we have been able to examine it, he has executed his task in such a manner as is not only creditable to himself, but, what is more important, highly advantageous to the student whether in college or out of it. He has selected a good text and accompanied it with excellent elucidations both in his Introduction and Notes. The Life of Tacitus, prefixed to the Germania and Agricola, is well written, and attractive, we should think, even to the general reader. And in the "Preliminary Remarks" preceding the Notes to the Histories, the Editor rises still higher, seeming to have warmed with his theme and to have studied himself still more fully into the character and genius of his author. The Notes are generally what such articles ought to be, "the happy medium between too much and too little," as one of our cotemporaries phrases it. In short, we hope that Prof. Tyler will go on to complete his series by a similar edition of the Annals, when American scholars as well as the "studious youth" of our Colleges, will have increased facilities for making themselves acquainted with an author from the perusal of whom

we may draw some of the most useful lessons of moral and political wisdom.

We should be guilty of great injustice did we fail to notice the elegant manner in which the Publishers, the Appletons, have got up these works. They are printed upon fine paper, in a beautiful type, and, so far as we have read, with an accuracy unusual to the American press. The price also is moderate, which is not one of the least important requisites of a good school-book. We have no doubt that this edition will commmend itself very extensively to our Colleges and justify the undertaking of the enterprising publishers.

7. *A Manual of Grecian and Roman Antiquities, by Dr. E. F. Bojesen, Prof. of the Greek Language and Literature in the University of Sorö. Translated from the German. Edited by the Rev. Thos. Kerch. Arnold, M. A., Rector of Lyndon, etc. Revised, with Additions and Corrections.* New York: D. Appleton & Co. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton, 1848.

This is another of the Appletons' excellent series of classical works for Schools and Colleges. Like all their books of this class it is beautifully got up, and presented in a convenient form and at a moderate price. A work upon this subject has long been needed as a Manual for instruction. Adams', and Kennett's Roman, and Potter's Grecian Antiquities, though possessed of high merit, have long since become *antiquated.* Eschenburg, though an admirable work, that might very easily be adapted to the present state of the science, is entirely too extensive and too unconnected, and, consequently, uninteresting to the youthful student. But in Bojesen, we are inclined to think, that we have just the work that we want. That it is a book of uncommon merit, might be inferred from the manner in which it comes to us. Written originally in the Danish language, (so we presume from the fact of its author being a Professor in the Danish University of Sorö (not Soro as our American Edition, imitating the English, no doubt) has it), it was translated into German by Dr. Hoffa of Marburg, and from German into English by Rev. R. B. Paul, late Fellow at Exeter College, Oxford, himself, as we are told, the author of an extensive work upon "Grecian Antiquities." Edited by so distinguished a scholar as Mr. Arnold, it, almost as a matter of course, commended itself to

teachers on this side of the Atlantic where it has also found a very judicious editor.

The character of the work is very well set forth by Dr. Osenbrüggen, in a review of it which appeared in the "Zeitschrift für Alterthumswissenschaft," p. 914 of the vol. for 1842, from which Mr. Arnold, in his preface, gives us the following extract: "Small as the compass of it is, we may confidently affirm that it is a great improvement (on all preceding works of the kind).—We no longer meet with the wretched old method, in which subjects essentially distinct are heaped together, and connected subjects disconnected; but have a simple, systematic arrangement, by which the reader easily receives a clear representation of Roman life. We no longer stumble against countless errors in detail, which, though long ago assailed and extirpated by Niebuhr and others, have found their last place of refuge in our Manuals. The recent investigations of philologists and jurists have been extensively, but carefully and circumspectly used. The conciseness and precision which the author has every where prescribed to himself, prevents the superficial observer from perceiving the essential superiority of the book to its predecessors, but whoever subjects it to a careful examination will discover this on every page."

We have no doubt that the American edition is an improvement upon the English. The work could scarcely fail to suffer in passing through a German translation into English, and we are surprised that the translation was not made immediately from the original. In default of that, however, we cannot doubt that the course pursued by the American editor has greatly added to its value. He modestly tells us in the "Preface to the American Edition," that "All that has been attempted in the Edition now presented to the public has been, to revise carefully throughout the volumes of Dr. Bojesen; to add explanatory notes, where they seemed to be needed; to amplify occasionally some paragraphs and sentences which appeared obscure from the studied brevity which the author has every where observed; to give references to standard English works in history and antiquities; and to endeavor in every way to render the works perfect in their adaptation to the wants of American Schools and Colleges."

We have introduced this book into our course of instruction in Pennsylvania College as a substitute for Eschenburg, and believe that the change will be decidedly profitable to our students.

8. *Cæsar de bello Gallico.* Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard.
9. *P. Virgilii Carmina.* Phil., Lea & Blanchard.
10. *Sallustii Catalina et Jugurtha.* Phil., Lea & Blanchard, 1848.

We are glad to see an American house publishing this excellent classical series. Drs. Schmitz and Zumpt have been before the public for some time, and are extensively and favorably known as teachers of the classics. We are pleased with their editorial labors; they seem to understand the business to which they have devoted themselves. Practical knowledge of the wants of the student, acquired by long experience, has enabled them to furnish the kind of assistance required. The books of the series, which we have examined, are remarkable for the accuracy of the text and the judiciousness of the comments. The principles on which the notes are constructed are, to remove only such difficulties as the pupil cannot be expected to solve by himself, and to afford help to those, who are willing to make reasonable exertions in mastering the subject of the recitation; they are not so copious as to supersede mental effort—only those difficulties, which would be likely to impede the student's progress, are explained. The editors, in their preface, correctly observe, that nothing can be more destructive to the mental energies of pupils, than placing before them annotations on a principle of indiscriminate translation, for instead of causing them to exert their minds and acquire habits of exact reasoning and investigation—an important object in classical learning—the assistance so unduly afforded, robs them of all motive for exertion and deprives them of the invaluable pleasure of conquering difficulties, and of feeling that they have been instrumental in their own instruction.

Other advantages this series possesses. The text of each author is prefaced by interesting and important biographical and critical sketches in English, in order that the learner may be made acquainted with the character and peculiarities of the work, the study of which he is about to commence. The maps and illustrations with which the volumes are embellished, greatly enhance their value. Their cheapness is also another recommendation—the price being considerably less than that usually charged. And as any effort to reduce the expenses of a liberal education, even in the item of text books, ought to meet with encouragement, we trust the publishers will receive the favor they deserve.

It is proposed to continue the series, and we shall be glad to learn that sufficient patronage has been extended to the publishers to justify them in the enterprize so auspiciously commenced.

11. *A History of Rome from the earliest times to the death of Commodus. By Dr. Leonard Schmitz.* Andover: Allen, Morrill & Wardwell.

The increased attention which is devoted to the study of history, we regard as a most encouraging feature in our system of education, and we are pleased to see this subject, at last, securing that place in our elementary course of study, which its importance demands. The multiplication of text-books we hail with delight, as it indicates a higher appreciation of the value of historical studies than formerly existed among us. The history, whose title page has been given, is a valuable one. Whilst it is admirably adapted to the school-room, the general reader will find it an entertaining and instructing narrative. It furnishes a clear and condensed account of the leading events, which have transpired in that remarkable country from the earliest period of its history till the death of Commodus. The author, at present Rector of the High school of Edinburg, one of the oldest and most important classical institutions in Great Britain, seems admirably qualified for the task he has undertaken. Born in Germany, yet having lived sufficiently long in England to appreciate the wants of English schools, a pupil of the celebrated Niebuhr, and having gone through the extended classical course of the German Gymnasium and University, we would suppose him peculiarly fitted to prepare a History of Rome for schools. From the examination we have been able to give the volume, we regard it as a most successful effort, and think that it will not disappoint expectations. The work is, in a high degree, adapted to the object in view, and will serve as an excellent introduction to the more extensive works of Niebuhr and Arnold. Its perusal is likely to awaken an interest in the study of a country which embraces substantially the annals of the world, and at some of its most important periods. We shall be glad to see the book take the place which it so richly deserves in our classical schools.

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## ARTICLE I.

### THE SWEDISH CHURCHES ON THE DELAWARE—A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.*

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The origin of the Lutheran Church in the U. States is to be traced, so far as human instrumentality is concerned, to that dark and stormy period of the seventeenth century which at one time threatened to exterminate Protestantism from the whole of continental Europe. It was in the midst of the terrible tragedy of the thirty-years' war that the illustrious hero, Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, formed the design of providing an asylum in the western world for the persecuted Protestants of all parts of Europe. The brilliancy of his exploits, and the vigor of his character having attracted to his court William Usselinx, an enterprising merchant and navigator, who had spent some years in the Azores, and made himself well acquainted with America, and especially with the country on the Delaware Bay and river, the idea of planting a colony in America was thus suggested to that monarch, who was no less sagacious as a statesman than he was resolute as a warrior. He accordingly granted Usselinx all that

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he required, namely, authority to organize a Swedish company for the purposes of trade and colonization in Asia, Africa and America, and a charter for these purposes was given to him in the year 1624.

But it was no wild spirit of adventure, such as had already, in the tenth century, led his Gothic ancestors[1] to discover and explore this western continent, that impelled the patriotic Gustavus to send his ships and seamen to those distant regions, much less was it a desire of gain that induced him to invest his royal treasures in a speculation so doubtful as to its results. The most sincere love for his people and ardent desire to promote their prosperity, an enlarged philanthropy, unfeigned zeal to subserve the interests of religion, deep sympathy for those whose attachment to the gospel had robbed them of all their earthly possessions, were the undoubted motives for this undertaking. The colony which he proposed to found was to be a source of wealth and prosperity to all ranks of his people, to the poor peasant as well as to the titled noble. He would lay its foundations in justice and righteousness, and make all its future citizens freemen and Christians. Slavery was at once, and for ever, to be excluded from it. "Slaves," said this Swedish statesman, "cost a great deal, labor with reluctance, and soon perish with hard usage, the Swedish nation is laborious and intelligent, and surely we shall gain more by a free people with wives and children."[2]

But it was not to Swedes merely that the western world was to be opened. Colonists were invited from all parts of Europe. All who were suffering from that civil and ecclesiastical tyranny which then combined to desolate the fairest provinces of Europe, and to rob men of all the rights of conscience and of citizenship, were assured that they should here find an asylum. Six years before, the peace wrested at the point of the sword from the reluctant adherents of Rome and guaranteed by the diet of Augsburg in 1555, had been suddenly terminated by the determination of Matthias, the emperor of Austria, (or rather of the Jesuits, by whose counsels he was ruled,) to exterminate Protestantism from Bohemia and his hereditary dominions. The unsuccessful attempt of Frederick V, the Elector Palatine, to assume the crown of Bohemia conferred upon him by the representatives of that nation, drew the war into Germany, and the Palatinate was

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[1] See Smith's Northmen in N. England.

[2] Argonautica Gustaviana pp. 3 and 22, as quoted by Bancroft History of U. States, vol. ii, p. 284.

quickly overrun and compelled to receive Romanism at the point of the bayonet, and every state of Protestant Germany seemed to lie at the mercy of the conqueror. The Jesuits, supported by the arm of imperial power, remorselessly plied their bloody work of persecution in Austria, Bohemia and the other states which acknowledged Ferdinand II, as their hereditary sovereign, and the same scenes appeared now to be approaching for the remainder of the German empire. Whither should the hundreds and thousands of those who preferred renouncing home, wife, children, and all earthly goods, rather than their faith in Christ, resort? France was delivered over to the Jesuits, England was on the eve of a great revolution, Holland still persecuted all who would not subscribe the decrees of the Synod of Dort, and Denmark was soon to be compelled to make an inglorious peace with the Emperor, and sit quietly by whilst its allies of the Augsburg Confession were, one after another, destroyed.

Sweden was the only country that had the courage to interfere, and Gustavus Adolphus seems at this early day to have formed the most comprehensive plans both for the maintenance of the Protestant cause and for the succoring of all those who were suffering for their attachment to it. Scarcely anything like enlightened views in regard to the rights of conscience were yet known. Even the Diet of Augsburg, whilst it gave Protestantism a legal existence, made *the prince*, or government, the judge of the religion which should be tolerated under his rule, and only secured those who embraced another faith the right of removing from the country in which their opinions were proscribed. Cases of this kind were continually occurring even before the breaking out of the war in 1618, and it was therefore a work of mercy to furnish such with a secure asylum. Such was the design of Gustavus in establishing his colony in America. It was solemnly declared to be intended as an instrument for planting the Christian religion among the heathen,[1] for the common benefit of all oppressed Christendom, a security to the wives and daughters of those whom wars and bigotry had made fugitives; a blessing to the common man, and to the whole Protestant world.[2] Under the influence of such motives he kept this project in view from year to year. In 1626[3] he issued a proclamation encouraging men of all ranks to take part in it. The following year he brought it before the diet of his kingdom and thus

[1] Du Ponceau's Campanius Holm. 63. [2] Bancroft ii, p. 285.
[3] Acrelius p. 6.

gave it the highest legal sanction. This induced great numbers to take stock in the Company, among whom are mentioned the king's mother, John Casimir, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, many nobles, bishops, and burgomasters of various cities, and large numbers of the people in Sweden, Finland and Livonia. The Company being thus organized, a fleet was fitted out for the purpose of carrying the colonists to Virginia, as the whole of this continent between Florida and the gulf of St. Lawrence, was then called. But this fleet appears to have been captured by the Spaniards,[1] who, besides being jealous of all attempts of other nations to colonize or trade with America, were also disposed to commence hostilities with the king of Sweden on account of his war with Sigismund of Poland, who was connected by marriage with the house of Hapsburg. Before this disaster could be remedied Gustavus Adolphus had put himself at the head of the Protestant states of Germany, for the purpose of defending the rights of conscience, preventing the utter extermination of Protestantism in the land of its birth, and setting limits to the ambition and tyranny of the united houses of Austria and Spain. Still, he never lost sight of this favorite plan. Even when he drew near the end of his glorious, though brief career, amid all the cares and troubles of a campaign against the most renowned general of the age, the ambitious Wallenstein, from Nürnberg, "but a few days before the battle of Lützen," says Bancroft,[2] "where humanity won one of her most glorious victories, and lost one of her ablest defenders, the enterprise, which still appeared to him as 'the jewel of his kingdom,'[3] was recommended to the people of Germany." We can almost imagine that the illustrious monarch, whose energies were all consecrated to the good of mankind and to the defense and extension of the Church, had a prophetic view, a vision like that of Moses from Nebo, of the fair country, the land of promise beyond the Atlantic, where not only persecuted Protestantism, but likewise persecuted humanity was soon to seek, and for a season find a refuge from the foes by which they were assailed, and where the Church was to "arise and shine," and make "the wilderness and the solitary place glad, and the desert to rejoice and blossom as the rose."

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[1] Loccenius Hist. Swed. as quoted by Campanius, p. 84. This is a very obscure point in the History of the Swedish colony which might perhaps be cleared up by a reference to Loccenius, to whose works I have not access.

[2] History ii, 285.

[3] Argonautica Gustaviana, as quoted by Bancroft ubi sup.

The death of Gustavus Adolphus did not frustrate this any more than it did his great plan for the deliverance of Germany. The mantle of his wisdom and power fell upon Axel Oxenstiern, perhaps the ablest and the purest minister that ever governed a kingdom in the name of another.[1] Almost immediately after the death of the king, whilst Oxenstiern was still in Germany, (April, 10, 1633,[2]) he renewed the charter of the Swedish West India Company and invited the German Protestants to participate in its privileges. These were accepted and confirmed by the deputies of the German allies of Sweden convened at Frankfurt, in December, 1634. But the difficulty of his situation from the battle of Nördlingen, (Aug. 1634,) until the victories of Baner and Torstenson had again completely turned the tide of war in favor of the Swedes, prevented any active measures from being taken in this enterprise until two or three years afterwards. In the meantime, however, he had obtained from Charles I. of England,[3] a re-

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[1] Of this remarkable man the great Swedish historian, Geijer, (in his "Svenska Folkets Historia," vol. iii, pp. 301, 302,) gives us the following sketch: "We cannot but admire Axel Oxenstiern; and that the more, the better we become acquainted with him and with the mighty difficulties with which he had to contend. There is nowhere to be found a more honorable example of what a strong understanding and methodical labor can accomplish. Yet this man was slow, and slept his full time! Whilst the burthen of a foreign war rested upon his shoulders, his glance took in all the internal relations of the kingdom. In his propositions as a minister we are made acquainted with a great statesman, a great patriot, and a man much more liberal than is generally known." We cannot forbear adding the daily prayer of this founder of the Church in America, as given by Geijer, said to have been preserved in his own handwriting; it is worthy of the man who undertook to finish the work of the great and good Gustavus, by planting the Church in the new world: "O Lord, my God! I know and am well assured of this, that thou art my Maker, my Redeemer, my strong tower, the horn of my salvation, and my kind and merciful Father, who dost not let the desire of my heart pass by thine ears without hearing me. I commend this day, and at all times, into thy gracious care, myself, my family, my native land, and thy holy Church throughout the wide world. May thy good Spirit direct us, may thy holy angels protect us; give us what is pleasing to thee and suitable for us, and ward off what is displeasing to thee, or injurious to us either in soul or body. Grant grace, that thy holy, life-giving word may be preached purely, clearly, and uncorruptedly among us and our posterity, and that the holy sacraments may be administered according to thine institution, without abuse, and bear fruit in our hearts. Ward off all false religion, heresy and scandal, as also all misunderstandings and divisions in thy holy Church. Give unto us faithful preachers and teachers, guard and shield them. Bless our churches and schools, and let thy holy word shine in them, and our youth be trained up in the fear of the Lord." Amen!

[2] Bancroft ubi sup.

[3] Acrelius, p. 85, who gives as his authorities Campanius, p. 62, and Von Stiernman's Sammlung. He also says, that the act of cession was to be seen in the Archives of the kingdom until the burning of the Castle where they were kept.

nunciation of all the claims of that nation to the country upon the Delaware, and had thus determined the location of the colony.

Oxenstiern having returned to Sweden in 1636, was enabled to devote himself more fully and intelligently than he had hitherto done to the internal affairs of the kingdom. Among these the long cherished plan of an American colony claimed his first attention. To this he seems to have been urged by Peter Minuit,[1] or Menewe, as the Swedes write it, who, having (in 1632) left the service of the Dutch under whom he had been the first Governor or Director of New Amsterdam [N. York,] had about this time come to Sweden and offered his services for the establishment of a colony upon the Delaware or South River, as it was then called, with which he was, of course, well acquainted, having resided in that region from 1624 to 1632.

The expedition at length started from Götheborg (Gottenburg,) some time in the year 1637, in two vessels, the one a ship of war named "Calmars Nyckel (Key of Calmar,) and the other a transport, called "Fogel Grip" (The Griffin,) both laden with colonists, provisions, wares suitable for trade with the natives and all else that was thought necessary for the defense and prosperity of the colony of which Menewe was to be the Governor. It was in all probability, in the spring of 1638,[2] that they reached the Delaware, and first landed at a place upon Henlopen, to which they gave the name of *Paradise Point*, in consequence, perhaps, of the genial warmth of an early spring in a climate so much milder than that of Sweden. It was with similar feelings that their Skandinavian ancestors, six centuries before, had given the name of "Vinland" (the land of Vines,) to the rugged shores of New England. This tract of country from the sea to the mouth of the Delaware river had been purchased of the natives, and settled in 1631 by a company of Dutchmen, under Godyn, De Vries and others. But in the following year the colony taken out by De Vries was exterminated by the Indians, and no further attempt was made at a settlement there for some years. Menewe soon af-

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[1] He is also called Minuits or Menuetz, and by the Dutch Minnewitz.

[2] The precise date of the first Swedish colony has been much disputed, some making it 1624, others 1631, and others, among them the distinguished Swedish historian Geijer, (Svenska Folkets Hist. vol. iii, p. 63, Note 3.) 1640. We decide in favor of 1638, in accordance with the authority of Acrelius, p. 9, supported by the Protest of Kieft, the Governor of N. Amsterdam, which is dated May 6, 1638. This was called forth by the building of Christina Fort, of which the Dutch may not have been informed for some time after the arrival of the Swedes.

ter took his little colony a considerable distance up the river to a place called by the Indians *Hopokahacking*, having, in the mean time, purchased from the natives the whole country from Cape Henlopen to the Falls of the Delaware. Warned by the fate of De Vries' colony, he at once built a fort which he called after the Swedish queen, *Christina*, and around this the colonists settled, their lands being carefully distributed to them by the public surveyor Mans Kling, who also made a map of the coast and lands, which was long preserved in the Royal Archives in Sweden.

The Swedes brought their religion with them to America. Reorus Torkillus, a native of East Gothland accompanied the colony of Menewe as its preacher, and one of the first houses erected, after the fort, was the church, which was enclosed by the same walls, and in it Torkil officiated until his death, which took place in 1643. This was, therefore, the first Evangelical Lutheran church ever erected in the U. States, or even in this western world, for it was not until 1665,[1] that a church was erected in the city of N. York, though Guericke, (Kircheng. iii, s. 366,) misled we suppose by the loose assertions of American writers, says, that there were Lutherans here as early as 1621,[2] of which, however, I have hitherto

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[1] It was in this year that the English under Gen. Nicholls took possession of New York. The following year the Lutherans who had been for some time increasing, though persecuted by the last Dutch Governor Peter Stuyvesant, (see Bancroft's Hist. of U. S., vol. ii, p. 300. Albany Records, iv, 19, 25.) presented a petition asking permission to build a church and call a pastor. This was granted, and they at once called the Rev. Jacob Fabritius from Holland. He arrived in 1669, and labored among them eight years, after which he went to Philadelphia, and became the pastor of the Swedish church at Wicacoa, as stated in the text below.

[2] Since writing the above I have had an opportunity of examining the Records of the Dutch Colonial government, in the office of the Secretary of State at Albany, from which I ascertain that the Lutherans began to hold meetings for religious instruction and prayer, in private houses in N. Amsterdam about the year 1655, or perhaps even earlier, as their petition of the 24th of Oct. 1656, informs us, that they had then already received an answer from the Directors of the West India Company in Holland, assuring them that "the doctrine of the unaltered Augsburg Confession might be tolerated in the West Indies and New Netherlands as it was in their native country, Holland." But a Placard, dated Feb. 1, 1656, published by the magistrates of the city, prohibited "preaching, or attending any public religious services but those sanctioned by the Synod of Dort" under a penalty of 100 pounds Flemish for the preacher and 25 pounds for the hearer. To this the Lutherans submitted until they received the favorable answer just mentioned from the Directors in Holland, when they very humbly requested the city Government, no longer to interrupt their "religious exercises of reading and singing, till, as we hope and expect, under God's aid, next spring, a qualified person shall arrive from our Fatherland to instruct us and take care of our souls." But not only was this reasonable request refused, but they were also fined and imprisoned for refusing to have their children baptised by the Reformed

been able to find no evidence. Of the doctrinal basis upon which this church was established we are distinctly informed in the Instructions given to the second governor, *John Printz*, who, in 1642, was appointed to succeed Menewe, who had died the preceding year, his place having been supplied by *Peter Hollændare* until the arrival of Printz. In these Instructions, after having carefully pointed out the Governor's duties as regarded the temporal concerns of the colony and its intercourse with the natives and the neighboring colonists from Holland and England, which was to be pacific and conciliatory, the 26th Art. proceeds as follows:

"Above all things shall the Governor endeavor, and see to it, that he render in all things to Almighty God the true worship that is his due, the glory, the praise, and the homage which belong to him; to that end he shall take suitable measures that divine service is zealously performed according to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, the Council of Upsala, and the ceremonies of the Swedish Church, having care that all men, and especially the youth, be well instructed in all parts of Christianity, and that a good Church discipline be also established and practiced."

The first Lutheran church in America was, therefore, organized upon the model of the Church in Sweden, and in no part of the world has Lutheranism been more fully established or more steadfastly maintained than in that part of Skandinavia.[1]

It was upon these principles that the Swedish Churches in this country were established, and they maintained them faithfully for near two hundred years. They are also presupposed by all the benefactions received from Sweden, and by the charter first granted by the proprietory government of Pennsylvania, in 1765, and afterwards renewed, though unfortunately modified by the Legislature of the State, in 1787, and which is still the fundamental law of these churches, — the only title by which they hold their property in Pennsylvania.

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preachers who required them to acknowledge the decrees of the Synod of Dort as sound doctrine, whilst efforts were continually made "to lure them to their churches, and matriculate them in the established Reformed religion." Although the Directors in Holland reprimanded both Stuyvesant and the preachers, at whose investigation he had acted, and made known their determination to tolerate the Lutherans, yet when their minister, the Rev. John Ernest Gutwater, or Goetwater, arrived, in July 1657, they, in the following year expelled him from the colony, nor did the Lutherans carry their point, so far as we are aware, until ten years after, and under the English administration. Similar to this is the history of the church at Albany, or Beverwyck, as it was then called, as we learn from Dr. O'Callaghan's admirable "History of the New Netherlands," vol. ii, p. 320.

[1] See Appendix.

But although thus decidedly Lutheran, the Swedish American Church was not intolerant. This is shown by the instructions just quoted; Printz is there told, "with reference to the colonists from Holland, who live under the dominion of the Swedish throne, the Governor shall not disturb them in the exercise of the Reformed religion, which is allowed by the Royal charter," [by which the colony was established.] Thus, contemporaneously with Roger Williams, and independently of him, was freedom of conscience guarantied upon the banks of the Delaware, and this was done nearly fifty years before William Penn founded Philadelphia upon similar principles of religious freedom.

Though Sweden was then at the height of its power, and the most martial country in Europe, its policy in the new world was altogether pacific so far as the Indians were concerned, and the work of their conversion was prosecuted with great zeal, though this was too soon interrupted to allow any important results to appear. The ninth Article of Gov. Printz' Instructions is as follows: "The Governor shall treat the wild nations which surround the colony with all humanity and respect, so that no violence or injury be done them by any of her Majesty's subjects who, on the contrary, shall do their utmost to make them acquainted with the truths of the christian religion and the mode of worshipping God, so as to civilize them and give them the benefits of social order and government. Especially shall he endeavor to convince them that neither he nor his people have come for the purpose of doing them any harm, but much rather in order to supply them with such things as will add to their comfort, especially such as are not found among them or cannot be manufactured by them."

The good effects of this policy were visible in the uninterrupted peace maintained between the Swedes and their Indian neighbors; and more than a hundred years afterwards, when the government of the Swedes had long been subverted, the Indians continued to speak of them with the greatest affection. Thus we find the chief Canasetago [Conestoga] expressing himself as follows, (at a meeting held in the council-house at Lancaster, June 26, 1744, with Gov. Thomas, and the Commissioners from Maryland and Virginia and the representatives of the six Nations, Conrad Weiser acting as interpreter:) "It is true that more than a hundred years ago a German [Swedish] ship came bringing many things, such as knives, hatchets, guns and the like, which they gave us. And when they had taught us the use of these things and we saw what kind of a people they were, we thought so much of them that we

tied their ship to the bushes upon the shore. After a while we thought the more of them the longer they staid with us; so thinking the bushes too weak we removed the rope and put it around a tree; and lest the tree might be overthrown by a storm or fall of itself, out of our great love for them, we removed the rope again and tied it to a very great rock. Still, not satisfied with this, for the sake of still greater security, we removed the rope to the big mountain, where we fastened it carefully, and rolled wampum around it. And for still greater security we stood upon the wampum and sat upon it, and to prevent all injury we used all means to guard it and preserve it to the end of time. As long as this stood the newcomers from Sweden acknowledged our right to the land, and from time to time treated with us for tracts of our land, and proposed to unite and live with us as one people."[1] In like manner the Swedes, in their letter to the king in 1693, say, "We live in great unity with the Indians, who have done us no harm for many years."[2]

The efforts of the Swedes to enlighten and convert the Indians to Christianity, were sincere and active and would, there is reason to believe, have been crowned with great success had they been left in undisturbed possession of the country. We infer this from the course which they pursued in this work.—The younger Campanius gives us the following account of the occasion upon which his grandfather, who, as we have said, came over to this country with Governor Printz in 1642, applied himself to this work:

"The Indians were frequent visiters at my grandfather's house. When for the first time he performed divine service in the Swedish congregation, they came to hear him, and greatly wondered that he had so much to say, that he stood alone, and talked so long,[3] while all the rest were listening in silence. This excited in them strange suspicions; they thought that every thing was not right, and that some conspiracy was going forward amongst us; in consequence of which my grandfather's life and that of the other priests were, for some time, in considerable danger from the Indians who daily came to him and asked him many questions. In those conversations, however, he gradually succeeded in making them understand that there was one Lord God; that he was

[1] Acrelius pp. 43–44—where he quotes The History of the Five Nations, p. 103.

[2] Ibid p. 213.

[3] The Indians called preachers "big mouths."

self-existing, one, and in three persons; how the same God had made the world from nothing, and created a man and placed him upon earth, and called him Adam, from whom all other men have sprung; how the same Adam afterwards, by his disobedience had sinned against his Creator, and by that sin had involved in it all his descendants; how God sent from heaven, upon this earth, his only son, Jesus Christ, who was born of the virgin Mary, for the redemption and salvation of all mankind; how he died upon the cross, and was raised again upon the third day; and lastly how, after forty days, he ascended again to heaven, whence he will return at a future day to judge the quick and the dead, &c. They had great pleasure in hearing these things, at which they greatly wondered, and began to think quite differently from what they had done before; so that he gained their affection and they visited and sent to him very frequently. This induced him to learn their language, so as to be able to translate for them what they wanted very much, to instruct them in the christian doctrine; and he was so successful that those people who were wandering in darkness were able to see the light. He translated the Catechism into their language, and he succeeded so far that many of those barbarians were converted to the christian faith, or, at least, acquired so much knowledge of it, that they were ready to exclaim, as Capt. John Smith relates of the Virginia Indians, that, so far as the cannons and guns of the christians exceeded the bow and arrows of the Indians in shooting, so far was their God superior to that of the Indians."[1]

Campanius labored for six years in America, evidently devoting his attention mainly to the Indians, as we find him to have prepared, besides the translation of the catechism just mentioned, a vocabulary of the Delaware language, and also several dialogues in the same, as well as a short vocabulary of the Mohawk, or Mingue, as it is called in Du Ponceau's translation of Campanius. Returning to Sweden in 1649, Campanius prepared his work for the press. Owing to various hindrances it was not printed until 1656,[2] nor was the printing finished even then. This was, no doubt, owing to the capture of New Sweden by the Dutch in 1655. Cam-

[1] Du Ponceau's translation of Campanius' Description &c. pp. 75—76.

[2] In this year two ministers came over to New Sweden perhaps for the purpose of preaching to the natives, and the Catechism may at that time have left the press. But as they were driven from the country by the Dutch it could not be used, and the title page and preface of 1696 may have been added when the Mission was renewed in 1696.

panius died at Frosthultz in Upland, where he was then pastor, at the advanced age of eighty-two, on the 17th of Sept. 1683; but it was not until thirteen years afterwards (1696) that his book finally left the press. The king of Sweden (Charles XI.) was then moved by the prayer of Campanius, which was preserved upon record, to send this work to America for the benefit of the heathen, as well as various other books of devotion &c., for the use of the Swedish colonists, under the circumstances to which we shall presently refer.[1] The work is evidently performed with great care and fidelity, and, judging from his translation of his own work, with great success. It commences thus: "The Catechism which contains the sum and substance of the Holy Scriptures.—Thus shall your children, sons and daughters, men-servants and maid-servants, together with all other persons, give all diligence to learn the Ten Commandments of the Almighty Lord our God." The first commandment is explained thus: "We and all men must have a childlike fear, yea it must be our pleasure to love this powerful God more than any thing contained in heaven or upon earth, and we must place all our trust and confidence upon this our merciful God alone." All the other parts of the Catechism are explained with similar simplicity, so that Campanius seems to have had peculiar qualifications for his work.

John Campanius, surnamed Holm, from Stockholm, the place of his birth, was, therefore, the *first Protestant Mis-*

[1] Five hundred copies of the work were sent to the Delaware. One of these I have had an opportunity of examining, it having been kindly procured for me by the Rev. Dr. Demme, of Philadelphia, out of the library of the church over which he presides in that city. It is a duodecimo volume of 174 pp. with the following title: "LUTHERI CATECHISMUS, *öfwersatt på American Virginske* språket. Stockholm, Tryckt uthi thet af Kongl. May$^{tt}$ privileg. Burchardi Tryckeri, af J. J. Genath, *f.* Anno MDCXCVI." That is, "Luther's Catechism, translated into the American Virginian language. Stockholm, printed with permission of his Royal Majesty by J. J. Genath Jr. at Burchard's press. A. D. 1696." The book, bound in stout calfskin, also bears the Royal arms of Sweden upon the title-page, and in gilt, upon the cover, the royal initials C. G., that is, *Charles Gustavus*, surmounted by the Swedish crown. The printing is very handsome for that age. It has a preface of some 16 pp. in Swedish, giving the reasons for the printing of the book and incorporating extracts from the original preface of Campanius of which this takes the place, also some remarks upon the evangelization of the heathen in general and of the American Indians in particular, and sundry extracts from the Sagas in proof of America having been first discovered by the Skandinavians in the tenth century. Then follows the Catechism, each question being given first in the Indian (Delaware) language, then a Swedish version of this, and afterwards, where there is any difference, the Swedish version of Luther's Shorter Catechism.—Since the foregoing was written the Rev. Thomas Lape, of Lockport, N. Y., has deposited another copy of this Catechism in the library of the Lutheran Historical Society at Gettysburg.

*sionary* among the Indians of this country. John Elliot, "the Apostle of the Indians," began his labors in New England in 1646, several years later. Luther's Shorter Catechism, too, was, perhaps, the first book of christian instruction translated for the benefit of the inhabitants of the New World, although it did not (as already stated) appear as early as Elliott's Indian Bible, which was printed at Cambridge in 1668. I have also seen it stated[1] that there was a Swedish Missionary laboring among the Indians in the interior of this state, but have not, hitherto, been able to obtain any satisfactory information upon this subject.

As we have already intimated, the Indians to whom the Swedes thus undertook to preach the gospel were the Delawares, or Lenni-Lennapi, so famous in the early history, and in the traditions and fictions of this country, and the Mohawk, or, as the Swedes write and pronounce it, Mahakua branch of the great nation of their powerful and perfidious enemies the Iroquois, to whom they also gave the general name of the Mingue or Minnisinks.[2]

The second church built by the Swedes was at Tenakongh, or, as it is commonly called, Tinicum, also Teniko and Tutacaevung, to which place Governor Printz also gave the name of New Götheborg, when he built a fort and a handsome house there, which he called, after himself, Printz-hall. This place was about three Swedish or fifteen English miles above Wilmington, and so this was the first church ever erected in the present state of Pennsylvania. It was consecrated by Campanius on the 4th of September, 1646. It was also furnished with a bell, and was used for public worship until the year 1700.[3]

Campanius was succeeded in the pastorate of these two churches by Rev. *Lawrence Charles Lokenius*, or, as he was more familiarly called by the Swedes, *Lars Lock*. He came to America under Gov. Printz, but the time when is not precisely determined, though it is probable that he arrived before Campanius left, which was in 1648. If so, he continued to exercise his ministerial functions in this country just forty years, as he died in 1688. He was also assisted in his duties for a short time by Israel Holgh, who also came during the administration of Gov. Printz, but was, together with another

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[1] In Rupp's History of Lancaster County, I believe.

[2] See Acrelius, pp. 424–5.

[3] We believe there is still a Lutheran church in that neighborhood in Pennsylvania, and should be glad to have a sketch of its history.

minister who had came over with Gov. Rising, expelled by the Dutch when they took possession of the colony in 1655, and soon returned to Sweden, where he was made pastor of Sokn in West Gothland. Two other ministers, Peter and Matthias, whose sir-names are not given, came in, the former with Gov. Rising, and the latter in the ship Mercury which arrived in the year 1656, before the Swedes were aware of the conquest of their colony by the Dutch. They remained but a short time, and at their return the former was made pastor of Smaland, and the latter of Helsingland, in their native country.

By the year 1655, the Swedish and Finnish population had increased to about seven hundred. During the seventeen years that they were under the Swedish government, they had enjoyed a high degree of prosperity both temporal and spiritual. "The Swedes," says M. Ternaux-Compans,[1] "never thought of restraining the industry of their colonists, a policy which, in the end, cost England its finest colonies in America. The colonists possessed so large an amount of stock that part of it ran wild in the forests, without being claimed by any one. The chase and fishing furnished them with abundant supplies; they particularly cultivated tobacco, which the company had the exclusive privilege of importing into Sweden, and flax, which furnished them with clothing, as did also the wool of their flocks. Besides Fort Christina and Tinecum, or New Götheborg, they had formed various other establishments upon the right bank of the Delaware. Between these two forts was the village of Mecopanaka or Upland, now Chester; Elfsborg fort was four leagues south of fort Christina and well supplied with artillery; Korsholm, Manyunk and Chinsessing [Kingsessing] with various other villages, were upon the banks of the river."

The colonists were divided into three distinct classes, first, those hired by the company who were to serve a certain number of years according to certain stipulations, which seem to have been mutually satisfactory; secondly, those who paid their own passage and were at liberty to establish themselves wherever they pleased, and could leave the country at their own option—these were called, by way of eminence, freemen; thirdly, a number of criminals and vagabonds were sent over to work upon the fortifications and public works, who were confined to particular places provided for their safe keeping. This last class soon became a nuisance which the sober and

[1] Notice sur la Colonie de la Nouvelle Suède. Par H. Ternaux-Compans. Paris, 1843.

virtuous colonists would not tolerate, so that when a number of them came over with Gov. Printz they did not permit them to land, in consequence of which many of them died before the ship could again reach Sweden. "It was after this forbidden," says Campanius,[1] "under a penalty, to send any more criminals to America, lest Almighty God should let his vengeance fall on the ships and goods, and the virtuous people that were on board; it was said that there was no scarcity of good and honest people to settle that country, but, as engineer Lindström says, on his departure from hence, more than a hundred families of good and honest men, with their wives and children, were obliged to remain behind, as the ship had taken as many on board as she could hold." Fom this it is evident that, if the colony had remained under the Swedish government, there was every prospect that its population would have increased rapidly. Without any additional emigration from Sweden, they had, by the year 1696, increased to about two hundred families, embracing over one thousand[2] individuals, who still spoke the Swedish language.

The causes which led to the conquest of New Sweden by the Dutch, are thus succinctly stated by M. Terneaux-Compans:[3] "The numerous wars which king Charles Gustavus had to sustain, prevented him from attending to that establishment which would, without doubt, have arrived at a high degree of prosperity had it been sustained a few years. The few vessels that he sent were captured by the Spaniards, and the Hollanders hastened to profit by the opportunity to make an effort to recover a territory which they had never ceased to regard as usurped from them. They constructed fort Casimir, five leagues from Christina; though Governor Rising soon after succeeded in taking it by surprise; he increased its fortifications and gave it the name of Trinity-fort.—But this aggression was fatal to the Swedes, for the Holland Company ordered Peter Stuyvesant, who was then Governor of Manhattan, to punish their audacity and force the Swedes either to submit to his authority or to quit the country."

Stuyvesant left New Amsterdam on the 30th of August, 1655, with seven ships and six hundred men under his command, and in less than a month had full possession of New Sweden. The great mass of the inhabitants, having their private property and the free exercise of their religion guarantied to them

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[1] Page 73, 74 of Du Ponceau's Translation.

[2] Rudman (in Campanius, p. 108,) says over 1200.

[3] Notice &c., pp. 12, 13.

in the terms of capitulation signed between Stuyvesant and Rising, on the 25th September 1655,[1] took the oath of fealty to the Dutch government and remained in the country.

The preservation of the Lutheran church at this time in New Sweden, may be set down among remarkable providences. We have above (p. 167–note,) shown the intolerant spirit of the Dutch at New Amsterdam, which found so willing a representative in Governor Stuyvesant. We might infer from some of their letters that the Dutch ministers had determined to exterminate the Lutheran church of New Sweden as a most pestilent heresy. Two of the Swedish ministers were forthwith expelled, being, perhaps, among the prisoners taken at forts Casimir and Christina. But pastor Lock was allowed to remain under the following circumstances, as we are informed by the Dutch minister, Dominie Megapolensis: "Our people retook fort Casimir again in the year 1655. It was provided with a right strong garrison of our nation, and contained divers freemen with their dwellings. So, one was appointed who should read something every Sunday from the Apostles, which has yet been continued, and the *Lutheran minister who was there was sent to Sweden.* Two miles from fort Casimir, up the river, stands another fort, which was also taken at the same time, by our people, *and the preacher*, together with the Swedish garrison, *was sent away.* But as many Swedes and Finns, to the number of at least two hundred, were dwelling two or three miles up the river, above fort Christina, the Swedish Governor insisted in the capitulation, that one Swedish minister should be retained to instruct the people in their own tongue. *This their request was too easily granted*, first, because trouble had broken out at Manhatten (New York), with the Indians, and men required quick despatch and to hasten back to the Manhattans to redress matters there; second, because *we had no Reformed preacher here to establish there*, or who understood their language."[2] The article of capitulation here referred to, and to which such a repugnance is expressed, is in the following language: "Those [Swedes and Finns] who still remain in the country, shall have freedom to adhere to the Augsburg Confession which they profess, and also to retain a teacher [preacher] for their instruction."[3] The same causes, therefore, which

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[1] Acrelius, p. 73—75.

[2] "Rev. Dom. Megapolensis to the Classis of Amsterdam [in Holland]. I am indebted to the politeness of Rev. Dr. De Witt for these and other MS. letters." O'Callaghan's Hist. N. Netherland, vol. II. pp. 289, 290.

[3] Acrelius, p. 74.

almost exterminated Lutheranism from Holland were here actively at work to strangle it in its cradle in the new world. But just at this time, the storm which the Dutch had provoked by their barbarities towards the Indians, burst upon them.—Whilst Stuyvesant was carrying on his expedition in New Sweden, at the head of a force which, compared with that of the Swedes, was immense, and for which he had drained the colony over which he presided, emboldened, perhaps, by his absence and that of the principal part of the male population, the Mohegans, Pachamies, and some other tribes, made a descent upon New Amsterdam and the adjacent settlements, carried on their ravages during three days almost without resistance, except in New Amsterdam itself, murdered upwards of one hundred people, carried nearly twice that number into captivity, and desolated nearly the whole country with fire and sword. A messenger, who reached him with difficulty, recalled Stuyvesant from his bootless victories over a handful of Swedes, to defend his own fireside and to enter into humiliating negotiations for the restoration of his captive subjects. And it is to this emergency that Dominie Megapolensis attributes the indulgence granted to the Swedes and Finns on the Delaware, who thus were allowed the free exercise of their faith and the benefit of a minister to instruct them and perform the ordinances of religion.

The Dutch were not long left to rejoice in their triumph over the Swedes. In less than ten years (October 10, 1664,) a usurper still stronger than themselves deprived them of their ill-gotten gain. The English, under Col. Nicolls, an agent of the Duke of York, having first seized upon New Amsterdam and the Dutch possessions in that region, soon afterwards completed their conquest of the New Netherlands by the occupation of the country upon the Delaware. Although they at first committed various acts of spoliation and robbery, they finally gave the inhabitants the usual privileges of English colonies, and especially liberty of conscience. But the Dutch were reluctant to surrender this fair prize to those who had even less claim to it than themselves, and therefore, in 1673, once more seized upon their former possessions on the Hudson and the Delaware. Here their intolerance again threatened the Swedish church with the same danger that had been so providentially averted in 1655. Colve, the Governor-general of New York, having appointed Peter Alrick, schout, or commanding officer, upon the Delaware, made this the first article of his instructions: "He shall uphold the true doctrines of christianity as these are explained by the Synod of Dort, and

shall not tolerate any doctrine that is at variance with the same."[1] In accordance with this it was proposed to suppress "the Augsburg Confession," as the Lutheran church was there designated, and the great mass of the inhabitants were thrown into the greatest perplexity and consternation. But these intolerant proceedings were speedily checked by the restoration of the country to England in the following year.

Of the state of religion among the Swedes during the ten years of Dutch domination, and the first thirty of the English administration, we know but little. During most of this time Mr. Lock was the only Lutheran clergyman, and he seems to have ministered to the Dutch as well as to the Swedes. In 1657 the Dutch colony at New Amstel, which the Swedes called Sandhook, (now New Castle in Delaware) obtained a minister by the name of Everard Welius, but he died a couple of years after his arrival,[2] during the prevalence of a malignant disease. He appears to have been succeeded there by one Abelius Selskoorn, who, Acrelius tells us,[3] "came to the country after having finished his studies," (*where* he does not say,) "and after preaching for some time at Sandhook went to New Amsterdam, and was, upon the nomination of the Governor General, Stuyvesant and the Burgomasters, ordained for the professors[4] of the Augsburg Confession, and voted a salary equal to that of Rev. Lock." But where, or by whom he was ordained, or how long he ministered at New Amstel, or what finally became of him, we are not informed. This seems to have been the commencement of a union between the Lutherans and Dutch Reformed, at least we see no notice of the latter having a church or minister of their own, in New Sweden, after this.

Mr. Lock was very unfortunate in his domestic relations; his wife eloped from him, leaving him with a large family of children. Considering himself divorced from her by her own act, he, after some time, married again, and was thus involved in considerable difficulty with the Dutch authorities, who, however, after temporarily suspending his official ministrations,

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[1] New York Register, Z. as quoted by Acrelius, pp. 110—111.

[2] O'Callaghan, II. 336, 338.

[3] Beskrifning, p. 106.

[4] So we venture to translate this obscure passage of Acrelius—though we admit that it reads much more as though he were called to ordination with the approbation of the "Burgomasters of the Augsburg Confession," (sampt bifall af dere Borgmästarena af den Augsburgishe Confession.) but surely there were no "burgomasters of the Augsburg Confession" at New Amsterdam? There may, however, have been such at New Amstel, and certainly were in the Swedish settlements, and the reference may, possibly, be to them.

finally sanctioned his course and declared his second marriage valid.[1] During this time appears to have existed that state of things of which the recent historian of the New Netherlands says: "The ordinances of religion were totally suspended; the Lord's Supper had not been administered during two years and a half in the colony, and several children remained unbaptized."[2]

For twenty-two years Lock was the only minister in New Sweden. Three years after the country had passed into the hands of the English, in 1667, a new church was erected at Tranhuk (Cranehook), about a mile and a half above the old fort at Christina, close to which, as we have already said, the first church was built.[3] The church was put at this distance from Christina for the convenience of the Dutch at New Castle, who, as we have said above, had generally united with the Swedes in their church, and in the course of a short time, by continual intermarriages, had become almost one people with them.

Mr. Lock's "old age," says Acrelius,[4] "was oppressed by various trials. Towards its close he was lamed by shooting himself, so that for several years he performed no public services in the church, until death ended all his sorrows in the year 1688. He has left many of his name behind him in Rapapo, all Swedes, honorable in word and deeds, who brought up their children in the Lutheran doctrines and the Swedish church."

In 1669,[5] the Swedes built another church at Wicacoa. It was also a sort of fort, with loop-holes for defense against the savages by whom it was surrounded. It stood upon the site of the present Gloria Dei, or "Old Swedes' church," as it is familiarly called, in the Southwark district of Philadelphia. Mr. Lock must have officiated in it also, although we have no

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[1] Acrelius ubi sup.

[2] O'Callaghan, II. 465.

[3] "The Crane-hook church," says a recent writer, (Ferris' Hist. of Original Settlements on the Delaware, p. 145,) "stood on a beautiful spot close to the shore of the Delaware, so that the people from New Castle and Raccoon creek [in New Jersey], as well as those on the banks of the Christina and Brandywine, could come almost to the church door in their boats; a great convenience at a time when there were no riding carriages in the country, and perhaps few roads, and no bridges across the creeks and rivulets. But since that time, extensive flats, lying outside of the green plat of upland upon which the church stood, have been enclosed by banks, so that a boat could not now float within a furlong of it."

[4] Page 199.

[5] Clay's Annals, p. 64.—1670 Let. to Carr.

historical statement to that effect. But in 1677, the Swedes called to this church and to that at Tinicum, Dr. Jacob Fabritius. "He was," says Acrelius,[1] "a German by birth, or, as some have thought, a Pole. He was called from New York, where he was without employment." A writer in the Lutheran Herald,[2] tells us that in 1665 the Lutherans of New York petitioned Gov. Nicolls for liberty to send a call to Germany for a pastor. This being granted, the Rev. J. Fabritius arrived two years afterwards (in 1669), and entered upon his pastoral labors. About the year 1675,[3] he appears to have been involved in a difficulty in consequence of which he was (at the request of his congregation) suspended, and forbidden by the government to exercise his ministerial functions. It is probable, however, that he was soon pardoned, as we find the statement that he was eight years pastor of the Lutheran church in New York, which agrees with the time of his call to the Swedish churches upon the Delaware. He preached his introductory sermon in Wicacoa church on Trinity Sunday 1677, and, after the death of his colleague Mr. Lock, was sole pastor until his own decease, which took place somewhere about the year 1696. During the last twelve or fifteen years of his ministry, he was entirely blind, but was able to walk from Kensington, where he resided, to Wicacoa, without a guide. He appears to have been a man of considerable learning. Although he is said to have been a German, he preached in New York in the Dutch language, and although he at first employed that language among the Swedes, as they were generally acquainted with it, yet, as Acrelius tells us, he soon became so well acquainted with the Swedish language as to be able to conduct divine service in it also.

As his infirmities increased with his age, Fabritius desired to resign his charge. But it was very difficult to obtain any one to supply his place. There was scarcely any intercourse between Sweden and Pennsylvania, the Swedes having renounced all their claims upon the country. Still, several attempts were made to obtain ministers from Sweden. These

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[1] Page 199.

[2] Vol. III. No. 1. as quoted by Dr. S. S. Schmucker in his "Retrospect of Lutheranism," p. 6, note 2.

[3] As I have been informed by Samuel Hazard, Esq., whose forthcoming "Annals of Pennsylvania," will, I have no doubt, throw great light upon the history of the Dutch and Swedish colonies upon the Delaware. Judging from the Albany Records, we are compelled to conclude that the conduct of Fabritius, at least during the earlier part of his career, was any thing but becoming in a clergyman, and in 1683, Pastorius (no very good authority however) charges him with drunkenness.

not succeeding, in 1691, perhaps at the suggestion of Fabritius, who, it is probable, had been sent to America by that body, they addressed a letter[1] to the Lutheran Consistory at Amsterdam, begging them by their love of souls and their belief in the christian religion, as well as by their attachment to the doctrines of "*the unaltered Augsburg Confession*," to assist them in obtaining a minister who could preach to them in their native (Swedish) language. No answer being returned to this letter, we may well suppose that they were ready to despair. But they did not. On the contrary, the conduct of the Swedish churches at this time is worthy of all praise and of the imitation of those who are similarly situated. They selected two of the most intelligent and pious men that they could find, as Readers, the one in Tinicum, the other in Tranhook church, Fabritius still officiating occasionally at Wicacoa. Andrew Bengtson (whose descendants are called Banksons), an old man who had come to the country in 1656, acted in this capacity at Tinicum, and Charles Springer, who had been kidnapped in London, where he had been in the service of the Swedish minister Lejonberg, and carried to Virginia, where he was sold as a slave for five years, whence he had made his way to fort Christina, where he heard his countrymen lived, performed this service at Tranhook. They read Möller's Sermons, and used the liturgy of the Swedish church. Acrelius complains that the young people were very inattentive to these services, but there can be no doubt that they were calculated to do great good. We cannot but believe that God was well pleased with them, as we see that when he had made sufficient trial of their faith, he sent them, from a very unexpected quarter, that supply for their spiritual wants for which they had so long and so earnestly sought. The manner in which this was brought about, was, evidently, providential, and as follows:

A young man by the name of Prinz, who claimed to be a nephew of the Swedish Governor of the same name, about the year 1691, visited Pennsylvania in an English ship.—There getting acquainted with his countrymen, he was very warmly received by them. As their hearts were full of the matter, they told him how anxious they were to obtain a minister for their churches, and expressed their confidence that if the king of Sweden were acquainted with their circumstances he would supply them. Young Prinz having returned to

[1] A very imperfect translation of this letter is given by Dr. Clay in his Annals, pp. 135-6.

Sweden, there met John Thelin, the Postmaster of Götheborg. Having heard of his visit to Pennsylvania and the condition of the Swedes there, particularly their anxiety to have religious books and a minister of the gospel, Thelin, who was a pious man, became very much interested in the matter, and mentioned it to some of his friends who had influence at the court of Charles XI. The king heard their story with interest, and with that liberality and devotion to the good of his people, for which so many Swedish kings have been distinguished, immediately expressed his determination to do every thing that the circumstances of the case required. John Thelin was directed to write to Pennsylvania forthwith, for the purpose of ascertaining the number of the Swedes and Finns, what number of ministers they required, what kind of books they wished, and, in general, what was their situation. Thelin accordingly, on the 16th of Nov. 1692, wrote a very simple and affectionate letter[1] directed to Peter Gunnarson Rambo, informing the people of his Swedish Majesty's intentions and desires with reference to them. The receipt of his letter, which reached them in May 1690, created great joy among the Swedish congregations in Pennsylvania. A deputation immediately waited upon Governor Wm. Markham for the purpose of explaining matters to him and asking his permission to enter into this correspondence with Sweden. This was readily accorded, the Governor also promising to recommend them to the Proprietor, Sir W. Penn, and to Lejoncrona, the Secretary of the Swedish embassy in London, for the purpose of expediting the business.

Hereupon the Reader, Charles Springer, who was also a magistrate at Christina, was appointed by the people to answer Thelin's letter, and to make known their circumstances and wishes. This he did in a letter[2] dated the 31st of May 1692, in which, among other things, he says: "We also perceive that his Royal Majesty still beareth towards us, as his old and faithful subjects, a kingly regard and care for our eternal salvation and happiness, and for the *upholding of the pure and genuine Lutheran religion*, and is also anxious that we should obtain ministers and books of devotion; for which royal care and great grace of his Majesty we all unitedly and from our hearts most humbly and fervently thank his royal Majesty, wishing him great prosperity and success, and every

[1] See the letter in Acrelius, pp. 205–209—the translation in "Clay's Annals," pp. 43–46 is abridged.

[2] Ibid. 211–217.

blessing both temporal and spiritual. We therefore . . . humbly request . . . that two Swedish ministers, well learned and well exercised in the sacred scriptures may be sent to us, that they may be able to defend both themselves and us against all false teachers and strange sects, that may assail, or oppose us on account of our true, pure, and uncorrupted worship, and the Lutheran religion, which we are now ready to confess before God and the whole world, and if need be, which may God avert, we are prepared to confirm this with our blood.—We also pray that those ministers may be men of good moral lives and characters; so that they may instruct our youth by their example, and lead them into a pious and virtuous way of life. It is also our humble request that you would send us 12 Bibles, 3 Postills (sermons), 42 Manuals, 100 religious tracts, 200 Catechisms, 200 A B C books, for which, when obtained, we shall pay whatever can be asked, sending the money to any place designated by you. And for the maintenance of the ministers, we most solemnly bind ourselves, that we will honorably maintain and support them to the extent of our means."

They also say that they do not wish a Finnish minister, as they all understand Swedish.

Having given an account of their worldly affairs, which they represent as prosperous, and of their treatment by the Dutch and English governments under which they had lived, which they say was just and honorable, they reiterate their desire for the speedy arrival of ministers and books, and finally conclude thus: "we shall, as in duty bound, ever present this in our prayers and supplications to Almighty God, who, we verily believe in our hearts, has his hand in this work, which has been begun in so christian a manner, that He will not forsake us although we are here in a heathen and a strange land, far away from our own dear father-land; . . . Nothing more for the present, except that we all unite in commending you [John Thelin] to the kind and gracious care and keeping of the Almighty and merciful God both for your body and soul, and with earnest desires and hopes for the successful accomplishment of the work, we remain, highly esteemed and good friend, your friends, servants and countrymen."

This letter was signed by thirty persons, who appear to have been the leading men among the Swedes, and there was also given a list of 188 Swedish families, embracing 929 individuals, which, however, was not the whole number, as one of the ministers, soon after his arrival, wrote to a friend in Sweden that there were not less than 1200 persons who un-

derstood the Swedish language, which he also says was still spoken as purely as in Sweden.[1]

Thelin received this letter in due time and promptly forwarded it to the Royal Chancery, but various hindrances, especially the death of his Queen, Ulrica Eleanora, for some time prevented the king from fulfilling his intentions.[2] At length, however, he consulted Dr. Jesper Svedberg, at that time Dom-Probst of Upsal, and afterwards Bishop of Skara, upon the subject. At his suggestion, certain funds at Stade near Bremen, of which the Swedish crown had the management, and which had originally been devoted to the evangelization of the heathen, but which had long been perverted to other purposes, were devoted to this work. "In America," said Svedberg, "where these chlidren of Sweden desire ministers, bibles and other good books, there is a good opportunity to convert the heathen. Yea, we must prevent the children of Sweden from becoming like the heathen among whom they live. Your Majesty could not employ these funds in a manner more consistent with the wishes of the donors." The king took upon himself to provide the means for such a mission, and charged Svedberg with the business of finding men of suitable character for the work. At Svedberg's suggestion[3] the execution of the plan was,by a rescript of the king, countersigned by the famous Count Piper,[4] put into the hands of the Archbishop Olaus Suebelius.

The Archbishop, accordingly, brought the subject before his Consistory, where Dr. Svedberg was ready with his plan of operations. Being in the habit of lecturing to a class of students who were preparing for the ministry, he had not only succeeded in stirring some of them up for this work, but was likewise aware of the character of those who had any qualifications for it. He, therefore, addressed himself to Rev. Andrew Rudman, a native of Gestricia, who was a candidate for his degree in Philosophy in the University of Upsal, and urged it upon him as his duty to engage in this work. The young man who had never before thought of it, knew not at first, what to answer, but, after taking some time for consideration, expressed his willingness to go to America. But, in view of the unknown difficulties of the enterprise, he asked that he might, should he desire it, be relieved after some years of

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[1] Rudman in Campanius, p. 102.

[2] It is possible that the printing of Campanius' Indian Catechism may also have caused some delay.

[3] *America Illuminata*, p. 21, 22, 23, as quoted by Acrelius, pp. 223, 224.

[4] Campanius' Description, p. 93.

service, and have the assurance of some suitable appointment as a preacher in his native country. This request was regarded as reasonable, and at the suggestion of the Consistory, the king issued the following order, which was made a part of the fundamental law of the Swedish Mission in America. It was in the form of a letter to the Archbishop of Upsala, thus:

"*Charles*, by the grace of God, &c. Our trusty and well beloved Archbishop. We have received your letter dated the 21st inst., in which you promise, according to our gracious command, to do all in your power to procure two learned and pious priests to go to America, to instruct the Swedes residing there in the pure Evangelical doctrines, but you request on their behalf that they may be assured that after staying some years in that country, others will be sent thither, so as to permit them to return home to their native land. We hereby authorize you to give them that assurance, and so we commend you to the grace of Almighty God. Given at Stockholm, the 22d of February, 1696. CHARLES."

This was, in fact, the establishment of a Mission among the Swedes in America upon the peculiar principle, that when the Missionary had performed what was considered sufficient service in that country he should be relieved, recalled home and rewarded by a good appointment as a pastor, or in some other way. And so it continued to be managed *for about one hundred years*, when the Mission ceased, under circumstances which we shall notice in their appropriate place.

It was left to Mr. Rudman to select his colleague, but at the suggestion of Dr. Svedberg he took Mr. *Eric Björk*, of Wesmania, who was then in his family as the tutor of his brother, Assessor Schönstrom's, sons. To these two was added, by the king's direction, Mr. Jonas Auren, a native of Wermeland, who was to travel, examine the country, and then returning home, report to the king the character of the country and condition of the people. Messrs. Björk and Auren were ordained at Upsala, Mr. Rudman having been previously ordained. Upon the Archbishop's recommendation they were furnished by the king with a very handsome outfit for their voyage, thirteen hundred dollars being divided between them, of which Mr. Rudman, who had to incur some expense in taking his degree in Philosophy, received five hundred dollars, and the others four hundred dollars each. The king, moreover, gave them a private audience, and told them that if they required any thing further they should apply directly to him rather than to any one else. Here, indeed, was a king who was truly "a nursing father to the church." Just before their

departure he also sent to each of them another hundred dollars for their travelling expenses, and finally gave them an audience, for the purpose of bidding them farewell, at the close of which he thus addressed them: "Go, now, in the name of the Lord, unto the place to which I send you. God be with you, and grant success unto your undertaking. If you meet with any resistance or serious difficulty, return home. I shall bear you in mind." Then turning to Mr. Auren, in whose father's house he had frequently been, he put his hand upon his shoulder and said: "Do you come back immediately. Greet your parents for me."[1]

As a part of their instructions, and as an introduction to the congregations in America, the Archbishop gave them a letter[2] from which it appears that the Missionaries were directed to "preach God's word, expound the prophets and other canonical books of the Old and New Testaments, as well as the Athanasian and Nicene Symbols, and *the true doctrines contained in the Augsburg Confession of faith*, which they were to explain clearly and purely, without any mixture of superstition or false doctrines." They were also to "administer the holy sacraments according to God's ordinances, and instruct the children of the colonists in the catechism." The catechism here meant is, of course, Luther's Shorter Catechism, of which four hundred copies were given to them for the use of the congregation, besides five hundred copies of the Indian translation of which we have spoken above. The king also made the Swedes a present of the other books for which they had written,[3] with the assurance that "it gave his Majesty great pleasure to hear of the prosperity of those congregations, and of their zeal and steadfastness in the pure Evangelical doctrine."

On the 4th of August 1696, provided with letters of introduction and recommendation to Lejoncrona, the Swedish Secretary of Legation at the court of St. James, the Missionaries Rudman and Björk set sail from Dalarön to America, by the way of England, where they were to be joined by Mr. Auren, who sailed from Götheborg. They were also accompanied by Andrew Printz, the young Swede who had in 1692 first suggested the idea of the mission to Thelin, and whom the king had employed as their guide and attendant to America. They reached London on the 10th of November, but owing to va-

[1] Rudman's Ms. as quoted by Acrelius, pp. 228, 229.

[2] Contained in Du Ponceau's Campanius, pp. 94–96.

[3] Acrelius, pp. 227, 228.

rious circumstances, nearly a year had elapsed before they got sight of America. Having entered the Chesapeake Bay, they first touched land in Virginia, and then went up to Maryland to which the ship was bound. Landing at Annapolis, the Governor, Francis Nicholson, entertained them with that hospitality for which Marylanders have always been celebrated, and having replenished their funds which had, no doubt, been somewhat exhausted by their long voyage, sent them in a vessel to Elk river, where they landed at a place which they call Transtown,[1] on midsummer's day, the 24th of June 1697. There were some Swedes residing there, perhaps those driven from New Sweden at the time of Stuyvesant's conquest, who received their countrymen with a hearty welcome, and immediately sent up to their brethren in Pennsylvania to inform them of the arrival. As this place was but a short distance from the Swedish settlements, the news was soon spread, and in the course of the next day, as the Missionaries say, "the people flocked in great numbers to see us;"[2] tears of joy ran down their cheeks, and they blessed the God of their fathers that he had at length heard their prayers, and sent them teachers to break unto them the bread of eternal life. "They welcomed us with great joy," says Björk, "and would hardly believe that we had arrived until they saw us."[3]

It was indeed full time that the Missionaries should come. Fabritius had died about a year before, as seems to be implied in the letter of Björk, from which I have just quoted. "They were, indeed, in great want of spiritual assistance; for at the same time that I, though unworthy, was appointed to that high office, they were deprived by death of their venerable teacher, the Rev. Jacob Fabritius." A remarkable coincidence and a wonderful providence truly! a proof that God never abandons his church, but ever keeps up the true "apostolic succession," by sending to the congregations of those that truly believe in him, and sincerely seek him, a constant supply of "Prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers," to guide them into "the good old ways" of His infallible word and of the pure Evangelical church.

"On the 27th of June," continues the Missionary, "we had only a small meeting for prayer and thanksgiving at the lower congregation," Tranhook. "On the 29th we went up to Philadelphia, a clever little town," (founded just fourteen

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[1] I suspect that *Transtown* is a misprint for *Franstown*, the present Frenchtown, no such place as Transtown being known in that region.

[2] Du Ponceau's Campanius, p. 98.

[3] See his letter in Campanius ubi sup.

years before) "and waited on the Lieutenant Governor, William Markham, who, when he saw our credentials, received us with great kindness."

They then proceeded to read their pass from the king of England, their credentials from the King of Sweden and Archbishop of Upsala, and to give the people an account of their voyage, which was done on the 30th of June in the Wicacoa church, and on the 2nd of July in that of Tranhook. "It is customary," says Acrelius,[1] "for congregations to choose their ministers, but in this case the ministers chose their congregations. It was agreed that as Mag. Rudman had been first called and chosen, he should be allowed the first choice. He took Wicacoa, and Mr. Björk, accordingly, went to Tranhook. They separated from each other, after their long journey, with mutual affection, with prayers and tears, and went each to his own flock which they were to lead, as it were, out of the wilderness."

Although so poorly supplied with suitable pastors during the forty years that had elapsed since the conquest of their colony by the Dutch, the moral and religious condition of the people was much better than could have been anticipated. On this point the testimony of the founder of Pennsylvania, the celebrated William Penn, is highly interesting. Soon after his arrival in the country, in 1683, he thus writes: "The Swedes inhabit the freshes of the Delaware river. There is no need of giving a description of them who are better known in England than here; but they are a plain, strong, industrious people. They kindly received me, as well as the English, who were few before the people concerned with me came among them. I must needs commend their respect to authority and kind behavior to the English. They do not degenerate from the old friendship between both nations. As they are a people proper and strong of body, so they have fine children and almost every house full; rare to find one of them without three or four boys and as many girls; some six, seven and eight sons. And I must do them the justice to say, I see few young men more sober and laborious."[2]

But now there commenced a new era in the history of these churches. During considerably more than a century, beginning with the year 1696, the Swedish churches were supplied with a succession of ministers furnished, by the watchful care of the mother-church in Sweden, who were undoubtedly in-

[1] Page 232.

[2] Campanius, 67, 68.

strumental of great good to those to whom they ministered, assisted in laying the foundations of our existing church, rendered great service to the cause of religion generally in this country, and ably maintained the honor and purity of our Evang. church. The history of the greater part of this period has been written with great care and minuteness by the faithful Acrelius, who ministered to the congregations in Pennsylvania, Delaware and New Jersey, from 1750 to 1756, and upon his return to Sweden published his work in 1759, which is, undoubtedly, one of the most interesting and valuable contributions to the history of our early settlements upon the Delaware that has ever been written.[1] Perhaps no church in this country has been more fully chronicled than this, at least so far as Acrelius' history extends, that is, for something more than half a century. His materials for this work were unusually abundant. The grandson of Campanius had, in 1702, published his "Description of New Sweden." Rudman left copious manuscripts of his proceedings as pastor at Wicacoa, and Björk and Hesselius both published short histories of the churches in New Sweden where they had been pastors. But we cannot here pretend to follow him into all the details of this subject, and must satisfy ourselves with a general outline, bringing down the whole history to our own day.

The Swedish churches upon the Delaware were formed into three pastoral districts the one of which, called Wicacoa, was in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the second at Wilmington, in Delaware, was called Christina church, and the third was at Racoon, or Penn's Neck, in New Jersey. Each of these churches had its own pastor, but they were all under the general superintendence of one of these pastors, who had the title

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[1] This work is entitled: "Beskrifning om de Swenska Församlingars forna och närwarande Tilstånd uti det sa kallade Nya Swerige, Sedan Nya Nederland, men nu för tiden Pennsylvanien samt näst liggande Orter wid Alfven De la Ware, Wäst-Yersey och New Castle County uti Norra America, utgifwen af Israel Acrelius, for detta Probst ofwer de Swenska Forsamlingar in America och Kyrkoherde uti Christina, men nu Probst och Kyrkoherde uti Fellingsbro. Stockholm, Tryckt hos Harberg & Hesselberg, 1759." It is divided into eight parts or books, *the first* of which treats of the Discovery of America, and the settlement and government of the colony upon the Delaware by the Swedes; *the second* of the Dutch administration; *the third* of the English government (in which a full description of the state of the country during the author's residence there is given); *the fourth* of the state of the church from 1555 to 1596; *the fifth*, and *seventh* books give a detailed statement of the history of each of the three congregations of Wicacoa, Christina and Racoon or Penn's Neck; part *eighth* the state of the congregations. At the end are two Appendices, one upon the Cloister at Ephrata (near Lancaster), the other upon the Moravian establishment at Bethlehem, both of which were visited by Acrelius. The work forms a small quarto volume of 533 pages.

of Provost, which is according to the Swedish mode of church government. This dignity appears first to have been bestowed upon Mr. Rudman in 1701. As these ministers were not expected to spend their whole lives in America, but in the course of a few years again returned to Sweden, there were, of course, a good many vacancies in the congregations. Still, as there were three of them and the distance between them was not great (it is not more than forty miles from Philadelphia to Penn's Neck by land, and Wilmington lies between them), the disadvantages of this were not so serious, as ministerial services could thus be obtained, at least occasionally, by the destitute congregations. During this time there were in Wicacoa congregation *twelve* different pastors, at Christina *nine* and at Racoon *eight*, making, together with those previously sent from Sweden or laboring among them as pastors or assistants, thirty-five clergymen.[1] By their labors both the exter-

[1] The following list of the ministers who successively presided over the Swedish churches in New Sweden, extracted by Dr. Du Ponceau from an interesting dissertation, "De Colonia Nova Suecia," printed at Upsal, in the Latin language, in 1825, by Mr. Charles David Arfwedson, of Stockholm, a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is enlarged by several names overlooked by him.

I. PASTORS OVER THE SWEDISH CHURCHES GENERALLY.

1. *Reorus Torkillus* accompanied P. Menewe in his voyage to America, and died there in 1643, aged 35.

2. *John Campanius Holm*, resided six years in New Sweden, from 1642 to 1648.

3. *Lawrence Lock* came to New Sweden in the time of Gov. Printz, and presided over the churches at Tinicum, and Christina. He died in 1688.

4. *Israel Holgh* came to America a few years afterwards, but soon returned home, probably expelled by the Dutch.

5. *Peter*—came to New Sweden with Gov. Rising, and remained there something short of two years.

6. *Matthias*—went to New Sweden in 1656, on board the ship *Mercury*, and returned home two years afterwards.

7. *Abelius Selskoorn* at New Castle.

8. *Jacobus Fabritius* preached his first sermon at Wicacoa in 1677, died in 1698.

II. CHURCH AT WICACOA.

1. *Andreas Rudman.* The churches at Tinicum and Wicacoa being almost in ruins, he built a new one at Wicacoa. In 1702 he resigned his office to Andreas Sandal, and died in 1708.

2. *Lawrence Tollstadtius*, an impostor, though a regularly ordained clergyman, pretended to be sent from Sweden and preached in 1701 until the arrival of Sandal exposed him.

3. *Andreas Sandal*, Provost in 1714: died in 1744, at Hedemora, in Sweden.

4. *Jonas Lidman*, went over to America in 1719; Provost in 1723. Returned home 1730.

The pulpit being vacant, J. Eneberg took care of the church.

nal and internal prosperity of the church was promoted quite as successfully as could, under the circumstances, be expected. New churches were from time to time built, and the people were instructed in the great truths of our most holy faith, and urged to lead holy and christian lives. With two or three exceptions all these ministers appear to have been not only well educated men (they nearly all had the literary title of *Magister*, Master of Arts, which meant then a great deal more than D. D. does in our day), but many of them were distinguished preachers and most devoted servants of Christ. Among these we may specify Dylander, who not only preached with great unction, but was also a man of a highly practical character, introducing an admirable discipline into the church, and extending his labors to the constantly increasing German popu-

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5. *Gabriel Falk*, took possession of the church in 1733, was deposed in the same year.

6. *John Dylander*, went to America in 1737. He died, beloved and honored by all, in 1741.

7. *Gabriel Nœsman*, arrived in 1743, returned home in 1751.

8. *Olavus Parlin*, pastor and provost, 1749; died, 1757.

9. *Carolus Magnus von Wrangel*, sent in 1759, returned 1768; died, 1786.

10. *Andreas Göranson*, sent in 1766; entered on the duties of his office 1767; returned home 1785: died, 1800.

11. *Matthias Hultgren* commenced his official duties in 1780; recalled in 1786.

12. *Nicholas Collin*, pastor, 1786: died in 1831, in the 87th year of his age.

III. CHURCH AT CHRISTINA.

1. *Erick Björck*, built a new church at Fort Christina, in lieu of that at Tranhook, a quarter of a Swedish mile (about one and a half American miles) from the castle, which was falling to ruins. Provost in 1711; returned home 1714: died, 1740.

2. *Andreas Hesselius*, sent over in 1711; provost, 1719; recalled, 1723; died, 1733.

3. *Samuel Hesselius*, brother to his predecessor. Sent over, 1729; remained in America until 1731; died, 1755.

4. *John Eneberg*, pastor, 1723; returned home, 1742.

5. *Petrus Tranberg*, sent to Racoon and Penn's neck, 1742; died, 1748.

6. *Israel Acrelius*, sent to America, 1749; remained there until 1756; died, 1800, aged 86.

7. *Erick Unander*, went from Racoon and Penn's neck to Christina in 1756.

8. *Andreas Borell*, sent over to preside over the Swedish churches in America, in 1757; arrived there, 1759; pastor in 1762: received the King's diploma, constituting him Provost, *(præpositus,)* over all the Swedish churches in America, where he died in 1767.

9. *Lawrence Girelius*, last Swedish pastor.

IV. CHURCH AT RACOON AND PENN'S NECK.

1. *Jonas Auren*, appointed 1706; died in the exercise of his functions, 1713.

2. *Abraham Lidenius*, sent over 1711; pastor, 1714; returned home, 1724; died, 1728.

lation, to whom he not only preached in his own church in German, but also visited and gathered them into congregations in Lancaster and in Germantown, in which latter place he in 1730 consecrated a stone church[1] for their use. He also preached in English, and was so popular among them that he performed most of the marriages for that class of the population, which so excited the English Episcopal clergyman that he lodged a complaint against him before the Governor, who, however, declined interfering, declaring that the people had the right to get married wherever they pleased; at the same time he bore testimony to the excellency of Mr. Dylander's character. So indefatigable was he that he sometimes first performed an early morning service in German, then preached at the usual time in Swedish, and in the afternoon in the English. Worn down by his manifold labors, he was early removed by death, dying in the year 1741, four years after his arrival in this country.

Next to Dylander, C. Magnus von Wrangel de Saga, appears to have been the most efficient of our Swedish pastors. He came to this country in 1759, and returned to Sweden in 1768. He was the intimate friend of Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, and seems to have been a man of kindred spirit. According to the instructions which he, like several of his predecessors at Wicacoa, had brought with him from the Archbishop of Sweden, he cordially and actively cöoperated with our German ministers, and the Swedes and Germans were, under his influence, perfectly united and met together in Synod[2]

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3. *Petrus Tranberg* and *Andreas Windrufwa*, sent over, 1726. They divided the churches between them, and so continued until 1728, when Windrufwa died. Tranberg was sent to Christina, where he died in 1748. In that interval, this church had no pastor.

4. *John Sandin*, appointed pastor 1748; died the same year.

5. *Erick Unander*, sent over, 1749; pastor at Christina, 1756.

6. *John Lidenius*, (son of Abraham, above mentioned,) appointed pastor in the place of Unander, 1756.

7. *John Wicksell*, sent over, 1760; arrived in America, 1762; returned home, 1774; died, 1800.

8. *Nicholas Collin*, of Upsal, sent over, 1771; pastor, 1778; provost and pastor at Wicacoa, 1786.

In 1763 there was in this country a Swedish Missionary by the name of *Heggeblatt*, as we learn from a sermon preached at the Trappe by Rev. John W. Richards. See Centenary Sermon, &c. p. 21.

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[1] Whether the present church, or another, I am not certain.

[2] The Swedes also assisted in the formation of the first Lutheran Synod in this country, their ministers Naesman and Sandin being present at the first convention for that purpose, which was held at Philadelphia, Aug. 3, 1748.

for the transaction of ecclesiastical business. Besides building two new churhces for the Swedes at Kingsessing and Upper Merion, he also visited and preached for the Germans at Lancaster and likewise at York, on the west side of the Susquehanna river. He also preached English and prepared an improved translation of Luther's Shorter Catechism for their use.[1] He also, in 1765, obtained from the Penns, Richard and Thomas, a charter for the "United Swedish Lutheran churches of Wicacoa, Kingsessing and Upper Merion," under a modification of which all the property of these churches is at the present time held.

This (about the middle of the 18th century) was the period of the greatest prosperity of the Swedish churches. Henceforth they begin to decline. This was undoubtedly owing principally to two causes; first, to the plan of the Swedish Mission by which the ministers were recalled home after a few years service, and, secondly, which was in part a result of this arrangement, to their inability to preach English, and a failure to supply the churches with a ministry of their own who could do so. Upon the influence and operation of the first of these causes we need not insist. The disadvantages under which ministers would labor who every six years came to a new field, unacquainted with the past history, and, to a great extent, even with the language of their parishioners, are sufficiently obvious. But the other point is of greater interest to us, as it furnishes the church with a most remarkable example of the effects of a policy which there is still a strong disposition among many of her sons to pursue, viz. to attempt to confine her worship and instructions to a particular language. Swedish colonization having entirely ceased in the year 1656, it is a matter of surprise that the language should continue to be preached for nearly a century and a half after that time. But there were peculiar circumstances which favored this. First, the Dutch colonization which at that time commenced was not very rapid, and having also ceased in the course of a few years, was nearly all absorbed by the Swedish, and converted into a part of the Swedish population. The English colonization did not fairly set in until 1683, and even then, being in settlements entirely separate from the Swedes, it was a long time before it affected them. But however slowly, that time was still surely coming. Soon after the commencement

[1] When the first translation of the Shorter Catechism into the English language was made, I am unable to say, nor have I yet been able to obtain a copy of this version (published some where about the year 1760). If any copy of it exists, I should be very glad to learn the fact.

of the 18th century we find the Swedish ministers preaching in English for their English neighbors. Even Mr. Rudman, who, as we have stated above, came to this country in 1696, began as early as 1704 perhaps, only ten years after his arrival, to preach to the English (Episcopal) church in Oxford, or, as it was then called, Frankfort, and was, at the time of his death, in 1708, preaching to that congregation and to another Episcopal congregation in Philadelphia, both being destitute of a minister. The same thing was done by the ministers at Christina, one of whom, And. Hesselius, in 1721, received ten pounds per annum from the English "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" for preaching twenty times a year in the vacant English churches.[1] As we have already seen, Dr. von Wrangel preached English frequently in his own churches and for his own people. But all this was, ere long, reversed. It was not to be expected that any great number of ministers educated in Sweden would be able to preach English. But, as the Swedish population became more and more English, the demand for preaching in that language would naturally become more urgent. Accordingly we find that within five or six years after von Wrangel's departure from this country (in 1768) his successor, the Rev. And. Göranson, was compelled to take an English assistant, and in 1774 the Rev. Charles Lute, of the Episcopal church, was installed in that post.

This was a temporary relief for the Swedish churches, but in the end it proved their destruction. The Episcopal church, which had, for a long time, scarcely an existence in Pennsylvania, and whose feeble infancy there had been nursed by our Swedish ministers, whilst appearing to repay this debt of gratitude, having once obtained a footing in the Swedish churches, never relaxed her grasp upon them until she had completely revolutionized and apparently suppressed every vestige of Lutheranism in them. In the course of thirteen years after Mr. Lute's appointment (1787) she had obtained sufficient influence over them to procure their assent to an

[1] This practice led to the neglect of the Swedish congregations, and was the cause of so much dissatisfaction that in 1759 von Wrangel brought over instructions from the Archbishop of Sweden to check it—"they should attend to no vacant English congregations for a salary or for the sake of gain, but first pay the most zealous attention to their own which were entrusted to them, and so much was here to be done that they would have no time to spare. But if they could find time occasionally to visit the destitute English population, and supply them with the means of grace, *according to our Evangelical (Lutheran) doctrine and discipline*, christian charity required this of them."—Hallische Nachrichten, p. 853.

alteration of their charter, by which "the rector and other ministers" were allowed to be chosen from the Episcopal church as well as from the Lutheran, and "to hold their faith in the doctrine of the same." That this revolution was brought about under foreign influences is evident from the manner in which the connection that had for more than a century existed between these churches and the mother church in Sweden, was finally broken off. Without any consultation with their benefactors, a congregational meeting of the "United churches" of Wicacoa, Kingsessing and Upper Merion, in 1786, voted to take the management of these churches into their own hands, and whilst they received the minister then sent to them, "reserved to themselves the right of making any new appointment hereafter." Of this resolution they, with cold expressions of gratitude for the past favors of "His Majesty in Sweden," notified the Archbishop of Upsal. Dr. Menander, the Archbishop to whom this letter was addressed, died without answering it. His successor, Uno von Toerl, unwilling to enter into a controversy with his wayward children, in the king's name, granted the permission which the representatives of the congregations had asked for them, viz. to choose their own pastor. At the same time he allowed the co-missionaries,[1] L. Girelius and N. Collin to return to their native country whenever they found it convenient. But how loth the church of Sweden was to abandon her long cherished offspring, we may infer from the fact, that, instead of giving the usual promotion to the Rev. Dr. Collin, who had let the wolf into his fold by uniting in the petition for the alteration of the Constitution, by which Episcopal were allowed equal rights with Lutheran ministers in those congregations, she permitted him to remain to the end of his days, nearly half a century, from that time, in this country, where he died in 1830,[2] just sixty years after his first arrival in America.

Ferris[3] seems to think that this letter of the Archbishop is a cordial approval of the step taken by the Suevo-American churches: "Thus terminated," says he, "the long intercourse between the Swedish churches in America, and the ecclesiastical establishment in the father-land. Like the intercourse

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[1] So we suppose it should read, and not "*commissaries*," as we find it in Ferris' "History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware," Wilmington 1846., where this letter is to be found, pp. 184, 185.

[2] We may be mistaken in our solution of the fact of the unusual course pursued in regard to Dr. Collin—but this is the only one we can give.

[3] Ubi supra, pp. 185, 186.

between a parent and his child, it had been warm and affectionate, and the final separation, like the parting of such near relations, was with filial gratitude on the one hand, and on the other with parental benediction and prayer for their present and eternal welfare." This is doubtless true of the great mass of the congregations who were unconscious of the part which they were made to act, but not of their leaders. Of the deep and fervent feelings of the church in Sweden in relation to this little band of her children in a far distant land there is no room to doubt, but I see in the language of the Archbishop no approbation, but rather a melancholy foreboding of the consequences of the course that they had resolved to pursue. "My hearty wish and prayer," says he, "shall ever be, that God may, with His grace, embrace the members of your churches, and that the gospel light, which, under divine Providence, was first kindled in those parts by the tender affection of Swedish kings, and the zealous labors of Swedish teachers may, to the end of time, continue to shine there in perfect brightness, and bring forth fruit unto everlasting life." There is here no confidence expressed that the measures just taken by those congregations would have this tendency. Nor has the gospel since that period any longer been preached "according to the unaltered Augsburg Confession," upon which those churches were founded. In fact, whilst they still retain the name of "Lutheran," and whilst even their *altered* charter gives *Lutheran* clergymen precedence over *Episcopal* ones, so far as we are aware, the voice of a Lutheran clergyman has never been heard in their pulpits since the departure of Dr. Collin from this world. It is only of late, indeed, that several of these churches in the neighborhood of Philadelphia have been formally incorporated with the Episcopal church, and one of them, at least, still refuses to be thus excluded from the household of our faith, yet even there prelatical jealousy labors incessantly to keep the people within its toils and to exclude them from their birthright, or at least, from their father's inheritance in our Evangelical Zion. But even yet faith seems there to be slumbering amid its ashes and to linger around the crumbling, though remodelled ruins of Wicacoa and Christina, and in the New Jersey churches, and we doubt not that if the Episcopal church would honestly give up its hold of those churches and their property, which it controls according to the laws of men, it may be, but without any sanction from the law of God, the people would rejoice once more to be gathered within the fold of their ancient faith.

Still, the labors of our Swedish church in America have not been in vain, nor have their fruits all disappeared. Not only did she, as Arbp. v. Toerl has well said, "first kindle the gospel light in these parts," but she likewise assisted in the organization and developement of the Lutheran church in this country. We have already said that the Swedish ministers labored among our German and English population, and we have incidentally shown the same thing in regard to the Dutch. Besides incorporating the Dutch colonists upon the Delaware with her churches there, she, in 1702, sent them a minister in the person of Mr. Rudman, who preached for some time for the Dutch congregation in New York. And in the following year her interest was so excited in regard to the German population upon the Delaware, that she ordained for them by the hands of Messrs. Rudman, Björk and Sandel, in Wicacoa church, the first Luthern minister who ever preached to the Germans of this country. This was the Rev. Justus Falkner, who first preached in that part of Montgomery County, Pa., which is from him called "Falkner's Swamp," whence he afterwards removed to New York, where he preached to the Dutch and Germans, and finally settled upon the Raritan in New Jersey, where he died at an advanced age, after thirty years labor in the ministry. Nor are these the only churches organized by the Swedes in this country. They laid the foundations of the German churches in Philadelphia, by preaching to the Germans there as frequently as possible, both at Wicacoa and elsewhere. The church at Germantown, as already intimated, was founded by the eloquent Dylander, that at Lancaster by Mr. Nyberg, who was sent from Sweden for the purpose, though he afterwards, unfortunately, apostatized, and created great difficulty in the church. The church at Cohensy or Emmanuel's church, in Salem Co. New Jersey, was also first organized by the Rev. Peter Tranberg, in 1738–9. Several of these remain to the present day among our most florishing and most influential churches.

Still more important were the services of our Swedish ministers in organizing the Synodical system of church government which prevails in our American church. As soon as the Rev. H. M. Mühlenberg (or as the Swedes write it *Mylenberg*) arrived in this country, (1742) the proposal was made by Mr. Koch, an influential member of the Swedish church at Wicacoa, that the two churches of Sweden and Germany should unite. Several conferences were held upon this subject in Philadelphia, but the plan was for the time frustrated by the Crypto–Moravian Nyberg, who was then at Lancaster, and

who was, no doubt, much chagrined that Count Zinzendorff's crooked, though, it may be, well-meant, plans were frustrated by the arrival of Mühlenberg in Philadelphia, and the consequent adherence of the Germans there to him. But the Swedish Ministers, Naesman and Parlin, having consulted Dr. J. Benzelius, the Archbishop of Sweden, upon the subject, Nyberg was deposed, a declaration and tract against the Herrnhatters was (in 1746) sent to America,[1] and the Swedish mininisters were directed to cöoperate with their German brethren in the upbuilding of their common church in America. In consequence of this, as we have already said, Messrs. Naesman and Sandin (the latter of whom had just arrived from Sweden) attended the first Synod of the Lutheran church in America, which was convened in Philadelphia, August 3–15, 1848. From some hints in the *Hallische Nachrichten*,[2] it would seem as though a Synodical union of the Swedes and Germans had been established. On these occcasions the precedency seems to have been given to the Swedish ministers. Thus, at the dedication of the first German church in Philadelphia, (Aug. 14, 1848) the procession was headed by Provost Sandin, and prayers were offered both by him and pastor Naesman, and so also at the ordination of Mr. Kurtz, on the afternoon of the same day, Mr. Sandin was one of those who laid his hands upon the head of the candidate, whilst *three Reformed ministers* who were present, did not participate in the solemn act. And so in like manner, at the Synod held at New Providence in 1762, Provost von Wrangel seems to have presided, and to have been the most active member of Synod.

In short, nothing seems then to have been wanting to complete the union between the Swedish and German ministers and churches, but the obliteration of their national distinctions. Had this been done, we cannot but think that the consequences would have been most blessed both for the Swedes and Germans of that day, and for their posterity in all coming time. The numbers of the Germans would have given greater importance to the Swedes, and the transition of the Swedes to the English language, which may be said then already to have taken place, would have formed a nucleus around which the anglicised Germans might have been gathered, and in this way our English churches would, in all probability, have been developed far more successfully than they were half a century later. But it is useless to speculate upon these subjects. The

[1] Hallische Nachrichten, p. 248.

[2] Page 851.

golden opportunity was lost, and, as the proverb tells us, was never to be recalled again. But it is well for us to treasure up this experience, and endeavor, under similar circumstances, which even now exist in various parts of our church in this country, to make a proper use of it.

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Appendix.—We had intended to add some remarks upon the character and constitution, the early and the present relations of the church in Sweden to other parts of the Lutheran church, showing that both in doctrine and in church government (except so far as its connexion with the state has interfered) it is (in theory at least) purely and thoroughly Lutheran, so that even an Episcopal writer of Great Britain (in the Christian Remembrancer for 1847), whilst denying it a "*church character*," in the puseyistic sense of the term, represents it as a perfect model of what the Lutheran church, if left to itself, would every where have become. But as this article has already extended beyond the limits which we expected it to occupy, we must reserve what we have to say upon this point to a future occasion.

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## ARTICLE II.

### THE PRINCIPLE OF PROTESTANTISM DISPLAYED IN ITS CONSEQUENCES.

Translated from the German* of Dr. G. Thomasius, of Erlangen, by President C. P. Krauth, D. D., of Gettysburg, Pa.

The necessity of a Confession of faith to a church, has appeared so clearly of late, that a very slight inspection of the state of things in the church would be sufficient to prove it. Even there, where the paternal inheritance was, recently, cast overboard, is there an effort made to gather up the fragments;

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* As contained in Harless' "*Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche*"—Jahrgang 1846, September- und Octoberheft, under the title "*Die Consequenz des Protestantischen Princips.*" Since receiving this Article, we observe that it and several others which give the details of the outline here so ably drawn, have been recast and collected by the author in a separate volume under the title of "Das Bekentniss der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche in der Consequenz seines Princips." (Nürnberg: Recknagel, 1848. 244 S. 1 Thl.) A very favorable notice of the work is given by Dr. Guericke in the "Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche—Jahrgang 1849, Drittes Quartalheft."—Ed.

where possession is still held, as with us, of the good old Confession, God is thanked, and the faithful gather joyfully around the noble standard. Nevertheless, the number of opponents is legion; the resistance great. This is not surprising in the case of those who have no respect for the word of God; because our Confession stands or falls with this, and we are convinced that it is opposition to the Scriptures which, with the many, produces opposition to the Confession. They stumble at the Confession because it so clearly testifies concerning that word which connects salvation with faith, and unbelief with damnation—which they disrelish. But, this must not be overlooked: there are many sincere friends of the Gospel whose belief in the grace of God in Christ, is cordial; the centre of whose life is the doctrine of justification, who, nevertheless, pay no special deference to the Confession of the church, which displays this as its great leading truth. It is not impossible to come to terms with such. What especially alienates them, I think I do not err when I say, with the majority, is, the Formula of Concord. They receive the Augsburg Confession, but the other has gone too much into details for them. They do not find in the Concordia the proper brevity; they object that it has gone too far, that it is too explicit; whilst, on the other hand, others make the same objection to the Augustana, and to the Symbols directly connected with it. It would have been enough, say they, to affirm the doctrine of justification as a creed; that would answer every purpose. There is certainly some truth in this. This, particularly, that in the fundamental doctrine of justification all the other doctrines of the symbols are involved, so that every one who sincerely believes the one will be compelled to believe the others, if he carry out his faith. Conviction of this, on the part of any one, demands subscription to the entire body of the doctriues of the church, because they contain, developed, the faith which he entertains. Assuredly minor defects in the form would not create difficulty; the less, as in the recognition of the Symbols, what is mere theological elucidation, is not taken into the account, but the 'credimus,' 'docemus' and 'confitemur.' It is our wish to establish, in what follows, the results of this principle in some leading doctrines, of course under the guidance of the Bible; for a mere logical development from the general principle, is not, according to protestant principles, adequate proof; and we desire to do it in a practical way—for protestantism is, in its very nature, practical. It reposes in the most profound moral wants of the human heart, and is really experience of the grace of God in Christ. We propose, in this investigation,

to display directly the relation of the principle to the Augsburg Confession, the Catechisms, the Apology and the Smalkald Articles, and, subsequently, to take into consideration the Formula of Concord. When we designate justification as the vital principle of our church, and, consequently, the doctrine concerning it as the determining centre of its other symbolical decisions, we understand it, this must we premise emphatically, not in the modern sense, which resolves it into regeneration and makes nothing more of it than the consciousness which accompanies this, but we understand thereby, both with Scripture and the church, the act in virtue of which God forgives the sins of believers and receives them into favor. Both these flow from the merits of Christ, who, by his death, has atoned for our sins, and in his life restored the righteousness of God, that is, entire conformity to the law, or, what is the same, to the holiness of God, the expression of which is the law; for justification consists substantially in this, that that which was done once for all for the entire race needing redemption, and is treasured up in Him objectively for all men, is communicated and bestowed personally upon the individual. But the divine act, in consequence of which this transfer to the sinner occurs, we denominate, distinguishing it from the influences by which the Holy Ghost converts and sanctifies him, a declaratory act *(actus forensis)*; not designing thereby, that God in heaven pronounces, in accordance with human usages, a judicial sentence, but in the sense of the earlier teachers of our church, who characterize it as the decision of the divine mind—the determination of the divine mind and will, (aestimatio mentio divinæ, relatio mentis et voluntatis divinæ). It is an act of God's intuition, who sees man not as he is in himself and in his subjective condition, but in connection with Christ, as indeed one with Christ, the holy propitiator, with whom he has, on his part, by means of faith, united himself;[1] for though justification on the part of God, results from grace on Christ's account, its subjective condition on the part of man is faith; and therefore this objective act of God does not remain external to him, but enters directly to his conscience, and thus opens the way, so that the sinner actually perceives within himself the voice of the judging God, who absolves him from his sins, the consciousness of the divine favor

[1] He sees and loves him in Christ, upon whom he believes. Compare Luther's declaration: Fides apprehendit Christum et habet eum presentem, inclusum tenet, ut annulus gemmam; imo vero per eam sic conglutinaris Christo, ut ex te et ipso fiat quasi una persona.

and adoption springs up;[1] here justification coincides with the production by God of justifying faith. It is like the imputation of sin, which is God's condemnation (κατάκριμα,) of the sinner, and is so brought home to the heart by the Holy Spirit, that it feels the pain of remorse and the flaming wrath of the judge, terrores conscientiae (stings of conscience). We go beyond the statement that man is justified by faith; more accurately to define, we add, "by faith alone," (sola fide.) By this we exclude from justification all human excellence, works, merit, as effective or auxiliary; assert, that neither a precursory nor a consequent human love is the procuring cause; reject the scholastic congruent and cöoperatiug merit, (meritum de congruo et condigno); the formate faith (fides formata) and the infused justice (justitia infusa), and place our trust entirely and exclusively on the grace which, purchased for us by Christ, is provided and offered in the Gospel. For this very reason is this grace—grace to us sinners,—and therefore accessible and certain, because, on the one hand, independent of an atonement connected with our subjectivity, but positively complete and satisfactory to God, and, on the other, resulting from no other condition than faith (ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως), otherwise it would be useless. As it is, we extend to it with confidence the hand—the poor, empty hand of faith, and apprehend with it the "gift of righteousness" (δωρεὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης), which it offers us in Christ through the word and sacraments. Thus we ascribe due honor to his undeserved love, and are, at the same time, assured of and rejoice in our justification. "The remission of sin is promised for Christ's sake. Therefore it can be alone by faith." Rom. 4. "Therefore from faith, that the promise may be sure according to grace."[2] As if he had said: if our salvation and righteousness depended on our merits, the promise of God would be always uncertain, and we never could be satisfied that we were justified. The pious and conscientious are well aware of this, and would not, for worlds, that our salvation had such a dependance. Paul entertains the same opinion, Galat. 3: 22. "But the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe." In a word, we believe and teach with Art. 4th of the Augsburg Confession, that "we cannot obtain forgiveness of

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[1] Absolvitur conscientia peccatoris; liberatur a sententia damnationis.

[2] "Remissio peccatorum est res promissa propter Christum. Igitur non potest accipi nisi sola fide. Nam promissio non potest accepi nisi sola fide." Rom. 4. "Ideo ex fide, ut sit firma promissio secundum gratiam."

sins and righteousness before God by our own merits, works, or atonement, but that we procure forgiveness and are justified before God by grace and for the sake of Christ, through faith, and we believe, that Christ has suffered for us, and that on His account our sins are forgiven and righteousness and eternal life are bestowed." Rom. 3. & 4. Here we have a simple expression of our faith; upon this leading article we stand against sin, death and the devil, and firmly hold to it, so as not to abate one iota, under any circumstances.

I.

If we pass at once[1] from this doctrine to the natural condition of man, we can directly assert, that a doctrine, which, not merely in part, but entirely, connects itself with the free grace of God, which, where it bears upon salvation, gives no countenance to works or merits of man, but, on the other hand, precludes human boasting, and directs to the Redeemer's merits and righteousness—that such a doctrine is a decisive testimony for the general and thorough depravity of the race to be redeemed. For it involves the assumption, that this race, in its state by nature, is in a condition in which it fails entirely to conform to the will of a holy God, that it is devoid of the righteousness which he demands—(conformitas cum lege.)[2]

This deficiency must consist not so much in the want of single good works, as in the want of a truly good and acceptable state of heart. We have experienced with justification, that we fail in that filial and perfect love which is precisely that which renders us well pleasing to God, that this, indeed, cannot appear in the heart, unless the pardoning mercy of God offered in Christ is laid hold of by faith;[3] just because we felt ourselves to be entirely poor and empty of the love of

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[1] We pass over the weighty articles on the divine Majesty, comp. Aug. 1. iii. Art. Schmal. 1.; not as though they were not intimately connected with justification, but because they are presupposed as an objective basis.

[2] It is this assumption which the Apology, page 85, (Walch's Edition Symbol. book 1750) expresses as follows: It is imagined, and not true, that our works deserve the forgiveness of sins. It is, moreover false and not true, that a man can become righteous and holy by his works and external sanctity. It is baseless and false that the human understanding, by its own powers, has capacity to love God above all other things: to keep his commandments: to fear him: to be sure that God hears prayer: to thank God and to be obedient in tribulations and other things which God's law commands, such as, not to desire another's goods, &c. For all this, reason is insufficient, although it can live externally decently, and perform good works in a measure. It is mere imagination, and not truth, but blasphemy against Christ, that they are without sin, who keep outwardly the commandments of God without the spirit of grace in the heart.

[3] Non diligitur Deus nisi postquam apprehendimus fide misericordiam.

God, did we seek the righteousness of Christ and put it on as a garment, which covers our nakedness, with which we can stand before the divine judgment. But on the other hand, that state which justification implies cannot be resolved into a merely negative. For there are in fact actual, i. e. positive sins, from which the believer is consciously justified, not "painted sins," as Luther once said, but numerous violations of God's precepts, not errors, but, to name them rightly, crimes in thoughts, words and actions. They were not seen as such before; but since the divine word has quickened his conscience, they have appeared before his soul in all their enormity, he has acknowledged them with pain and sorrow, and sought forgiveness for them in Jesus.[1]

Should he wish to diminish them, or to ascribe them to a mere defect, he must discard his own experience, and the greatness of the divine mercy, which has glorified itself in him. This he can do as little as the other. The conclusion in reference to the natural condition of man follows of course: The root must be entirely corrupt, from which such fruits grow; there must be a positively bad, ungodly disposition, where such works manifest themselves. Bad fruit indicates a bad tree. Matth. 7: 16–20. But more, immediately, follows: Is man, in consequence of this condition, unequivocally, not in favor with God, was it necessary, to purchase this, that a propitiatory sacrifice should be made through the blood of Christ, and a transfer of the same to the individual by the act of justification? it must be, from this point of view, that his condition, in the sight of God, is one of decided corruption and demerit. Guilt must rest upon the sinner, he must be by nature a child of wrath, (Ephes. 2: 3). The consciousness of the justified testifies this with great clearness. For he knows that he is, essentially, neither free from sin nor from punishment. Not from sin, for although repressed from its inmost diffusion in his personality renewed by the Holy Ghost, nevertheless it

[1] Compare the beautiful passage Apol. p. 104, which emanated from a deep experience of this: Hypocrites fancy, that the law may be fulfilled by external works, and that sacrifices and acts of worship of every kind, ex opere operato, justify before God. Then is the veil removed from the heart, that is, error and presumption are displaced, when God shews us in our hearts our wretchedness, and causes us to feel the wrath of God and our sins. Then do we first perceive how remote we are from the law of God. Then do we first learn how secure and blinded men move along: how devoid they are of the fear of God: to sum up, they do not believe, that God made the heavens, the earth, and all creatures: that He preserves our breath and life and the entire creation every hour, and protects them against Satan. Then do we first experience that nothing but unbelief, security, contempt of God is deeply concealed in us.

lives in him as evil inclination, as the internal enemy with whom he is in perpetual conflict. Not from punishment, in so far as he continually suffers under sin and on account of sin, although this suffering (as paternal chastisement) has no longer the character of punishment. But he is assured of his entire release from the relation of guilt before God. This is entirely removed by justification; he says with the Apostle: "who will lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth; who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea, rather that is risen again," &c. Rom. 8: 32 and fol. And because he can say this, has he peace with God. If his justification consists specially in the cancelling of his guilt, in the non-imputation of his sins, (2 Cor. 5: 19. Rom. 4: 6—8.) his natural condition must be one full of guilt.

This he experienced, when he learned to pray to God: "Punish me not in thy wrath;" when he received into his heart the word of consolation: "Thy sins are forgiven thee." It appears then, that man is by nature under the influence of deep moral perversion, which is, negatively, the privation of truly good dispositions, positively, carnal, ungodly lusts, and likewise the source of every sinful act; and secondly, that this corruption renders him unfit for the favor of God and excludes from his grace, in which alone there is salvation for the sinner. Every one that has experienced justification, will cheerfully subscribe to what has been said, and the word of God gives this its entire sanction. By this he virtually gives his assent to the doctrine of our church in regard to Original Sin.[1] He justifies the conclusions of the Apology, as it decides that Original Sin is not merely a defect of righteousness, (justitia) of true fear and love of God, but is concupiscence, (concupiscentia), and by this understands not merely an act or fruit (actus seu fructus), but exhibits a constant inclination of nature (perpetuam naturae inclinationem), a positive corruption, a state of disease (morbus), a malady, and that not a part, but the entire nature of man is corrupt and vitious.[2] He has realized what is expressed in the Schmalkald Articles:

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[1] Conf. Aug. 2. Item docent, quod, post lapsum Adae, omnes homines secundum naturam propagati, nascantur cum peccato, hoc est, sine metu Dei, sine fiducia erga Deum et cum concupiscentia, quodque hic morbus seu vitium originis vere sit peccatum; damnans et afferens nunc quoque aeternam mortem his, qui non renascuntur per baptismum et Spiritum Sanctum.

[2] "Wherefore we have mentioned so particularly and expressed both, as we wished to show, what Original Sin is: both the criminal desire and likewise the want of original righteousness in Paradise, and we say, this want consists in the absence of trust, fear and love towards God. The wicked desire

"This inherited depravity is so deep-seated and so foul a corruption of human nature, that no human reason can grasp it, only by the scriptural revelation."[1] But the conformity of his views to the Confession of the church appears more fully, when he recollects the opposing doctrine. This is the Scholastic doctrine, that Original Sin consists in the defect of original righteousness; it is the Scotist conception, which recognizes in it only a negative, namely, a certain insubordination and excess of the not to be condemned sensual part of our nature, entirely compatible with man's unaided love of God and obedience to him, (on which account Andradius afterwards explained it as the "Least of all sins," (minimum omnium peccatorum,) together with the inference, that this original sin is merely a "matter that kindles sin" (fomes peccati), which, after baptism, is not sin.)[2] In opposition to these theories—how can the believer, who not only becomes acquainted with the profundity of his natural depravity before his justification, but afterwards is engaged in warm conflict with it, and daily seeks forgiveness, how can he but make very prominent its intensity and its guilt? how can he but appropriate to himself the lamentation of the Apostle, Rom. 7: 7. 14. & fol.

The knowledge of sin in man keeps pace with the knowledge of divine grace, and efforts to become holy. The more clearly the light from above shines into the dark deep of our hearts, the more clearly does the believer recognize the dark-

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consists in opposition to God's word by all our faculties, whilst we seek after every species of sensual gratification, but trust in our own righteousness and wisdom, and, on the other hand, forget God, and take but little account of him.

[1] Hoc peccatum haereditarium tam profunda et tetra est corruptio naturae, ut nullius hominum ratione intelligi possit, sed ex Scripturæ patefactione.

Compare Apol. "Foolish and ignorant people may dream about love, and therefore, do they speak so childishly about it—for instance, that a person may, after committing a mortal sin, love God supremely, for they do not know rightly, what a burden sin is; what a torment it is to feel the wrath of God. But pious hearts, which have experienced it in the real contest with Satan and real pangs of conscience, they know well, that such words and thoughts are empty thoughts: they are vain dreams."

[2] Com. Apol. "For some speak thus concerning it that original sin is not an evil nature with which men are born, but only a defect and imposed burden, and which Adam's descendants on account of the sins of another, viz. Adam, must bear, and, therefore, they are all mortal; not that they all by nature and from their mother's womb inherit sin. Therefore, they say, that no man will be damned on account of original sin alone." With such questions they have perplexed the main point and the principal question, what Original Sin is. Compare the subsequent explanation of the Roman Catechism, 3, 10. 6. Recta quidem concupiscendi vis Deo auctore a natura nobis insita est, sed primorum parentum nostrorum peccato factum est, ut illa naturae fines transsiliens usque adeo depravata sit, ut ad ea concupiscenda saepe excitetur, quae spiritui ac rationi repugnant.

ness and opposition to God of the remaining ungodly elements, and for this insight he will not easily find a more characteristic expression, than the cited definitions of the Augsburg Conf. and the Apology. From this point our attention is directed to two points closely connected with Original Sin; first, the original condition, and second, the relation of free will to the grace of God after the fall. As concerns the doctrine of the primitive state of man, the judgment concerning it is closely connected with our convictions in regard to man's condition as a sinner. He who considers this a deep, positive corruption, as we do in virtue of our principle, he must acknowledge the difference between the two states to be great and comprehensive. He must, in advance, reject every explanation, which regards the original condition of man in his relations to God as such, that it can be lost, without impairing the integrity of man and destroying this conformity to the divine idea. This integrity he will not merely place in the substantial nature of man, which, in its essential points, continues after the fall, but, above all, in the moral relation to God, or in the contrary of that relation which has resulted from sin; therefore, in the proper direction of all the powers and activities of man to God, in the pure divine consciousness, and in the holy love of God. In the proportion in which he regards the present condition of man as ungodly and abnormal will he consider the original ethical relation as properly normal and natural, because divinely willed. It will coincide in every event with the idea of man created by God and for God, i. e. with the image of God in man. In this he corresponds with the explanation of the Apology.[1] If he takes the opposite theory fully before him, in which these explanations are contained, viz. the scholastic theory, which separates the nature of man created by God, from the divinely willed ethical character of the same, and places, at once, in the first the contest between the flesh and the spirit, and considers the second as a mere accident, as a superadded gift (donum superadditum), which as such is not necessary to man, and could be dispensed with without serious injury of his integrity: he is compelled, to be consistent, to reject a theory so powerfully

[1] Itaque justitia originalis habitura erat non solum aequale temperamentum qualitatum corporis, sed etiam haec dona: notitiam dei certiorem, timorem dei, fiduciam dei, aut certe rectitudinem et vim ista efficiendi. Idque testatur Scriptura, quum inquit, hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem dei conditum esse. Quod quid est aliud, nisi in homine hanc sapientiam et justitiam effigiatam esse, quae deum adprehenderet et in qua reluceret deus, hoc est, homini dona esse data notitiam dei, timorem dei, fiduciam erga deum, et similia.

tending to Pelagianism, and to adopt the opposite views of our Confessions. The question is here, not merely, in general what is the divine image and its relations on the one hand, to the essential nature of man, on the other, to original righteousness (justitia originalis),[1] but the question is, whether this belongs essentially to the idea of a being made in the image of God? and here the answer cannot be doubtful to him, who acknowledges thankfully in justification the objective restoration of the normal condition between God and man, viz. that of sonship with God.

The other point, noticed above, is the relation of human freedom to the operations of divine grace, so far as they are developed in the older Confessions of the church; compare Augsb. Conf. Art. II. Apol. II. & III. Art. Schmal. III. I. Here we must remove the misapprehension that the discussion has reference to a speculative theory concerning human freedom; we are in this doctrine entirely on the practical field of experimental religion. It will not be pretended, that man, after the fall, had not the power to will, or, as we say, that he had not the power of self-determination:[2] "We acknowledge that all men are endowed with a free will, nor do we take away the freedom of the human will;" but the question is, can he in this condition, by the power of self-determination, bring himself to God, to justifying faith, to love to God? can he by his own powers do any thing good, meeting the divine will? more particularly, whether conversion to God is brought about by the agency of his freedom operative before and with his conversion, or not? This is the point to be examined. These questions may be answered, on the basis of justification, in two ways. The one is that of experience, the other, that of doctrinal consequence. First we will examine the first mentioned. Justification, on man's part, is conditioned by faith, and faith, by repentance. When the last, when knowledge of sin, when contrition for and abandonment of sin are absent, the first is assuredly wanting. The justified is certainly conducted to justifying faith through repentance. It was not by an act resulting from his will that he attained both, but by the grace of God was he called by the word, enlightened and drawn to Christ. Whether he came to him gradually, or in a decisive moment of his life was converted to him, it was

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[1] A relation which should be more accurately determined than is done in our Symbols.

[2] Esse fatemur liberum arbitrium omnibus hominibus; neque vero adimimus humanæ voluntatis libertatem. Apol. 218.

nevertheless the influences of the Spirit through the Gospel, by which the desire of salvation was produced in him, by which he learned to seek, find, believe in and love the Savior. It is, in his estimation, an undisputed fact, that he came to Christ through the agency of the Spirit and not by his own reason and power. Could this have been effected by his own reason and energy? A justified person will hardly be found who has not attempted to do the holy will of God, and in this way to please him. But even in these efforts, he learned his inability; that, which the Apostle, in the name of all, thus proclaims: "for to will is present with me; but how to perform that which is good, I find not." (Rom. 7: 14. foll.) To love God in truth and to serve him willingly with joy, he has not accomplished. In this kind of experience has he, on the one hand, learned thoroughly the discord, in which he is in regard to God, the power and sinfulness of sin, which separates him from God, and his need of help, on the other hand, he has learned to pray for converting grace. "Convert me and I shall be converted; help me and I will be helped." However various may be the ways by which each one from this point attains justifying faith, what we here assert, is substantially the common experience from Paul to Luther, and from Luther till the present time. He who has failed in this, is assuredly not justified. But that very willing, concerning which we said, that it has not the power to fulfil, has not its origin in man's nature, but the impulse is external, as every one knows, who reflects upon his own case, partly the course of his life, partly through his christian education, his situation, preaching, &c., which have awakened his conscience—all of which coincides with the Augsburg Confession, Art. 18.—"Man can do nothing without grace, the help and assistance of the Holy Spirit. He cannot please God, cannot cordially fear and believe in him, or drive out innate lusts from the heart, this is effected by the Holy Ghost, who is given through the word."

The same results are obtained in the way of logical deduction from our principle. For it would not at all have been necessary that there should be an atonement and the application of it to the individual, if he had been able, by his external and internal acts, to please God. Second, our "by faith alone," (*sola fide*) directly excludes the possibility of a true love of God preceding justification, and denies positively to the natural man the power of doing any thing really good. In ascribing love and good works in their origin, to that faith which is of the operation of God and justifies, it shows at

once "that the highest requisitions of the divine law, such as turning to him with the whole heart, to reverence him with the entire spirit, required in the First Commandment, no one can perform without the Holy Ghost." Apol. 103. Third, it results from the corruption of human nature which justification implies, that the opposite direction cannot evolve itself from it; for as it is not superficial, that is inheres in the person, in the man himself, it is the moving power of self-determination; and it appears as impossible, that the heart alienated from God, should choose the love of God, carnal lust, resistance to the flesh, inordinate selfishness, submission to the holy will of God, and acquiescence in that word which condemns —as that darkness should change itself into light. Finally, and this cannot be pressed with sufficient force, sin dwells and lives, as we saw above, in the justified, although it does not reign over him. He carries on a warfare against it for life and death, but never entirely overcomes it. Heb. 12: 1. Subdued on one side, it rises up at once on another; as long as he lives in the flesh, it cleaves to him. This is the universal complaint of believers. Is its power so great that it does not yield to faith? so great, that the love of God which faith brings with it does not extinguish it? (Rom. 5: 6.)—it must there, where justifying faith does not exist, be a mighty principle, a power enslaving man. If to this experience be added the guilt of sin, that servile fear at once appears, which carries away still farther from grace, and makes the sinner's inability to love God still greater. That which, in this respect, the Apology, Art. 2, constantly reiterates: It is impossible to love God unless the remission of sins has been previously received through faith,[1] and proves by so many testimonies of the pious, is so firmly established in the Scriptures, as to admit of no doubt to him who submits to their authority. The simple and necessary consequence of all this is, that we reject Pelagianism and Semipilagianism, which are opposed to our Confession of faith, particularly the positions controverted, Art. Schmal. 3. 1.: "that man has a free will to do good and to avoid evil—to omit good and to do evil; also that man can, with his natural powers, obey all God's commandments, love God supremely and his neighbor as himself, and that he can turn himself to God without aid, (Apol. 103.): for such and similar things are senseless and stupid; both in respect to sin and Christ, real heathen doctrine, which is intolerable.

[1] Impossibile est Deum diligere nisi prius fide adprehantur remissio peccatorum.

For if this doctrine is correct, Christ has died in vain, because there is nothing in man for which he should die."

The oposite oppinion could only be supported by him who entertains that very superficial view of the divine law, that it contains merely individual prohibitions and commands in regard to outward actions, and fails to perceive its very marrow and spiritual sense, (comp. Apol. 80. 81. and 103.) This false assumption is invalidated by our position, in advance.—Summing up, the result is the same with that of experience: "That the human will has not the power, unaided by the Holy Spirit, to justify before God or spiritually."[1] Compare Aug. 18., Apol. 103. Art. Schmal. 3. 1. Smaller Cat. explanation of the 3d Art.: "I believe that I cannot of my own understanding, believe in Jesus Christ my Lord, or come to him, but the Holy Ghost," &c. Where is the christian whose faith differs from this?

Moreover, decidedly as the article on justification repudiates even the most delicate Pelagianism, and unequivocally gives to the grace of God the honor due it, on the other hand, the Augustinian doctrine of irresistible grace and the doctrine of Predestination, which belongs to it, is irreconcilable with it. For this takes from us the consolation, derived from the grace of God in Christ, and that opposes our inmost consciousness. The justified has, he well knows, resisted from time to time the influences of divine grace, or at times maintained a position of rejection against them. Called and drawn, he has not always followed. For this, his conscience has reproved him; he seeks forgiveness for the sin which he has thereby committed, and so deeply convinced is he of this that no theory of any school can alter his views. It was his will and deed, that he resisted the drawing of the Spirit; an act of his freedom, which he the more readily imputes as the Scriptures do the same.

To say nothing more of the opposition to the Scripture doctrine of the holiness and mercy of God which would result—had he performed an act of free choice, there would be a domain in man after the fall not beyond his control. This cannot be the domain of spiritual things, in the sense above mentioned; then it must be that which lies beyond. It is this which is called by the standards, righteousness in civil relations, (*justitia civilis*). To this, then, may be added another fact still. We find in unredeemed man neither a total want

[1] Quod humana voluntas non habeat vim sine Spiritu Sancto efficiendae justitiae spiritualis.—Dei seu justitiae spirituali.

of knowledge of God, nor can we distinguish all, even the nobler strivings of man as splendid vices, (*vitia splendida*). They are rather related to what the Scriptures call "works of the law," (ἔργα νομου); this indeed teaches us that the heathen, to some extent, fulfil the law, in so far as they follow the voice of conscience. Rom. 2: 12. & foll. Comparing these things with our own views, presented above, the result is, "that man has, to some extent, a free will, to live outwardly honestly, and to choose amongst things which reason understands." Comp. Aug. 18. Apol.

The older Symbols of our church contain no further specifications in regard to sin and guilt. They appear in these partly in juxtaposition, undeveloped, and require on many sides a more critical exposition. But they are the immediate, simplest consequences of the principle. No one will refuse his assent to them, who admits this.

II.

A second series of such doctrines, as result from the same principle, are developed by the specifications of the church in regard to the origin and effects of justifying faith. Conf. Aug. Art. 5–6, and 20. Apol. 2 & 3. Justifying faith has its proximate object in the Gospel; for it is essentially faith in the promises of grace (*promissio gratiae*), the testimony in regard to the grace of God and the Gospel of Jesus. But this very thing is the principle. The word called the justified, and enlightened him, on the one hand, produced in him the knowledge of sin and need of salvation, on the other, the desire for salvation and trust in Christ. If circumstances of his life or particular events contributed, it was ever the word preached and heard (*verbum predicatum et auditum*), which moved him to accept of the atonement by faith. His experience knows no other medium; nothing of a pure, direct illumination or magic operation, but much more is he most clearly conscious of the medium of that effect. The holy Scriptures coincide with this: Rom. 10: 7. "Faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." Comp. Ephes. 1: 9. 10. 13. 1 Thess. 1: 13. This operation of the word on man is not a natural, but a gracious operation, by which his natural state is changed. The Gospel has proved itself to be in him not only a divine doctrine, but a divine power; as a creative principle renewing his most interior personality. Thus its operation falls in entirely with what we characterized as the operation of the Holy Spirit, and the person justified regarded as such. Now, as this word, on the one hand, as communicated by man, is human, but on the other, its contents and its

effects cannot be derived from the spirit of the preacher, it follows necessarily, that it is a medium for the agency of the Holy Spirit.[1] The holy Scriptures confirm this very fully, inasmuch as they ascribe the same effects to both, e. q. in the passages 1 Pet. 1: 23., faith and regeneration to the word, whilst John 3: 5. 6. 1 Thess. 1: 13. introduce the agency of the Holy Spirit—but particularly as it represents the word as the instrument of the Spirit, e. g. Ephes. 1: 13. James 1: 18. "God has begotten us according to his good pleasure through the word of truth." If we take this doctrine of the Scriptures with the declaration of our experience of salvation—there cannot be found for it a clearer and more striking expression than Art. 5, Conf.: "To obtain such a faith, God established the office of the ministry, gave the Gospel (and Sacraments) by which as means he gives the Holy Ghost, who produces faith when and where he will in those who hear the Gospel, which teaches that by the merits of Christ, not by our own, God is gracious to the believer.[2] From this important leading point a considerable number of consequences flow, which we will here merely note. Is the word the witness and medium of the Holy Spirit, a dignity is imparted to it surpassing all that is human; faith which has in it its divine object and source, cannot raise any thing else to a similar authority with it; it must, therefore, regard it as the "only standard and rule" (*unica norma et regula*);—and here we have the known formal principle of protestantism, together with the idea of protestant freedom. The formal principle; for this is no other than the Schmalk. Articles express: God's word, and no one else, not an angel—determines doctrines; (Comp. the explan. Epit. and Sol. Die in the Praefat.) the protestant liberty; for this consists essentially in this, that in matters of Christian faith and life we are under no legal obligations to any human authority, but to the word of God, which is the truth, and which makes those that remain in it free indeed, John 8: 36. Gal. 5: 1. With our formal principle we march against the Romish theory of tradition, which places this aside of the word of God as a second independent source of Revelation of like dignity; and against Rationalism, which assigns to human reason the same authority, and finally against Mysticism, which cöordinates or super-ordinates a direct internal illumination—an inward word or light, to the external word. For not only have

[1] Spiritus Sanctus datur et efficax est per verbum Dei.

[2] Comp. Apol. 14. Cum Evangelium audimus aut cogitamus aut Sacramenta tractamus, et fide nos consolamur, simul est efficax Spiritus. S. and Form. Con.

we no experience of this, but this theory contradicts our Confession in regard to the natural condition of man, and supersedes the whole historical continuity of Christianity. Therefore, we oppose to it the Canon: "God does not give things internal but by those external, does not send his Spirit without his word,"[1] and reject the Anabaptists and others who teach, that without the corporeal word of the Gospel we obtain the Holy Spirit, by our own efforts, thoughts, or works. Conf. Art. 5.[2]

But we turn from the principle of faith to its effects. If we enquire of the experience of the justified person, it says to us, that sin truly dwells in him, but that with justification a change has been effected in him, so that, that sin, driven from its former location, makes room for a new principle of life. This new principle is love. It is the direct fruit of faith, or rather contained already in faith, Rom. 5: 5.; for the love of God which he has experienced, that merciful redeeming grace of God in Christ, awakens by itself reciprocal love—with the same necessity, as the sun's rays, when they strike the earth—do warmth; only this necessity is not a physical but an ethical, i. e., it is freedom. Such love cannot be without effect. It is its nature, that it manifest itself, that it should surrender itself to its object, Christ, and serve him with gratitude and joy. Its tendency is to fulfill his will—to this it constrains. What the Apostle says, 2 Cor. 5: 11.: The love of Christ constraineth us, or, in accordance with the Apostle, the Apology—"It is impossible, that a true faith which comforts the heart and receives forgiveness of sins, should be without the love of God. For by Christ we come to the Father, and when we are reconciled to God through Christ, we believe and are sure that there is a true God; that we have a father in heaven, who sees us always, who deserves on account of his unspeakable goodness our love, as John says: "We love him because he first loved us"—this is so certainly the experience of every believer, that we must conclude, that without it, there can be no justifying faith. We need not surely refute before Protestants all the groundless misrepresentations with which the Pa-

[1] Deus interna non dat nisi per externa, Spiritum non mittit absque verbo.

[2] Schmalk. Art. And in these points, which regard the outward word of the mouth, firmly must we maintain, that God gives no one his Spirit or grace, except through, or with the preceding external word. That we may guard ourselves against enthusiasts, that is, persons, who boast that they have the Spirit without and before the word and in this way explain and expand at pleasure the Scripture or the word spoken as did Müntzer, and as many do now, who wish to discriminate accurately between the Spirit and the letter, and do not know what they say, and what they affirm.

pists have of old disfigured this doctrine; we hope for the concurrence of all our readers, when we simply testify: justifying faith is the vital principle of holiness "not an idle thought in the heart, but such a new light, life, power in the heart, as renews the mind and heart, and makes other persons and new creatures." Comp. Conf. Aug. Art. 20 — 2 Cor. 5:17. Eph. 2:10. Rom. 8.

We reach the same result by the process of simple deduction. Is justifying faith, as we have seen, the product of the Holy Ghost, and as such a divine work, it must necessarily be living and active; for this flows from the divine life, that where it enters, it produces life; and with this agrees the Gospel of John, which, from beginning to end, affirms, "he that believeth on the Son, hath life;" and not less the entire Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, according to which, the Holy Ghost is given through faith, with which Art. 20, of the Augsburg Confession, agrees to the letter.

Agreeing in this, we have already not only said that such a faith is energetic, or as the 6th Article expresses it, "that it must bring forth good fruits and works," but we have confirmed likewise what our Confession teaches in regard to the nature and meaning of these works which spring from faith. Then it is self-evident, that good works are only such as have their origin in the free love of God, but that they are not at all the ground of our justification, because they do not precede justifying faith but follow it; that they do not establish any merit before God, because we who are sinners are justified and saved solely by the merits of Christ, that they are not done for the purpose of trusting in them, as their source, viz.: love springing from faith, is not pure and undisturbed. Aug. 6 & 20. "That our works cannot reconcile to God and procure grace, but this is effected by faith alone.—He who expects, to effect this by works, despises Christ and seeks a way of his own to God in opposition to the Gospel."[1]

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[1] Compare with Art. 20, the passage of the Apol., p. 108.: "Again, it is evident, that likewise those who are born again of the Holy Ghost and by faith, are not, so long as life lasts, entirely pure; and do not keep the law perfectly. For, although they have received the first fruits of the Spirit, and although they have the beginning of the new and eternal life, there remains, nevertheless, some sin and carnal lusts, and the law discovers much that it condemns. Wherefore, although the love of God and good works must be in christians; they are not righteous before God on account of such works; but for Christ's sake through faith. Trust in an obedience to the law is sheer idolatry and blasphemy of Christ, and fails at last and causes despair. Therefore must this remain firm that we are acceptable to God and righteous for Christ's sake; and not on account of our own love and works."

By this we have expressed a truth of endless consequences. For, if we place these views aside of the Romish doctrine, we overturn the entire theory of merit with its practical results and all the extolled works of piety, monastic life, monkery, these sure steps to heaven, pilgrimages, and vows, fasts, rigid penetential exercises, satisfactions and sacrifices, so far as they contribute to justification, or in general claim merit before God, every thing enumerated in Art. 20, 26 & 27; in a word, the whole ostentatious pomp of Catholic works of merit goes to the ground, and with it, at the same time, the glory and intercession of saints, and there remains nothing but the plan which gives the glory to Christ and his holy and great merits. This results from the Protestant principle. It appears, at once, that in connection with this a complete theory is furnished of the relation of the law to the Gospel, and particularly of the difference between them. We may say that insight into this difference is the basis of the mass of the doctrinal specifications of the church. It may briefly be expressed thus: the Law and the Gospel are both divine revelations; but that reveals the holy, sin-punishing will of God, this the gracious, sin-forgiving. The law is the divine norm for the internal and external life of man,[1] but, so far from giving the power for obedience to itself, that it much more manifests the distance of the sinner from it and reveals the wrath of God against him. Apol. I. III. Galat. 3: 10. 21. Rom. 4: 15. 8: 1. 2 Cor. 3: 6. But what was impracticable to the law, viz.: to give life and salvation, this is given by the grace of God in Christ, which removes the curse and forgives the believer his transgressions of the law, that it may be obeyed in thankful love. The relation of man to God is not so changed by this, that from this time true faith resigns its office to works, or that the subsequent obedience to the law is the ground of our salvation, but Christ remains eternally the medium of acceptance with God.[2] As, however, these relations will be brought into consideration afterwards, we will sum up in the words of the Apology, sustained by the universal experience of the justified: that no alarmed conscience can find rest and comfort—save in a doctrine different from the law—and such is found in the Gospel of Christ, who was given for us.

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[1] Complectitur spirituales motus et externa bona opera.

[2] Errant qui fingant, Christum tantum primam gratiam meritum esse, nos postea placera nostra legis impletione. Manet mediator Christus, et semper statuere debemus, quod propter ipsum habeamus placatum Deum etiamsi nos indigni sumus.

III.

A third series of doctrines which stand closely connected with our principle are those in reference to the church. If we take up first the opposite view to the Protestant, viz.: that of the middle ages, according to which the church is above all an external institution (externa monarchia), a Hierarchy, and as such is the legal channel of salvation, so far, that it, in the most literal sense, occupies the place of Christ and continues his redeeming activity in the world, on which faith in it and obedience to it (as Hierarchy), is the proximate condition of salvation, and appears the divinely appointed method of partaking of Christ and the blessings of salvation — all this is contrary to the Protestant fundamental principle, as what, according to this, is the principal point Christ's person and work, is removed from the centre to the rear, and relinquishes to the church was is valuable in it; because by this between us and the Savior is *the church*, and in place of a justifying faith a legal obedience to the church is proposed. Directly the reverse in regard to justification would, by this arrangement, take place. For as righteous we regard our union with God as effected on the one side by the atonement of Christ, and the other by faith in him, than which there is no other way to Christ. To this faith we attained certainly through the medium of the church, but in a very different way and in quite another sense than the Catholic theory proposes. For not as the legitimate substitute, but as the servant of Christ, more particularly, as the witness of his truth and the dispenser of his Sacraments does it afford access to him, and also not as if obedience to it and faith in it was the mode of partaking of him, but it has shown us the way already opened by him by the preaching of the faith, which alone justifies and saves. There Christ and faith on him are always the primary matter. Our membership in the church is actually dependant in the first instance on this faith. For he, not the church, makes us members of the one head; but as members of the head, we are, hereby *eo ipso*, members of his body, which is really the church. Our union with it has its origin in our union with him; if the latter fails, we will be in any event mere dry branches on the vine.

Passing from this to the definition of the church, we will not begin with the members, but with the head, and not place the principal stress on the external, but on the internal part of it; it will appear to us properly and principally to be nothing but the communion of believers in Christ, the head, and in

him with one another; or, as believers as such are the justified, the objectively holy "the Communion of Saints." This is the very definition given by our Confessions: Now the church is the assembly of believers.[1] Conf. Aug. 7. Apol., p. 145. 148. Whilst we thus render prominent the internal characteristics, we are far from excluding the external or the visible; the church (in the sense above specified), as a visible institution, rather introduces us to communion with Christ, viz. by the preaching of the word and the administration of the Sacraments. Whatever else it communicates to its members, these are the only media, which awaken and strengthen justifying faith, and therefore we can no more separate them from the idea of the church than the church from them. Do we ask, where then is the church, or how can it be known? we can mention no other criteria, than the preaching of the word and the administration of the Sacraments; do we enquire, who, then, belong to this church, we answer according to the above: all those in whom, through the word and sacraments, justifying faith has been produced. Those in whom it is wanting, we would not exclude from the outward communion of the church, but they are not to be considered living members, so long as it is true that through Communion with Christ is Communion with his body conditioned. This is affirmed by the Augsburg Conf. Art. 7 & 8.[2] Easily as these principles follow from our fundamental principle — they are, notwithstanding, very important. For if our Communion with God in Christ, that is, our salvation, is conditioned, not in the church, but by faith alone, so can every thing which has authority as ecclesiastical law, as ecclesiastical order, as ecclesiastical institution and arrangement, not be regarded by us as a divinely appointed means of salvation; however expedient

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[1] Est autem ecclesia Congregatio Sanctorum.

[2] Comp. Apol. But the christian church does not rest exclusively in Communion with outward ordinances, but rests principally in fellowship, internal, of internal blessings of the heart, such as the Holy Ghost, faith, the fear and love of God. And the same church has, moreover, external signs, by which it is known, viz. where the word of God has a pure course, where the Sacraments are administered according to it, there the church certainly is: these are christians, and such a church is alone called in the Scriptures Christ's body. For Christ is its Head and sanctifies and strengthens it by his Spirit, as Paul says to the Ephesians, "and hath made him head of the church, which is his body and the fulness of him, who filleth all in all." Therefore, those in whom Christ produces nothing by his Spirit, they are not members of Christ. The opposite party confesses this that the wicked are merely dead members of the churches. Therefore it is very astonishing that they resist our view of the church, when we speak of living members of the churches. It is evident that the leading features of the church are here merely spoken of.

and good these things may be in themselves, obedience to them cannot be a duty of faith and conscience, we must, indeed, so far as it assumes this dignity, so far as it makes any pretensions to reconciling man with God in meriting grace, it must decidedly be discarded, because we would thus detract from the merits of Christ and faith in the same.

Accordingly, we distinguish between the order of salvation and that of the church most particularly, and assume for the latter domain the perfect freedom, which justifying faith gives us: in other words, we regard as results of our principle that, which the Augustana, Art. 15. expresses: "Of church regulations of human appointment, we teach, that those should be kept, which involve no sin and contribute to peace and good order in the church. But instruction is necessary, that conscience may not be burdened, by believing that it is necessary to salvation. By this is taught, that all precepts and traditions of men designed to reconcile man with God and to merit grace, are opposed to the Gospel and the doctrine of faith in Christ. Comp. Apol., p. 203.

It would not be difficult from this point to develop the Protestant doctrine of a universal priesthood which connects itself with this, and on the basis of this to prove that in the church the Old Testament distinction between the clergy and the laity has ceased, accordingly likewise that no particular divinely appointed order exists of such as are exclusively authorized to administer the Sacraments, and with whose members the Holy Spirit is legally connected as with its legitimate organs; because the possession of the Spirit is linked to faith, and with this are expressed all these principles in regard to the form of the church, which are laid down in the Schmalk. Art. 3. 7. 10. and the Appendix; particularly the important thesis — "It must be confessed that the keys belong to and have been given to the whole church," and then the necessity, that the church administer this office entrusted to it by individual instruments from its own midst, &c.; but we fear this analysis would carry us too far, and we will merely in conclusion glance at the doctrine of the Sacraments.

These cannot certainly be deduced from the fundamental principle alone, but two main points present themselves here as simple results. First, viz.: it is a fact of experience, that participation in justifying grace is effected through Baptism and the Lord's Supper in connection with the word; by that we are planted into fellowship with Christ, this nourishes and strengthens our faith. They have this in common with the

word that they are means of grace,[1] and their effects are like those of the word. It is not merely a logical deduction, but really asserted in the Scriptures, when we transfer to them the canon above laid down on the relation between the external and the internal, and accordingly say with our Confessions (Apol. 157. 200. f. Art. Schmalk. 325.) on the one hand, that God grants the Holy Ghost through the Sacraments as by means, that he does not merely externally unite with them, but by means of them communicate himself to us; on the other hand, that their efficacy depends on faith. For there is no other, this is a result of our principle, no other means of personal participation in the grace of God in Christ, except faith. Applied to the case in hand — this may be said, "that the Sacraments require faith and then can be properly used, when faith attends the reception and faith is thereby increased." Conf. Aug. 13.

We feel assured that we have, thus far, said nothing which will not meet the approbation of every Protestant who makes justification a matter of vital importance. Should he express individual things differently, we are sure of his concurrence in essentials. If this is so, why should we not glory in a confession, which has emanated from the same experimental christianity, which we all have, and constitutes so clear and beautiful an expression of our own faith; a confession which in all its definitions is nothing but the simple result of the important article on justification? Are these true necessary inferences from the protestant principle, i. e. such, as must result from it, and are they simply and correctly laid down in the Apology, the Catechisms, and the Schmalkald Articles—why should we not adhere with the utmost fidelity to our standards; why separate what so well accords and harmonizes with so much internal beauty? Why should we retreat from the copious articles of the Augsburg Confession to the bare principle of it, and then deny in action the consequences of the same? or adhere to the Augsburg Confession alone to the exclusion of the others which are its authentic exposition?

Are our people so wise and pious that they do not need the sincere milk of the Catechism, or the Romish church so tolerant, that we may relinquish before her those acute statements of the Schmalkald Articles? Why cast overboard one or the other of our united Confessions, as we have in each

[1] This analogy which the Reformers had a special interest in holding up, does not exhaust the subject of the Sacraments — this needs further development. The old theologians have contributed much to this.

part a constituent of the whole? Is it to make room for their opponents, or to conciliate the many unbelievers and wavering, or to conceal our clear Scriptural faith behind the general declarations of the word of God? Indeed the highly lauded credibility of a theology always appears to me suspicious, which does not dare to adhere to the clear and rich contents of its faith, but throws itself back upon a couple of leading positions, which must then be expanded to constitute a succedaneum for the faith of the fathers. I more and more doubt the wisdom of those who, in the face of the threatening contest, lay aside the best arms, and instead of the strong armor put on a light dress. No, let us remain faithful to the precious treasure which God has in mercy granted his church. We shall have much need of them. May they be to us a wall against his enemies, a shield and sword in the great conflict, which is appointed us. Let us not be befooled by the deceitful lusts of the day, but gather rather more closely and firmly around the banner of of our excellent Confession, which, in giving the glory to God, has the promise, that the Lord will not disown it.

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## ARTICLE III.

### CATECHIZATION.

By John G. Morris, D. D., of Baltimore, Md.

It was not very long ago that many of us looked back to our fathers with a sort of pity for their snail-like progress in religious knowledge, and their groping growth in "spiritual understanding." We regarded them as insensible to the more elevated emotions of piety, and have often wished that they might have beheld the rapid advances in sanctification and the general commotion and rushing activity of church people in these modern days. They may have been behind us in many things; they did not travel, nor eat, nor sleep, nor read, as fast as we do, but were they not before us in honesty, humility, modesty, frugality in the domestic virtues and in general christian integrity?

There is a growing disposition to examine the religious measures and experience of those men of the olden time — their memory is beginning to be revived and cherised — the obliterated names and epitaphs on their tomb-stones are re-

chiselled, and their good deeds are brought to light. The "old paths" of the fathers are found not to be so objectionable after all — "the first principles" are found to be substantial; — we have discovered our errors in relation to the religious life of "the ancients," and we are beginning to see that our religious health has not been so sound as it seemed; we find that since the fever has abated, the system is relaxed and weak, and that we require something more nourishing to keep it in constant vigor than the effervescing nostrums we have have so greedily swallowed.

Solid religious instruction begun at the earliest practicable period — long continued and oft repeated exercises in Scriptural doctrine, morals and history — plain illustrations and affectionate enforcement of Bible truth — frequent interchange of opinion with the pupils — propounding questions and patiently waiting for answers — encouraging their enquiries and aiding their researches — in a word, the time-honored and primitive system of *catechizing* the young, is beginning to be considered as the great thing needed and the best substitute for every other species of extraordinary religious effort.

It would be superfluous to prove, that it is the duty of the church to train the young for religious service, and that this should be done in the best possible way. This is granted. — There was a time, indeed, when her maternal solicitude extended even farther than their spiritual interests. She felt a mother's care in their temporal welfare also, and gave directions and issued admonitions in regard to their bodily health and preservation. As late as A. D. 1236, in England, mothers were instructed by *the church* to be cautious about "overlying their infants in bed, lest they might press them to death, and not to allow their older children to go near the water alone. These cautions were enjoined on the latter every Sunday morning." This may seem simple to some of us now, but consider the age in which it was done, and think, besides, of the *maternal* character which *the church* as such, ought to sustain in every age.

By *catechizing*, we mean, not the bare repetition of the Catechism by the pupil, nor the delivery of lectures on it by the pastor, nor the recitation of its answers and proof texts by the whole class, but a full, frequent and familiar explanation of it evolved by numerous plain, oft-repeated additional questions, until the catechumen thoroughly understands the subject. The Scriptural quotations are to be carefully studied, and the whole lesson affectionately enforced. This course is to be repeated day after day, until the whole is deeply en-

graven on the mind, and if the teacher does not grow weary of his work, he will not fail to see its blessed fruits. It should not be expected of all to commit the whole book to memory, but if this course of frequent repetition is pursued, most of them will know it by heart in the end, without having had the task assigned them.

The words *catechize*, *Catechism* are derived from the Greek word κατηχεω, *to sound aloud, to resound, to re-echo.* It means, to convey instruction not by an elaborate or continued discourse, nor by epistle or lecture, but by brief and familiar *viva voce* teaching. The word is thus used in Luke 1: 4. in which he tells Theophilus that he intends to give him a succinct account of those things which he had been previously taught *catechetically, or by word of mouth*, or by having them *sounded in his ears.* Luke uses the same word in the same sense in Acts 18: 25. "This man was instructed *(catechised)* in the way of the Lord." Paul in 1 Cor. 14: 19. applies the term in the sense of oral instruction: "that by my voice I might teach (catechize) others," &c. &c. The word occurs in other passages of the New Testament with the same meaning, ex. gr. Acts 21: 21. Gal. 6: 6. Rom. 2: 18. &c. &c.

Catechetical instruction has been practised in every age of the church. There is no other way by which the knowledge and worship of God can be propagated among the young and ignorant than by question and answer. We have various evidences of its existence among the Hebrews: In Gen. 18: 19. it is taken for granted that Abraham's children knew "the way of the Lord"—they were instructed in it and that instruction was accommodated to their capacity and could have been imparted only by question and answer. In Exod. 12: 26. 27. we discover traces of the same practice. We there find an instance of catechetical instruction on the nature of the Paschal lamb, and in Deut. 6: 2, 6, 7. the duty is distinctly inculcated. Those who have written on the subject of catechization among the Hebrews refer us to Deut. 11: 19. Josh. 4: 6, 7. 24: 15. Ps. 58: 4, 5. and other places as proofs of the practice, and they also inform us that the "proselytes of righteousness" were *catechetically* instructed in the Jewish religion before they were received into the church.

Christ pursued the same course. He taught the people and his disciples *viva voce.* As in that age the method of teaching by symbols and parables was common, he also adopted it. Sometimes, indeed, he taught every thing necessary to salvation in discourses, but as he dealt with very ignorant persons, he accommodated himself to their capacity and mode of in-

struction, and thus he may be said to have performed the duties of a catechet. We have an example of it in Matth. 16: 13. "Whom do men say, that I the son of man, am?" &c.

The Apostles followed their master's example. Paul in writing to the Corinthians. 1 Cor. 3: 2. says, "I fed you with milk," which Clemens Alexandrinus and Cyril explain of catechizing. In Heb. 5: 12. he speaks of the "first principles or elements of the oracles of God," which, like the elements of a science, must be taught catechetically to the learner: in ch. 6: 1. he mentions the "principles of the doctrine of Christ," which could be learned by beginners in no other way than by question and answer. The catechumens of the Apostles were those of whom he says in Heb. 5: 12. that "they had need of milk," and whom he calls in 1 Cor. 3: 1. "babes in Christ."

It was the opinion of Cave and Grotius, according to Bingham, Orig. Sacr. B. xi. ch. 7. § 3. that Peter alluded to the catechetical system when he speaks of "the answer of a good conscience toward God," and it has been thought still more probable that Philip's conversation with the eunuch, Acts 8: 26. had some alliance with this method of apostolical teaching.

The Fathers of the church used the word *catechizing* to signify their method of teaching the elements of christianity by question and answer and impressing the lesson on the hearts of the learners by frequent repetition. Hence we have the definition of Clem. Alexandrinus: "Catechism is the knowledge of religion first delivered to the ignorant by the catechist and then repeated over and over again," which, says Comber, "appears farther from the very origin of the word, being derived from ἠχέω, that is, *an echo*, or a repeated sound, because the catechist did first teach them, and then by way of question, try if they had learnt what he delivered to them."

The Fathers were diligent in prosecuting this work, and even such illustrious men as Origen, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Cyril, Gregory, Nazianzen, Cyprian and Augustine, did not deem it beneath their office to catechize the young, and even after they had attained to the episcopal mitre, they did not disdain it. Some of these men wrote treatises on this very subject. Cyril in his "Catechesis," and Augustine in the work on Catechizing, which he assisted a young deacon in writing, show what importance they attached to this department of the clerical office.

In the primitive church there was a private and public catechization. The private was practised by parents according to Ephes. 6: 4. Augustine and Basil mention the cases of

their own pious mothers, and many other interesting instances can be seen in Gottf. Arnold's *Abbildung der ersten Christen*, Lib. 6, ch. 4. § 3. p. 713. The *public* was held in schools, churches, and other places, and the pupils were called *catechumens*, from κατηχουμενοι, *learners*, the word that is used in the New Testament passages before quoted.

In the course of ages, as the church became more corrupt, the practice fell into disuse, or sadly degenerated. Yet the councils recommended and enjoined it, but the duty, where attended to all, was wretchedly performed. Its condition in the times immediately preceding the Reformation, was stated in the first No. of this Review.

The Reformation revived the ancient system of catechizing, and if it had done nothing more, it would still be a glorious event. The Reformers immediately prepared catechisms for the young and ignorant, and all the preachers regarded this as one of the most important functions of their office. So it should be considered in every age.

All the illustrious divines of that period, both of the Continent and Great Britain, unite their testimony in favor of constantly catechizing the youth. Luther has written largely on the subject and insists on the practice as indispensible in the pastor; Calvin has expressed himself vehemently in favor of it; Zwingle is not behind either in urging it; all their cotemporaries concur in their views. In those days it was considered of equal importance with preaching the gospel to adults. The children were as regularly and systematically catechized as they were baptized. Indeed, in their view, (and they were correct,) the design of infant baptism was not fully accomplished unless the children were thus carefully trained for efficient service in the church.

In the infancy of the established church of England, stringent canons were enacted compelling the clergy to perform this duty, and the hosts of eminent divines of that communion down to the present age, have given their testimony in favor of it.

But the non-conformist ministers have also uttered their potential voice, and in their writings and practice, have given evidence of their high estimate of the apostolic custom.

It is by faithfully catechizing the children, that the priests of the church of Rome, retain them in their communion.—They are far too wise to let slip the advantages derived from an early training of their youth. They understand the injunction, "Feed my lambs," and practise it most assiduously. They will not even allow parents to interfere, but claim the

education of the children as the right of the church. What is the result? Few Romish children are ever found in Protestant schools; but alas! how many Protestant children in Romish schools? *Fas est ab hoste doceri*—(It is good to be taught even by an enemy). The Council of Trent had the good sense to enjoin the duty of catechizing as one of the most binding on the priests, and in the Preface to their Catechism is a remark which shows their apprehensions of what Protestants may do. "The age is sadly sensible what mischief the Protestants have done the Catholic church, not only by their tongues, but especially by their writings called Catechisms." In the darkest corners of Romish Switzerland; in the obscurest and most out of the way Alpine villages, where the priests performed no other duty than read the mass and shrive an occasional penitent, we have seen him most laboriously and tenderly catechizing his juvenile mountaineers.—That he very properly regarded as his chief duty and therein displayed at once his sagacity and his obedience to the church.

There are few at the present day who will speak lightly of the pastoral duty of catechizing; and yet there are some.

They say, that the *modern Sunday school system has superseded this pastoral duty.* We deny this. There might be some truth in it, if the pastor had time to instruct the children in the Catechism every Sunday, or if all the teachers were properly qualified for their post, or, if even those who are capable would have the requisite patience and time to indoctrinate their pupils thoroughly; but neither of these is the case any where. Besides, the pastor has not the liberty of entrusting to other hands, that which the Great Shepherd of these lambs has given into his hands. No human institution can supersede a divine appointment. It was to Peter, as the representative of the Apostles, that He said, "Feed my lambs." Sunday schools are mighty auxiliaries to the pastor, and well qualified teachers are his efficient adjutants, but they cannot be his substitutes in any work peculiarly clerical. Let them teach the Catechism with all fidelity, but let not the minister say, that is enough, and therefore I need not attend to it.

Some plead *the superabundance of other pastoral labors*, as an excuse for neglecting catechizing. There is some force in this, but should not this duty be considered paramount and some other subordinate matters be made to yield to it? Can any duty be more important than feeding the lambs of Christ? and would not any congregation or pastoral charge rather dispense with other services or requirements of their minister, than see him neglecting the religious training of their children?

We are sure all would, except those who are corrupted by the high pressure system of excitement, and who can never feel happy or be ordinarily religious, except in a protracted meeting or in the presence of the minister. And even these, when they "are converted and become like little children" *themselves*, will begin to pay some regard to the religious education of their children, and allow the pastor a furlough of a few months to hold a protracted catechetical meeting with those of the church of whom Jesus said "suffer them to come unto me and forbid them not."

Others are deterred from the duty, *because they are surrounded by sects who reject and perhaps ridicule it.* We know some such. They are so extremely liberal as to accommodate themselves to the mischievous practical errors of bigoted sectaries around them. They are afraid of being peculiar, of differing so much from Dr. Presbyton's, Elder Watersink's, or Br. Shouton's church. They are dreadfully apprehensive of being charged with teaching a *Catechism religion*, and thus the poor children are uninstructed in the doctrines of their own church; they are practically taught that there is no difference between orthodox Protestant churches; that one is as good as another, if only it has a little of the perfume of christianity about it, and what is the result? Not a few of them take their minister at his word and unite themselves with the aforesaid churches, for the fence between him and them was by himself made very low. Should he be astonished at this? We wish there were more of this *Catechism religion* among us, for we are convinced it is the best sort of all.

Some are are alarmed by the *discouragements and difficulties* attending the work. These are associated with our whole work. It is difficult to preach well; it is discouraging that our preaching is not productive of more visible good fruits. Christ had hard work; so had the Apostles; so have had faithful ministers in every age of the church since, but shall we give up on that account? It is Christ's work, and He will give us strength to perform it. These difficulties are disciplinary, and instead of deterring us, they should rather urge us on to more active service, patient self-denial and repeated persevering effort.

Profitable catechizing requires peculiar gifts and tact, and many a good preacher may be but a poor catechet. Old Fuller has even said, that "every youth can preach, but he must be a man indeed who can profitably catechize," still, if this were literally true, it is no excuse for the total neglect of the duty.

There is a slovenly way of catechizing which will produce no benefit to the pupils, and no wonder that the teacher soon becomes uneasy. The difficulties, for the most part, may be of his own creating, or his disinclination to labor may powerfully lead him to imagine them.

There are those who *do not entertain correct notions of its vast importance*, and hence they neglect it. They regard it as a work of drudgery, and are satisfied with committing it to Sunday-school teachers, or most probably it is entirely overlooked. But can that be unimportant which Christ practised; which the apostles, evangelists, fathers, martyrs, reformers, and good men of every age followed and sanctioned? Will the command "Feed my lambs" ever be abrogated? Will the children of the church ever cease to be her hope? God forbid that our church in this country should ever sink so low or degenerate, so sadly, as to look with unconcern on any of her ministers who so utterly disregard their ordination vows as to neglect or despise the duty of thus "feeding the lambs" of their flock.

When we come now to speak of the *benefits of catechizing*, we apprehend the danger of extending this article over too wide a space. But let us be content with enumerating a few.

Whatever tends to bring the children of the church, from their earliest years, into close and familiar spiritual intercourse with the pastor, is vastly beneficial. There is no way by which this can be more effectually done than by catechizing. They love the man whom they see taking an interest in their religious welfare; they regard him as their guide in holy things, and look upon him as a father and friend. They regard themselves as the lambs, which he, the shepherd, gathers with his arm and carries in his bosom. Their hearts are tender, and are drawn out in affection for their minister. But it is not for his person only that they cherish this attachment: they venerate his office; they feel that his work is of God, and they thus receive impressions of religious truth which are never effaced. His religious influence over them is thus established, and they will never forget the man from whose lips they received instruction—whom they have so frequently heard praying for them—under whose affectionate warnings they have often shed tears, and whose paternal counsels have guarded them from sin. To be useful to children, the pastor must know them, and show that he is concerned about their religious progress. He can no where so well discover their character, temper, and special wants as in the catechetical class. He thus wins them for himself, for the church, for

God, and exercises over them an influence for good all their days. Irreligious parents are also thus gained; their interest is awakened; they are led to the sanctuary to hear the man who apparently puts himself to so much inconvenience to teach their children the truths of God. They observe the effects of the system in the improved obedience and dutifulness of their children, and thus are brought to reflection themselves. This faithful pastoral supervision of the young of a church compensates for not a few other ministerial deficiencies. People are willing to overlook a preacher's ill-digested sermons, or even some grosser faults, if he only makes up for these by perseveringly catechizing the children. The advantages derived from that seem to overbalance all the evils of which he may have been the cause.

Another benefit is, that it *qualifies children for understanding the sermons of their pastor.* There is no doubt of the fact that much good preaching is entirely profitless to thousands for want of elementary religious training. They do not understand the terms we use; they are not acquainted with the connexions of divine truth; they are ignorant of the facts of christianity. Let any preacher make the experiment, and he will soon discover that he took it for granted that his hearers in general knew much more than they ever had an opportunity of learning. How is this to be remedied but by faithful catechizing? Bishop Hall has well said, "There is no employment in the world wherein God's ministers can employ themselves so profitably as in this of plain and familiar catechization. What is a building without a foundation? If this groundwork be not surely laid, all their divine discourses lie but upon shifting sand." Bishop Wilson, in his eighty-fifth year, said, "It is a truth not to be questioned, that the plainest sermon from the pulpit will not be understood, nor profit any who has not been well instructed in the principles of christianity contained in the church catechism." And Luther, who, among a hundred other good things on this subject, has said, *Die gemeinen, öffentlichen Predigten*, &c. "The ordinary public preaching in churches is of very little advantage to the young; they understand and retain very little of it. They should be diligently instructed in the school and family, and that will qualify them to understand preaching. It is indeed a wearisome work, but very necessary."

Faithful catechizing *fences out heresy and all sorts of error from the church.* Let the children be taught the true doctrine, and they will not depart from it when they grow up. No form of error can find place in a congregation in which the

youth have been properly indoctrinated in the catechism. No modern religious mountebank can get up an audience for his 'show,' unless it is to see the fun, in a well catechized neighborhood. There would not be such an endless variety of petty sects if the youth had been well trained in the elements of religion. There would not be so many apostacies from the true church if the people had been carefully instructed when they were young. It is the "wet wadded cloth that giveth fixation to the color, so that it changeth not so soon," as old Fuller has it; so it is sound instructing in the catechism that establishes doctrine in the minds and hearts of the young, and they will not run after every new light that scours the country. Luther may well say, "A diligent and faithful christian, if he had nothing more than the catechism, the commandments, creed, Lord's prayer, and sacraments, would be fortified against all heresies."

This system *will furnish an efficient corps of Sunday-school teachers.* They who have been well instructed will be able to teach others. The catechumens will make a strong body of ministerial deputies. They have not only learned the doctrines themselves, but, what is vastly important, they have also learned how to teach. They will follow the course and observe the rules practised by their pastor. They know how their own attention was kept awake, their minds interested, their hearts impressed, and they will apply these rules when they are entrusted with that responsible charge.

It is of great *benefit to the minister himself.* The man who regularly goes through the catechism several times in the year; who illustrates, simplifies, and expounds the doctrines of christianity in their systematic order; who distinctly recites or hears the principal proof texts, cannot but be profited himself. *Docendo docemur*, (by teaching we are taught.) Every man who has faithfully attended to his duty in this respect must be conscious of having been much benefited.

On the general benefits of this system Bishop Hall has observed, "The most useful of all preaching is catechetical; this being the ground, the other raiseth the walls and roof; this informs the judgment, that stirs up the affections. *What good use is there of those affections that run before the judgment*, or those walls that want a foundation? For my part, I have spent the greater half of my life in this station of our holy service, I thank God, not unpainfully nor unprofitably. But there is no one thing of which I repent so much as not to have spent more hours in this public exercise of catechism; in regard whereof I would quarrel with my very sermons, and

wish that a greater part had been exchanged for this preaching conference."

We are convinced that the reasons why some men are averse to catechizing, and why much time is spent unprofitably in the practice of it by others, are, that they do not understand the *rules of teaching;* they do not know how to render the exercise interesting and instructive, nor in what way to keep up the attention of the catechumens. Hence, it is a dull, unprofitable business; the pupils are listless and the teacher is disheartened.

To ensure attention and success, we must be *familiar* in our illustrations, and *direct* in our addresses. It will not answer to wear the professor's cap, nor the preacher's gown in the catechetical class room. We must be as a father among his children, and not as a schoolmaster among his scholars. We must put our catechumens at their ease, and address them even by name. We must come down to the capacity of each one, and by kind words and gentle manner remove all timidity and apprehension. Each one should be *directly* questioned, but yet in such a manner as not to expose any to the unkind remarks of the rest. The heart of each must be addressed, and the eye of each must be arrested. Striking incidents, illustrative narratives, every day occurring facts must be brought in to fix their attention and throw light on the truth. What the rules of sermonizing would condemn, the rules of catechizing sanction, hence we cannot ask too many questions, nor employ too familiar language, nor too often repeat our explanations, nor be too direct and, sometimes even, too personal in our affectionate admonitions and enforcements of truth. With regard to this directness of application, we may quote what Quintillian says of young people: "They are like narrow-necked bottles, which, if you wish to fill with water, you must take singly and pour it into one after another; for, you will never speed by watering them all together and casting ever so much water among them."

To succeed in maintaining their interest we must be *clear* in our statements and *simple* in the proof. They must understand our meaning and comprehend the argument. Hence all scholastic and scientific terms must be avoided; the language of theological seminaries must be banished. Nothing above the capacity of young people dare be introduced. We must present the subject in different attitudes; turn it into different ways; and repeat it again and again, until we are sure they see through it like daylight. But to effect this, we must have a clear view of it ourselves. There are some men

who only make things darker by trying to throw light on them; their minds are cloudy, or if that is not the case, their method of speaking is obscure; their language is not distinct; their ideas are not strung out in a row, but are jumbled up in their brain like jewels in a pawnbroker's drawer; they touch each other, but are not united, and no wonder they fall out in confusion. To be *simple* as well as *clear*, we must not pursue a subject to its remotest end, nor say on it every thing that has been said by others, nor that can be said by ourselves. It should be well arranged with all its connexions and consequences and a few strong arguments brought in to establish it. Too many arguments or illustrations; too much complexity of statement would only confuse, therefore a single doctrine, a single precept clearly stated and simply illustrated, will make a deeper impression than the most voluminous torrent of words.

To win our way to the hearts of the catechumens and to make them love the exercise, we must show that *we love to teach* them and must *give our instructions mildly and cheerfully;* any exhibition of weariness or impatience on our part will be disastrous to our pastoral influence; any harshness will be discouraging to the pupil; any magisterial air or dogmatical austerity will intimidate, and, probably, disgust them. Gentleness and condescension, cheerfulness and love will accomplish all that you desire.

Every thing like monotony is fatal to our design, hence we must constantly study *variety*. A long, unbroken lecture would render them uneasy and distract their attention; a prosy discourse would put them to sleep. We must often suddenly interrupt our explanations by asking questions; we must abruptly introduce an incident from Scripture or every day life; we must make an unexpected diversion from the principal point, and draw in something fresh and striking; we must quote a verse of poetry or tell a religious anecdote; and thus by constant and sprightly variety, all of which is perfectly consistent with seriousness, we will keep their attention awake.

There are many rules of a general character which we must also observe: e. g. where it is possible, the exercise should not endure longer than an hour. When weariness begins, attentiveness ends. *Qui breviter dicunt, docere possunt.* — (Short speaking is the best teaching.) Every allowance must be made for young persons who have little leisure to learn the Catechism, or who have had small opportunities of elementary education. We should ask no questions which we think our catechumens cannot answer, for that will only discourage them. We should never allow them to be long at a loss, but

either simplify the question or answer ourselves. Let us be careful not to single out the most intelligent to answer the hardest questions, for that will only create envy in the others. We should not expect every one to commit the whole book to memory, though it is highly desirable. In our concluding prayer, let the subject of the lesson be the main subject of petition. Let us prepare ourselves for each lesson as we should do for our sermons; and finally, let us not be afraid of the labor of catechizing. "FEED MY LAMBS." Let this command be written in large letters on our study table, yea, deeply engraven on our hearts.

How often should a catechetical class meet? That depends on the age of the catechumens. The children, properly so called, should be catechized at least once a week all the year round. But when? For the minister scarcely ever has time on Sunday, and during the week the children go to school. Alas! this is the difficulty; we are speaking of what should be done, and not of what is done. The children *should be* catechised in school by the pastor, but this is impossible until we re-establish the excellent old *church* system of parochial schools; but we fear that we shall die without that sight. If possible, let him meetthem on Sunday, even if it is *at the expense of the evening public service.* We are convinced that it would be a good substitute. We know that people would complain of it; that some would stray off to other places of worship; but if the exercise were performed openly in the church, and the minister properly understood his business, many adults would attend, and they would probably learn more than from the sermon. But alas! many go to the house of God not so much for sound edification as for excitement; not so much for hearing the Lord's word expounded as for hearing the preacher uttering pleasant tones. But it is not so with all. Others know that the children should be taught; that it is the minister's business to do it; that the church requires it of him; that his ordination vows impose it on him. They know that two sermons, besides catechizing, are too exhausting, and would, therefore, cheerfully yield one of the services for the sake of the lambs of the flock.

If the class is composed of candidates for confirmation, it should meet more frequently than once a week for the last two months of the course, especially if, as is unfortunately too often the case, catechumens have not been faithfully instructed in their earlier youth.

An American divine has forcibly said, "If you would have united and prosperous parishes, affectionate to yourselves and

devoted to your Redeemer; if you would enjoy the blessed satisfaction to see your spiritual children walking in the truth, and to meet them joyful and happy at the judgment of the great day, never lose sight of your duty to the lambs of the flock of Christ: the duty of thorough personal catechetical instruction."

Those of us who, in our tender years, had such a shepherd to guide us, and who, every week, called us around him to repeat our catechism, and to hear his paternal counsels, will be able to enter into the spirit of the following lines from Wordsworth:

> "From little down to least—in due degree,
> Around the pastor, each in new wrought vest,
> Each with a vernal posy at his breast,
> We stood, a trembling, earnest company!
> With low, soft murmur, like a distant bee,
> Some spake, by thought—perplexing fears betrayed:
> And some a bold, unerring answer made."

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## ARTICLE IV.

### THE RELATION OF OUR CONFESSIONS TO THE REFORMATION, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THEIR STUDY, WITH AN OUTLINE OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.*

By Rev. Charles P. Krauth, A. M., of Winchester, Va.

It is with a solemn and holy delight we have learned to traverse the venerable edifice which the hands of our fathers erected in the sixteenth century. There is none of the glitter

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* The historical part of this article is on the basis of

1. Jo. Georgii Walchii Introductio in Libros Ecclesiæ Lutheranae Symbolicos, observationibus historicis et theologicis illustrata. Jena: 1732. 4to. pp. 1096. from p, 157 to 185.

The following works have been consulted, though the limited space of a Review has allowed little use to be made of the materials collected from them.

2. *Carpzovii Isagoge* in Libros Ecclesiarum Lutheranarum Symbolicos &c. Lipsiæ, 1675. 4to. pp. 2058.

3. *Saligs* Vollständige Historie der Augspurgischen Confession, und derselben Apologie, &c. Halle, 1730. 4to. vol. I. pp. 856.

4. Historia der Augspurgischen Confession—aus denen Original Acten beschrieben von *E. S. Cyprian.* Gotha, 1730. 4to. pp. 307.

5. *Confessio*, &c.—Nützliche Beylagen zur Historia der Augsp. Conf. Gotha, 1730. 4to. pp. 240.

which catches and fascinates the childish eye, but all possesses that solid grandeur which fills the soul. Every part harmonizes with the whole, and conspires in the proof that their work was not to pull down but to erect. The spirit of the Reformation was no destroying angel, who sat and scowled with a malignant joy over the desolation which spread around. It was overshadowed by the wings of that spirit who brooded indeed on the waste of waters and the wildness of chaos, but only that he might unfold the germs of life that lay hidden there, and bring forth light and order from the darkness of the yet formless and void creation. It is vastly more important, then, to know what the Reformation retained than what it overthrew; for the overthrow of error, though often an indispensable prerequisite to the establishment of truth, is not truth itself; it may clear the foundation simply to substitute one error for another, perhaps a greater for a less. Profoundly important, indeed, is the history of that which the Reformation accomplished against the errors of Romanism, yet it is as nothing to the history of that which it accomplished for itself. The overthrow of Romanism was not its primary object, in a certain sense was not its object at all. Its object was to establish the truth, no matter what might rise or fall in the effort. Had the Reformation assumed the form which some who have since borne the name of Protestants would have given it, it would not even have been a splendid failure; the movement which has shaken and regenerated a world would have ended in a few miserable squabbles, a few *auto da fes;* and the record of a history, which daily makes the hearts of thousands burn within them, would have been exchanged for some such brief notice as this: that an irascible monk, named Luder, or Luther, and a few insane coadjutors, having foolishly attempted to overthrow the holy Roman See, and remaining obstinate in their pernicious and detestible heresies, were burned alive, to

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6. Genäuere Untersuchung wie es mit den sogenannten Schwobacher—Artickuln als dem Anfang der Augspurgischen Confess. beschaffen, &c. von *G. G. Zeltner.* Nürnberg, 1730. 4to. pp. 75.

7. *Seckendorfs* Historia Lutheranismi. Francofurti et Lipsiæ, 1692. Folio.

8. *Buddei* Isagoge ad Theologiam Universam. 4to. The ordinary English works on the history of the Reformation, it is not necessary to enumerate. I have found the greatest service in regard to the *geography of the Reformation*, and indeed in every department of historical Geography, from the "Dictionnaire Universel des Géographes Physique, Commerciale, Historique et Politique du monde Ancien, du *Moyen-age* et des temps modernes, comparus, &c. Par *J. G. Masselin.* Paris, 1843." 2 vols. 8vo. pp. xxviii. 702 & 814. The editions of the Symbolical books I have used are, for the Latin Hase's (Lipsiæ, 1827), and for the German the original Edition (Dresden, 1580.) Folio.

the glory of God and the Virgin Mary, and to the inexpressible satisfaction of all the faithful. The mightiest weapon which the Reformation employed against Rome was, not her errors, but her truths. It professed to make no discoveries, to find no unheard-of interpretations; but taking the scriptures in those very senses to which the greatest of her writers had assented, uncovering the law and the gospel of God which she retained, applying them as her most distinguished and most honored teachers had applied them, though she had made them of none effect by her traditions,[1] the Reformation took into its heart the life-stream of sixteen centuries, and came forth in the stature and strength of a Christianity, grown from the infancy of primitive ages to the ripened manhood of that maturer period. There was no fear of truth, simply because Rome held it, and no disposition to embrace an error, because it might be employed with advantage to her injury. While it established broadly and deeply the right of private judgment, it did not make that abuse of it which has since been so common. From the position that the essential truths of the word of God are clear to any christian mind that examines them properly, it did not leap to the conclusion that a thousand generations or a thousand examiners were as likely, or more likely, to be wrong than one. They allowed no *authority* save to the word of God, but they listened respectfully to the witness of believers of all time.

The tone which is imparted to the mind and heart by the theology of the reformation is just what we now most need. But where are we to commence, it may be asked, in the infinite variety of works that have been written about the Reformation and its theology? "Art is long and life is fleeting." And how is a clergyman of our church, in this country, to find the books, or buy them when found, or read them when bought, destitute, as he is too wont to be, alike of money and time? We reply that an immense treasure lies in a narrow compass, and within the reach of every minister in our land. By a careful study of the symbolical books of our church, commencing with the Augsburg Confession and its Apology,

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[1] "Haec ferè summa est doctrinæ apud nos, in quâ cerni potest, nihil inesse, quod discrepat à scripturis, *vel ab Ecclesia Catholica, vel ab Ecclesia Romana quatenus ex scriptoribus nota est.*" Conf. Aug. Art. xxi.

The same sentiment is repeated in the Epilogue of the Confession. "Nihil esse receptum contra Scripturam aut Ecclesiam Catholicam, quia manifestum est, *nos diligentissime cavisse*, ne qua *nova et impia* dogmata in Ecclesias nostras serperent." "New" and "impious" they seemed to regard as essentially the same. "Luther," says D'Aubigne, "did not build for his own age an Edifice that had no associations with the past."

a more thorough understanding of the history, difficulties, true genius, and triumphs of the Reformation will be attained than by reading every thing that can be got, or that has ever been written about that memorable movement. It is indeed too much the fashion now to read *about* things, to the neglect of the great original sources themselves. In general literature much is written and read about Homer and Shakspeare, until those great poets attract less attention than their critics. In theology it is the prevailing practice to have students read introductions to the Bible, and essays on various features of it, to such a degree that the Bible itself, except in an indirect form, is hardly studied at all, and the student, though often introduced to it, never fairly makes its acquaintance. All these illustrative works, if well executed, have their value; but that value presupposes such a general acquaintance with the books to which they serve as a guide, as is formed by every man for himself who carefully examines them. The greatest value of every work of the human mind, after all, generally lies in that which needs no guide, no critic, no commentator. Their labors may display more clearly, and thus enhance, this value, and are not to be despised; but their subject is greater than themselves, and they are useful only when they lead to an accurate and critical knowledge of that with which a general acquaintance has been formed by personal examination. It is now conceded, for example, that in the order of nature the general knowledge of language must precede an accurate grammatical acquaintance with it. They may be formed indeed together, part preceding part, but if they must be separated, the general is better than the scientific. If, in a library, there were two cases, one containing all the Latin grammars and the other all the Latin classics, and one boy was kept six years to the classics and another six years to the grammars, the first would understand the language practically, the second would understand nothing, not even the grammar.

And this principle it is easy to apply as regards its bearings on those great masterly treatises which form our Symbolical books. *They are parts of the Reformation itself:* not merely witnesses in the loose sense in which histories are, but the actual results, the quintessence of the excited theological and moral elements of the time. In them you are brought into immediate contact with that sublime convulsion itself. Its strength and its weakness, its fears and its hopes, the truths it exalted, the errors and abuses it threw down, are here presented in the most solemn and strongly authenticated form in which they gave them to posterity. They are nerves running

from us, who form the extremities, back to the very seat of thought of that ancient, glorious, and immortal time. To see the force of every word, the power of every allusion, requires an intimate acquaintance with the era and the men, in forming which the student will be led delightfully into a thorough communion and profound sympathy with that second greatest period in human history. The child of our church will find occasion to exult not only in those brighter parts of our history and of our doctrines, whose lustre fills every eye, but even in those particulars on which ignorance, envy, and jealousy have based their powerless attacks;—will find, when he reaches a thorough understanding of them, new occasion to utter, with a heart swelling with an honorable pride, "I, too, am a Lutheran." We are not such gross idolaters, nor so ignorant of the declarations of these great men themselves, as to imagine that they left nothing for their posterity to do. Whether they have done it, and done it well, is, however, a very distinct question. To assume that, merely because we follow them in order of time, we have gone further than they in truth, is to lay the foundation of a principle more absurd and pernicious than the worst doctrine of the church of Rome, and is as foolish as to say that my child four years of age is a greater astronomer than Newton, because she lives in the century after him.

But while we concede that we may and ought to advance, we wish explicitly to say that we mean by advance, *progress in the same direction.* We are aware of no particular in which advance demands, or is even compatible with a desertion of the fundamental principles of our fathers. They *may* have made mistakes, and nothing but mistakes; they *may* have known nothing, and we may know every thing; but we have seen no evidence that such is the case, and until it is brought before us we must beg indulgence for our skepticism. This much we can assert safely, that those who understand best the theology of the Reformation, have most confidence in it and the strongest affection for it; to them it seems still to stand in its original glory, firm as the eternal mountains. That which strikes them painfully as they grow more and more familiar with that stout heart, whose life-blood is warming us, is that we have not advanced as we should; that though we have the shoulders of these giants of a former world, from which, alas! a flood of infidelity and theological frivolity seems to separate us, on which to stand, there are so many things in which we do not see as far as they. It is because slothfulness or ignorance prevents us from occupying that position

to which they would lift us, because taking a poor and narrow view of their labors, and measuring them by some contemptible little standard, sometimes one set up by their enemies and yet oftener by those who are more injurious than their enemies, their superficial and injudicious professed friends, we permit our minds to be prejudiced against them. A simple heart is of more value than mere science in the apprehension of religious truth; and never has there been witnessed such a union of gigantic powers with a childlike spirit as among the theologians of the sixteenth century. In vain do we increase the facilities for the attainment of knowledge, if we do not correspondingly strengthen the temper of mind and heart essential to its acquisition. It by no means, therefore, follows, that even minds of the same order in our own day, would go beyond the point to which the Reformation was carried, because circumstances more embarrassing than those of the sixteenth century may now lie around the pathway of theological truths. Flattery is a more dangerous thing than bodily peril; a vain and superficial tendency will do more mischief than even an excess of the supernatural elements, and the spirit of the Romish church and the prejudices insensibly imbibed in her communion, are not more pernicious as a preparation for the examination of divine truth, than is a cold, self-confident and rationalizing mind. If we do not contemptuously reject all aid in the search after truth, to whom can we go with more confidence than to the great authors of the Reformation? We know them at least to be sincere; no hireling scribblers, writing to tickle the fancy of the time; we know them to be the thorough masters of their subjects, conscious that every word would be examined and every argument fiercely assailed by their foes. Every doctrine they established by the word of God and confirmed by the witness of his church. Every objection which is now urged was then brought to bear upon the truth. Controversy has added nothing to its stores, they knew perfectly those superficial, miscalled reasons which make men now so confident in saying, that had the Reformers only lived in our time, they would have abandoned much to which they held. They knew then, but they lived and died unchanging in their adherence to what they had taught as truth. It is a cheap and popular way of getting rid of any thing in the theology of the Reformation which is not palatable, by pretending that it is a remnant of popery, as Rationalists evade the force of Scripture declarations by saying they are accommodations to Jewish prejudices. Among these remnants of Popery, Dr. Aaron Bancroft, for instance, enumerates the doctrines of the

Trinity, and the deity of Christ, of the Atonement, of Eternal punishment, in short of every thing which is distinctive of Evangelical Christianity. No position could be more violent or silly in regard to every fundamental doctrine of our Confession. They not only can be demonstrated from Scripture but can be shown to have been fully received in the church before popery had a name or a being. It would be far more natural to suppose that in the fierce and embittered strife with that gigantic system of Error, that some part of the Protestant party would be driven to deny some truths by whose abuse the church of Rome strove to maintain her power. It is a sword with a double edge, and is almost sure to wound those who handle it; it is in fact ordinarily but the sneaking refuge of a sectarian spirit, which tries to accomplish by exciting odium, what it failed to do by argument.

But are those Confessions, after all, of any value to the *American* Lutheran preacher? it may be asked. We cannot conceal our sorrow, that that term, "American," should be made so emphatic, dear and hallowed as it is to our heart. Why should we break or weaken the golden chain which unites us to the high and holy associations of our history as a church by thrusting into a false position a word which makes a national appeal? Is there a conflict between the two, when carried to their very farthest limits? Must Lutheranism be shorn of its glory to adapt it to our times or our land? No! Our land is great, and wide, and glorious, and destined, we trust, under the sunlight of her free institutions, long to endure; but our faith is wider, and greater, and is eternal. The world owes more to the Reformation than to America; America owes more to it than to herself. My country is my mother, but my church is her mother, the source, under God, of all that is great and good in her. Through *her*, christianity, peace with God, redemption in Christ, immortality, have been given to me, and therefore I am first a Lutheran and then an American. In my heart they excite no conflict but blend harmoniously together. We are placed here in the midst of sectarianism, and it becomes us not lightly to consent to swell that destructive torrent of separatism which threatens the welfare of pure christianity on our shores more than all other causes combined. We are surrounded by the children of those churches which claim an origin in the Reformation. We sincerely respect and love them; we fervently pray that they may be increased in every labor of love, and may be won more and more to add to that precious truth which they set forth with such power, those no less precious doctrines which,

in the midst of so wide an abandonment of the faith once delivered to the saints, God has, in our Confessions, preserved to us. But how shall we make ourselves worthy of their respect and lift ourselves out of the sphere of that pitiful little sectarianism which is crawling over us and biting us continually? We must begin by knowing ourselves, and being true to that knowledge. Let us not, with our rich coffers, play the part of beggars, and ask favors where we have every ability to impart them. No church can maintain her self-respect or inspire respect in others, who is afraid or ashamed of her own history, and who rears a dubious fabric on the ignorance of her ministry and of her members. Whatever flickerings of success may play around her, she will yet sink to rise no more, and, worse than this, no honest man will lament her fall, for however such moral dishonesty may be smoothed over, every reflecting man sees that such a church is an organized lie, with a ministry, congregations, churches and societies united to sustain a lie. From this feeling a gracious Providence has almost wholly preserved our church in this country. To whatever extent want of information or the pressure of surrounding denominations may have produced the practical departure of individuals from some of the principles of our church, our common origin and our glorious annals have formed a bond of sympathy. Struggling against difficulties which would have crushed a church with less vitality, the Lutheran Communion in this country has always preserved some honorable feeling of her own dignity and proper value. *The salt which has preserved her is Germanic.* On these shores she has yet properly no history; when she looks toward the realm of her might and glory she must cast her eye over the Atlantic wave, and roll back her thoughts over the lapse of two centuries. She has been, and is yet, passing through a period of transition from one language and one national bond to another. The question of language has interest only so far as it concerns the question of church life, and in its bearings on this should be watched with a tender and trembling interest. No doubt there were cases in which the opposition of the earlier Lutherans in this country to the introduction of the English language in our church arose from narrow views and feelings simply as Germans, but in yet more instances did it spring from fears, which our subsequent history has shown not to be wholly groundless, that Lutheranism itself—our life, our doctrines and our usages,—so dear to their hearts, might be endangered by the change.

Whatever, then, may be our sentiments as to the judgment they displayed, let us do honor at least to their motives. They saw that the language of our land contained no Lutheran literature, no history just to the claims of our church, no spirit which, on the whole, could be said fully to meet the genius of our church. They feared that, under these circumstances, Lutheranism would melt away, or become the mere creature of the influences with which it was surrounded. They clung to their language, therefore, as a rampart which could shut out for a time the flood which was breaking upon them each day with increasing force. For what, then, do we blame them? Not for their intense love to the church, or their ardent desire to preserve it in its purity, nor that sensitive apprehension which is always the offspring of affection; not, in a word, that they were Lutherans indeed. If we blame these venerable men at all, it is that they *were not Lutheran enough;* that is, that, with all their devotion to the church, they had not that inspiring confidence which they should have had in the power of her principles to triumph eventually over every obstacle. Would that they could have realized what we believe most firmly, (though part of it yet lies in the future,) that, after all the changes of national existence, and of language, all pressure from the churches and the people around us, our holy faith would come forth in all her purity and power, eventually to perform, in the great drama in our western realm, a part as important as that which she bore in her original glory in the history of the world.

And having spoken thus freely in regard to a misapprehension on one side of this question, we shall be equally candid in speaking the truth upon the other.

It is evident that our American fathers clung to the German language from no idea that there was any connexion between Lutheranism and that language *as such*—some mysterious coherence between its sounds and inflections, and the truths of our church; so that, in the very nature of the case, and by an essential necessity, the English language and Lutheranism could not harmonize together. It is fanaticism to attempt to narrow our great church into an English sect or a German one. Lutheranism is neither English nor German; and though both should cease to be the tongues of living men, *it* cannot pass away. The greatest works of her original literature, some of her symbols, part of her church service and hymns, were in the Latin language; and surely if she can live in a dead language she can live in any living one. She has achieved some of her most glorious victories where other languages are spo-

ken. She sought at an early period to diffuse her principles among the oriental churches, and we will add that she is destined, on these shores, in a language which her fathers knew not, to illustrate more gloriously, because in a more unfettered form, her true life and spirit, than she has done since the Reformation.

But, waiving now all further discussion of questions suggested by our Confessional history, we shall compress into a brief compass our apology (if indeed we need one) for offering the first of a series of sketches connected with the history of our great doctrinal standards. If the question may be mooted; How far shall we *adopt* the principles of the Reformation, and of our earlier church: *this* admits of no discussion; Whether we should make ourselves thoroughly acquainted with those principles; — for the rejection even of error, unless it result from an enlightened judgment, and a mature intelligent conviction, has no value whatever--nay, is in itself a worse error than any which it can possibly reject, for it rests itself on the foundation on which almost all moral falsehood has arisen. Let our ministry enter upon a profound study of the history and of the principles of our church, and if the result of a ripe judgment shall be any other than an increased devotion to the first, and an ardent embracing of the second, we shall feel ourselves bound to re-examine the grounds on which such an examination has led us to repose with the confidence of a child on that maternal bosom where so many whose names are bright on earth and in Heaven, have rested their dying heads, and experienced that what she taught them was sufficient not only to overcome every trial of life, but every terror of the grave.

"The Confession of Augsburg," says D'Aubigne, "will ever remain one of the master-pieces of the human mind enlightened by the spirit of God." The man of the world should feel a deep interest in a document which bears to the whole cause of freedom as close a relation as the "Declaration of Independence" does to our own as Americans. The philosopher should examine what has formed the opinions and affected the destinies of millions of our race. To the christian it presents itself as the greatest work, regarded in historical relations, in which pure religion has been sustained by human hands. The theologian will find it a key to a whole era of fervent, yet profound thought, and the Lutheran, to whom an argument on its value to him must be presented, is beyond the reach of argument. It is our shield and our sword, our ensign and our arming, the constitution of our state, the life of our body,

the germ of our being. It is the bond of our union throughout the world, and by it, and with it, our church, as a distinct organization, must stand or fall. Her life began, indeed, before it, as the vital point of the embryo exists before the heart and brain are formed, but having once evoked the Confession into which her own life flowed—they live or perish together, as that embryo grows or dies, as the vital organs expand in life or shrink in death.

In the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran church the first place, indeed, is justly held by those general Confessions in which the pure church has united in every age since their formation and in which, throughout the world, it now concurs. These are the Apostles', the Nicaeno-Constantinopolitan, and Athanasian creeds. She thus vindicates her true catholicity and antiquity, and declares that the name Lutheran does not define her essence, but simply refers to one grand fact in her history. The most splendid phase of that portion of her annals is to be found in the diet of Augsburg, and the "good Confession" which she then "witnessed" before the mighty of the world. The city of Augsburg has not been wanting in historical associations of high interest, but they are dim before its chief glory. Its ancient spires on which the soft light of many a sinking sun had rested were then illumined by a milder radiance which shall never set. It slopes toward two considerable rivers, between which it lies embosomed; but never had that "river which makes glad the city of God," so poured through it, its stream of life as on that eventful day. Thrice since that period the thunder of artillery and the clash of arms have sounded around and within it—but it is *our* heroes whose glory still keeps its name fresh in the memories of men, and shall keep it when its palaces have crumbled into dust and time has gathered over its very ruins the mould which at once completes and hides the desolation.

The two grounds on which our Confession was written and presented, were, first, the wish of the emperor Charles V., who desired by this means to remove the religious dissensions which were rending the Germanic empire; and secondly, to refute the serious slanders which were uttered against the holy cause of the truth which was in the course of restoration to its original purity. To detail with minuteness every circumstance connected with its origin, would be a work of labor and of great extent. It is sufficient for our purpose to present a cursory outline. The Roman Pontiff having refused to listen to the request of the Emperor Charles V. to call a general council, at which the great religious questions which were agi-

tating so many bosoms, might be settled, the Emperor dispatched letters to Germany, written on the 21st of January, 1530, summoning the Electors and the other princes of the empire, to appear at Augsburg to deliberate on the great question of religion, and to provide also against the impending danger of war on the part of the Turks. He directed as a preliminary to the former and more important portion of their work, that a statement of doctrine, or a Confession of their faith should be presented to the Diet. In the copy of these letters of the Emperor which was sent to the Elector of Saxony, and which Müller preserves in his *History of the Protestation and Confession made at Augsburg by the Evangelical States*, (in German,) he declares that it is his desire that the varying opinions on religious subjects might be examined in the spirit nf love and of truth. The Emperor repeated the same sentiments on the assembling of the Diet, calling on both parties, says the Preface to the Augsburg Confession, "to act with charity and mutual forbearance, to ponder on what was advanced, to confine themselves strictly to the matter in debate, and to agree in christian concord on the simple truth." In order properly to carry out this command, those who professed the Evangelical doctrine made arrangements for the preparation and presentation of a Confession to the Emperor before the Diet. To this fact they refer in the *Preface* when they say: "It is in obedience to the wish of your Imperial Majesty that we present a Confession of our faith whose doctrines have been set forth by our preachers from the Holy Scriptures, in the churches of our provinces, dukedoms, shires and cities;" we find also in the *conclusion* of the Confession these words: "*We have desired to exhibit the preceding articles in accordance with the command of your majesty, in which we have prcsented our Confession and a summary of the doctrine of those who teach among us.*"

But the grand reason for the preparation of the Confession was that the charges brought against the doctrines of the Reformation and their adherents might be repelled, and that all candid men might be convinced that nothing was taught which was not in accordance with the word of God. We could scarcely believe to what extremes the impudence of these calumniators carried them, were it not that our church still continues to receive the attacks of those who rival them in effrontery, in ignorance and in disregard of truth, for Lutheranism has continued to be the terror of everything false, of pseudo-Protestantism as well as of pseudo-Catholicism. Alphonsus Valdesius, Secretary of the Emperor, a few days before the

Confession was presented to the Diet, told Melancthon, "that the Spaniards were persuaded, that the Lutherans did not believe in God or in the Holy Trinity, and that they made light of Christ the Savior of the world and of the Virgin Mary, so that they felt no doubt that to slay a Lutheran was to do God a more acceptable service than to kill a Turk." (Coelestinus in his History of the Diet at Augsburg.)

Luther himself, in his "*Preface to the Smalkald Articles*," mentions that there was at Witetnberg a certain doctor sent from France who openly declared that the king of France believed "that the Lutherans had neither church, magistracy, nor rites of marriage, but herded together promiscuously like cattle." And that such was the fact, may be gathered from Raemund, Chancellor of the King of France at Bordeaux, who in his "History of the rise, progress and ruin of the heresies of this age," writes thus: "It was very easy for Luther, a man of much reading and of great industry, to follow in the footsteps of the ancient and modern heretics, to acquire their arts, to emulate their subtlety, and again to prop up, with new strength, their arguments, though often completely overthrown by the holy fathers;" and a little after: "besides, in the construction of his church, Luther had borrowed the greater part of his materials from the ancient heretics, long ago reprobated by councils and blasted with the infamy of rebellion against God and of treason against man." Cyprian, in his "History of the Augsburg Confession" has preserved many instances of this kind, of a public character. The proposition of the Emperor seemed, therefore, a providential opening which our Confessors gladly employed to defend themselves and the truth they had espoused

It is to John Elector of Saxony, more than to any other prince, that the world is indebted for the Augsburg Confession. There is not a nobler prince than he commemorated on the pages of history (hardly one so eminently christian). His exalted firmness conferred on him the title of the *Constant*, and never was it more admirably displayed than in connection with the Confession which was prepared under his auspices, and by his command. The letters patent of the Emperor summoning a Diet at Augsburg reached him in Torgau, and thence he immediately addressed letters to Luther, Pomeranus, Justus Jonas, and Philip Melancthon, at Wittenberg, in which he gave directions, that, "as there was about to be a national Synod composed of the orders of the empire, they should lay aside all other matters to consult together on the points in controversy, whether they had reference to matters

of faith, or to rites and ceremonies; and that having digested a Confession they should, by the third Sunday in Lent (*dominica oculi*) present themselves in Torgau." When these letters had been received by the Theologians at Wittenberg, and Justus Jonas, who happened to be absent, had been apprized of their contents by Luther, they determined at once to execute the will of the Elector, which they concluded could not be done in a more satisfactory way than by entrusting the entire matter to Luther. In consequence, it is generally supposed that Luther drew up the seventeen articles called the Torgau Articles. They treat of God and the Trinity, of the incarnation of Christ, of his passion, of original sin, of justification, of the nature of justifying faith, of the Gospel, of the Sacraments, of Baptism, of the Eucharist, of Confession, the Catholic church, the final judgment, of the magistracy, of the prohibition of marriage and eating of meats, of the abrogation of the mass, and of ceremonies. These Articles are extant in German in Luther's works, and in the various histories of the Augsburg Confession, by Chytraeus, Müller, and Cyprian; and in Latin in the History of the Diet, by Coelestinus, and in Pfaff's Appendix to the Symbolical Books. They were made public in a separate form in the Latin language at Leipsic, under the title: First delineation of the Augsburg Confession, by Martin Luther. It appeared also in German at Wittenberg, 1530, and at Coburg, in the same year. These Articles which first appeared without the knowledge of Luther, were attacked by Wimpina, Mensingius, Redoerfferus and Egersma in behalf of the papacy, to whom Luther responded in his *Answer* to the outcry of certain Papists against the seventeen *Articles*, and at the same time appended the articles themselves. The answer of Luther is so elegant and embraces so much worthy of perusal that Schlegel (*in vita Joann. Langeri*,) and Cyprian in his History have presented it entire.

Though the basis of the Augsburg Confession is generally supposed to be in the Torgau Articles, yet there have been men of learning who contended that it was rather to be sought in those of Schwabach. It is certain that in the year 1530 a convention for religious and ecclesiastical purposes was held at Schwabach, a town not far from Nuremberg, under the auspices and in the name of George, Marquis of Brandenburg and Nuremberg. It is affirmed that in this very convention those seventeen articles were presented, which are entitled the Articles of Schwabach, composed according to some by Andrew Osiander, or according to others, by John Rurer, or some other hand. These it is asserted were sent by George of Bran-

denburg to John, Elector of Saxony, and to Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, and having met with the approval of their theologians were then placed by them as the first foundation of the Augsburg Confession. Such is the opinion of Durrius, and, among others, especially of Rentschius. But this opinion Layritius has attempted to overthrow and has presented various reasons against the claim of the convention at Schwabach in 1528 to those articles attributed to Luther, and employed by Melancthon in the preparation of the Confession. He observes that many are of the opinion that no copies of the articles of that convention are to be found in the Registry of the Marches of Brandenburg, or of the State of Nuremberg, or of those churches on which they are imagined to have been imposed. Nor was there any need, he adds, of a new doctrinal formula of this kind, as the whole plan and purpose of the ecclesiastical visitation then entered into will show, and declares finally that the whole mistake has arisen from confounding the former convention at Schwabach with a later one which took place in October 1529, for the seventeen articles recited at this later convention were subsequently falsely ascribed to the theologians of Brandenburg and Nuremberg, who had been called to the first convention in June 1528. In a subsequent dissertation Layritius pursuing the same general idea endeavors to establish the following facts; that the second convention of Schwabach was held for the purpose of confederating the several Protestant orders of the empire, and that the object of the introduction of the seventeen Articles was the exclusion of those who did not approve of the Evangelical doctrines; he declares, moreover, that these Articles do not differ from those of Torgau, except in a few verbal alterations or modes of expression, the result, probably, of a subsequent revision. He appeals to a copy of the Articles of Schwabach in the registry at Ulm, which has this inscription: "Articles of Faith of the Elector of Saxony." In view of these facts, he declares it as his opinion that beyond all doubt Luther was the author of these Articles, since the Elector of Saxony gave the summary which they contain, to his legates to Schwabach, for they would naturally be the work of a theologian of Saxony, and of no one so probably as of Luther, without whose aid and counsel he did nothing of this kind. These very Articles, then, carefully revised, under the orders of the Elector, by Luther and the other theologians of Saxony, were transmitted to him at Torgau, previous to his departure for the Diet.

This, then, may be affirmed, if these facts be regarded as duly substantiated, that the Elector having ordered the Witten-

berg theologians to draw up a summary, Luther having revised, retouched, and improved the Articles which he had furnished for the Convention at Schwabach, presented them in their new form to the Elector of Saxony. We may draw, in some sense, a distinction, then, between the Articles of Schwabach and those of Torgau, and in answer to the question, in which of them the basis of the Augsburg Confession is to be sought? reply, that in a certain sense we look for it in those of Schwabach, which furnished the remote material, but immediately in those of Torgau. Yet this conclusion seems to be in conflict with the fact stated by Von Der Lith, who discovered in the registry of Anspach, a village near Nuremberg, what he supposed to be the true Articles of Schwabach, with the inscription: "Parochial visitation in 1528," with the addition of these words: "These doctrinal Articles were composed at Nuremberg and accepted and approved at Schwabach." In this copy the Articles are twenty-three, not seventeen in number, and in the Articles themselves there is a variation from those which are commonly called the Articles of Schwabach, from which Von Der Lith infers that they were not employed in the preparation of the Augsburg Confession. He thinks, moreover, that these Articles were written by Andrew Osiander. These conflicting opinions Zeltner endeavors, to some extent, to reconcile by the supposition that the Articles which were framed at the first Convention of Schwabach, were employed also at the subsequent one, though in some respects changed and emended, and that in this approved form they became the foundation of the Augsburg Confession. This illustrious theologian set forth this view in a particular treatise published in 1730, under the title: "A more careful examination of the way in which the Augsburg Confession originated in the so-called Articles of Schwabach."

The preparations for his journey having been completed, the Elector, John of Saxony, left Torgau on the third day of April 1530, taking with him, his son, John Frederick, Francis, Duke of Luneburg, Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, and, not to enumerate the counts, barons and other nobles, his theologians, Martin Luther, George Spalatine, Justus Jonas, Philip Melancthon and John Agricola, the last named being in the train of Albert, Count of Mansfeld. Having reached Coburg, and having remained some days, he left Luther there, lest by his presence he should exasperate his enemies and expose himself to their snares; Melancthon now began to apply himself to the preparation of the Confession. Before leaving Coburg for Augsburg he wrote among other things the *Pre-*

*face;* which he afterwards, however, improved in some respects at Augsburg, as may be gathered from some words in a letter addressed by him to Luther: "I have made the Preface of our *Apology* which I wrote at Coburg somewhat more finished in style." Some have imagined without the least reason that Melancthon wrote not "*Apology*," but "*Confession.*" Melancthon employed this term because it was their original intention to present at the Diet a document under the name of "*Apology*," using that word in its theological sense, a formal defence. Afterwards, however, the term Confession was preferred. Melancthon writes thus to Luther; "I send you our *Apology*, though it is in fact a Confession: for the emperor has no leisure to be listening to prolix disputations;" in another epistle he says: "we are daily making many changes in our *Apology.*" After he reached Augsburg, Melancthon entered on the province which had been assigned him, devoting his attention to perfecting the Confession, and having before him not only the seventeen Articles of Torgau: but other outlines of the chief points of the Evangelical doctrine. For, in addition to the Elector of Saxony, the other Evangelical princes and orders had caused formulas to be written by their theologians, which, by their permission, were consigned to Melancthon, that after a careful perusal of them, he might finish the Confession to be presented to the Diet. This fact is mentioned by Camerarius: "a number of sketches," he says, "were offered, some of them very verbose. For, every one of those who were united in this matter, had directed his theologians to draw up something. These were to be thoroughly examined by Melancthon."

Before the Confession was presented it was communicated to the other theologians, whom the princes and the legates of those who were absent had brought with them, to Justus Jonas, George Spalatin, Erh. Schnepf, Jo. Brent, Andrew Osiander, Jo. Agricola and others. In an assembly also of the orders who subscribed it, all its heads were pondered and confirmed, a fact mentioned by Erhard Schnepf in his "*confession*" on the holy supper which he put forth in 1550. "It is well known," he says, "to all who were present at that deliberation in Augsburg, in 1530, that the Confession which had just been written, before it was offered to Charles V., the Roman Emperor, was subjected to the judgement of the principal theologians, and of the Counsellors of our princes, and to the legates of the two cities, for which reason it pleased them at that time to employ only the adverb *vere* (truly) as an ambiguous one, on account of the disputes of many: since not one of those

who united in the Augsburg Confession, and were admitted to this deliberation thought with the Zwinglians. I also was present and bore a part, though for no merit of mine: which I mention lest any one should imagine that I speak from mere hearsay, and should on that account endeavor to detract from the weight of my testimony." The same fact is confirmed by the Wittenbergians in the '*Acts* of the Altenburg Colloquy.' Thus recognized and approved by the suffrages of all, the Confession was again transmitted to Luther, that if any thing yet remained which he desired to advise, he might now suggest it, at which time and on which occasion Marbach declares that he added the words to the tenth Article: "*and disapprove of those who teach otherwise*," a statement contradicted by others who declare that these words stood in the very earliest copies that were written.

From the facts we have presented, it is very clear, that those who attribute more in the authorship of this Confession to Melancthon than to Luther do so in the face of the facts. Yet there are some among the Romanists as well as among the Reformed who speak as though Luther and the other theologians had contributed little or nothing to it, and that all, or at least the principal parts, were to be ascribed to Melancthon. There are some who speak of him simply by the title, "Author of the Augsburg Confession," and call the Confession itself "the Confession of Philip Melancthon." Daniel Chamierus uses this language: "Certainly these words are in the Augsburg Confession, of which Melancthon was the author, and which was approved by Luther." Florimund Raemund says: "It was Melancthon who, at the request of certain German princes, wrote the Augsburg Confession, in which, as Sturmius declares, they desired Luther to have no hand." David Pareus says: "It is well known that Philip Melancthon was the author of the Augsburg Confession." But, although Melancthon performed the great labor in writing and imparting a finish to the Confession, he is neither to be regarded as its sole author, nor as superior in his merits in the matter, to Luther. For since the authority of the Confession is derived not from its arrangement or its style, so much as from its matter, the larger part of which was furnished by Luther, he deserves the praise as its chief author. For, in the first place, he laid its foundation in the seventeen Articles of Torgau, and afterwards, as the various heads were digested and expressed in Latin, they were committed to Luther for his judgment and to the other theologians and the princes for their opinions. Whilst to Melancthon, therefore, belongs the high honor of

having digested, arranged and written it in his elegant Latin; yet a greater than he appears in the whole transaction and acting a more important part.

Before we proceed to narrate the circumstances connected with the public recitation of the Confession, it may be well, for the sake of distinctness, to touch upon the associated facts previous to its presentation.

Augsburg, known also by the titles, Augusta Vindelicorum, and Damasia, was an imperial and episcopal city of Germany, and stands on a slight elevation between the Lech and the Wertach, surrounded with fertile plains and forests abounding in game. Into this place the Emperor Charles V. made his entrance June 15th, with every circumstance of magnificence which could mark the greatest monarch of his age. On the second day after his advent the Eucharist was to be celebrated after the rites of the church of Rome, at which, in spite of the desire and command of the Emperor, the Protestant princes refused to be present. When king Ferdinand, the brother of the Emperor, again vehemently made this demand, George, Marquis of Brandenburg, who spoke in the name of the others, placed his hand on his neck, and among other things said, "That he would rather, with knees bent before the Emperor, at once offer his neck to the executioner, than deny God and his ever sacred Gospel, and receive and approve erroneous doctrine." When these words were subsequently related to the Emperor, he replied that this was no matter to peril a man's head. Nevertheless, he desired, and again urged that they might be present at these solemnities, but the Protestants remained unshaken in their purpose, regarding this as a matter in which God was to be obeyed rather than man.

A difficulty also arose, previous to the transaction of the business of the Diet, in regard to preaching. The Protestant princes who came to Augsburg had caused the theologians who accompanied them to preach constantly. The Emperor wrote, as soon as he heard this, to Oenipont, and ordered that these sermons should be discontinued till the Diet had given its sanction to the arrangements in religious matters. Upon this the princes consulted with the theologians, and presented to the Emperor on his arrival their reasons for thinking that these sermons should be continued. But their reasons did not secure what they desired; yet, after a considerable dispute, the matter was so far compounded, that the Protestants declared that they desired to guide themselves by the Emperor's wishes, and begged him to appoint preachers to whom they

might, with clear consciences, listen, which the Emperor consented to do.

These events occurred previous to the actual business of the Diet. This commenced on the *20th of June*, when, by order of the Emperor, the Elector of Saxony, high marshal of the Empire, summoned in due form the various orders, who attended the Emperor to the Cathedral church, whither he repaired for the celebration of mass. The Elector of Saxony bore a sword before him, under advice of the the theologians, who regarded him not as participating in divine worship, but as simply performing a civil act in his official character. Vincentius Pimpinellus, the legate of the pope, then pronounced an oration elegantly written, but displaying a bitter and malevolent disposition toward those who favored the Evangelical doctrines. These solemnities having been engaged in, they repaired to the palace of the Senate of Augsburg, where Frederick, count palatine, presented, in the name of the Emperor, a summary of the matters on which the Diet was to deliberate and act, in which the two great features were the war with the Turks and the state of religion.

On the 20th day of June, the Elector of Saxony, with the most fervent prayers, committed to God the cause of the heavenly doctrines, and amongst other advice, charged his associates, after Pontanus had again read to them the imperial proposition, that they should carefully reflect on what was most proper to be done and should present their advice on the following day. When the Elector of Mentz, high Arch-chancellor of the Empire, announced that the Emperor referred it entirely to the will of the orders, whether they should commence their deliberations with the Turkish war or with the religious controversies, it was decreed by the unanimous consent, not only of the Evangelical orders, but also of the papists, that the questions concerning religion should first be discussed. This purpose they signified on the 22d of June, to which the Emperor offered no objection, but he again demanded of the Protestants that on the 24th of June they should exhibit their Confession of faith. Short as was the time allowed they could not obtain even an additional day. Yet that they might act in conformity with the will of the Emperor, they at once acquiesced, and employed all the time that remained in digesting a Confession which was recited in the presence of the Evangelical orders, whom the Elector of Saxony had convened, on the 22d of June, and was approved by them. The subscription to it seems to have been made on the same day, a point on which we shall hereafter speak more

at large; but it cannot be determined whether it was sealed at the same time. Melancthon believed that the Confession would, with more propriety, be put forth in the name of the theologians than of the princes, but his opinion did not secure general approval. On this point Camerarius[1] says: "Philip would have preferred that it should be put forth not in the name of the princes and of those associated with them, but of the teachers who are called theologians. For he judged that it was more fit that they should dispute on points of this kind, and that it would be better that the authority of power should be reserved unrestrained. But this he could not obtain, because it was thought that by the subscription of their names the action would be rendered more splendid and impressive. Other reasons, also, were assigned for the expediency of this course."

On the day prescribed, June 24th, sacred to the memory of John the Baptist, the Protestants were present, in the hope and confidence that the Confession would be publicly read. But when, through Pontanus, the demand was made, that it might be recited, the Emperor said, that the brief time, of which the greater part had been consumed in orations and other deliberations, would not allow of hearing it, and desired that it might be presented to him in writing. In consequence of this a deep solicitude was excited in the mind of the Protestant princes. They insisted that the Confession should be publicly heard, as in their view this was a matter which had an important bearing on their fortunes, their blood and their lives, nay, on the very salvation of their souls. After the Evangelical party had overcome a considerable opposition, and the Emperor had so far yielded as to appoint the next day, Saturday, for the public recitation of the Confession, he yet insisted that the copy of it should be presented to him. This demand the Protestants submissively deprecated, and finally obtained permission to retain the Confession until it had been publicly heard.[2] Whatever had as yet been done in the Diet was carefully made known to Luther by letters from John, Elector of Saxony, Justus Jonas and others, to which Luther replied, elevating and strengthening their courage and especially that of Melancthon, when, in accordance with the temperament and constitution of his mind, he had begun

[1] Joachimus Camerarius in vita Melancthonis, p. 125.

[2] See Joannem Sleidanum. Comment. de statu religion. et reipublic. Lib. vii. p. 172. Georgium Coelestinum in histor. comitior. Augustan. tom. I. p. 133. David. Chytraeum in der Historia der Augspurgischen Confession. p. 54.

to tremble.[1] It is evident, also, that the assertion of the papists, that the Augsburg Confession was written suddenly and in the greatest precipitation, is a most impudent falsehood.[2] Four months, in fact, had passed in its preparation, and every part had been drawn up with the extremest care. It is true, that if the Diet had convened on the eighth day of April, as was originally intended, every thing must have been attended to in the most hurried manner. But, by a special Providence, it happened that the Diet was put off to June, so that no time might be wanting to the princes and their theologians of carefully framing and setting forth all the heads of the Confession.[3]

Finally, by the peculiar grace of God, that day arose, to wit, June 25th, on which the Confession was to be publicly read and presented. This was done at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, not in the court of the city of Augsburg, but in an inner chamber of the bishop's palace, designed by the Emperor for his household officers. When, by order of the Emperor, King Ferdinand, and all the other electors, princes and orders of the empire had there come together, the supporters of the Confession with countenances exhibiting the readiness, courage and strength of their minds presented that noble document. They consisted of John, Elector of Saxony, with his son, John Frederick, George, Marquis of Brandenburg, Francis and Ernest, Dukes of Luneburg and Brunswick, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, and the Magistrates of the two imperial cities, Nuremberg and Reutlingen. The Elector of Saxony and his associates desired to stand during the act of presentation; but were immediately commanded by the Emperor to seat themselves. George Pontanus and Christian Baier, therefore, stepped forth, the former with the Latin, the latter with the German copy in his hand. The Emperor desired the Latin one to be read; but when the Elector observed, that as they were in Germany, he hoped that the Emperor would permit the German language to be used, he readily assented. Upon this, Baier read the German copy, in doing which nearly two hours were consumed. He recited it in so clear and sonorous a voice that it could be perfectly heard be-

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[1] These are presented by Christian Augustus Salig in the complete History of the Augsburg Confession, (in German), lib. II. Chap. 4. § 20. sqq. p. 201.

[2] This assertion is made among others by Laurentius Forrer, in dem Ueberschlag über den star-sichtigen Aug-Apffels. p. 196.

[3] This is demonstrated in opposition to the papists by many facts in Jo. Schmid's Dissert. de August. Confessionis nomine, occasione, auctoribus, oblatione. acceptatione, § xxviii. p. 54. and in der Haupt-Vertheidung des Aug. apffels Cap. ix. p. 55.

yond the dining room and in the lower court of the Episcopal palace.[1] In regard to this matter Spalatine[2] says: "When the Emperor had deprived our poor preachers of the right of preaching, the Elector of Saxony was in such a frame of mind and spirit, that, in the very largest assemblage of princes and bishops, who in their whole lives had never heard the word of God in purity, he performed, in a manner, the functions of a preacher," by means of that glorious Confession to the presentation of which he had so greatly contributed.

Such was the ardor of Pontanus, that in the presence of the Emperor and the nobles of the empire he exclaimed: "If the divine grace cöoperate and God sustains his own cause, this Confession shall prevail against the very gates of hell."[3] It was manifest from the movements of some of the princes that they impatiently waited for the end of the reading, but the Emperor himself, King Ferdinand, and some of the bishops paid close attention to the Confession. When the Confession had been read, Christopher Stadion, bishop of Augsburg, said: "The things that have been read are pure truth, nothing but truth, we cannot deny them." At this reading neither Melancthon nor any one of our theologians was present.

After the Protestants had returned thanks to the Emperor for the permission publicly to read their Confession, Pontanus was about to hand both the German and Latin copy to Alexander Schweiss, private Secretary of Charles V.; but the Emperor received them with his own hand, and delivered the German copy to the Elector of Mentz, Chancellor of the empire, to be preserved in the imperial Registry, the Latin one he retained. The Emperor then benignly dismissed the assembly with an assurance that he would give to a matter encompassed with so many difficulties, a thorough examination, and would make known the conclusion to which he might come.

The translation from the Latin into the German had been made by Justus Jonas. The persons who subscribed each copy with their own hand, were John, Duke and Elector of Saxony, George, Marquis of Brandenburg, Ernest, Duke of Luneburg, Philip, Land-grave of Hesse, Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, and, in addition, the cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen. There are copies of the Confession in which the

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[1] See Vitum Ludovicum a Seckendorf in Historia Lutheranismi, lib. ii. Sect. 29. § 65. p. 170.

[2] In vitis aliquot electorum et ducum Saxoniæ.

[3] Seckendorf thinks it more probable that these words were uttered towards the close of the Diet.

names of two other princes are inserted before those of the cities, John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, and Francis, Duke of Luneburg; but Müller has shown that these princes did not subscribe their names. Shortly after, the names of four other cities were added to those of Nuremberg and Reutlingen; these were Weissenberg, Heilbrun, Kempten and Winsheim, whose embassadors were consequently recognized and permitted to take part in the proceedings of the Diet which had reference to religion.

The German copy of the Confession was placed in the archives of Mentz, and the Latin copy was finally deposited by the Emperor in the registry at Brussels; the ultimate fate of both copies is now disputed, some uncertainty resting on the question whether they still remain in the places of their original deposit. It is certain that when the Formula Concordiæ was issued, (1580) the copy deposited at Mentz still remained and was carefully collated with those in the possession of the Protestant states and princes, as they expressly tell us in the Preface of the Concordia. It is not easy to believe that it was afterwards taken away. Yet to this opinion, which is the one generally received, seems to be opposed what is stated by the illustrious Pfaff, that the authentic German and Latin copies are no longer to be found in the archives of Mentz and Brussels; though when he was searching for these copies he was informed by those whose word could be relied on, that they knew nothing of this kind, except a German copy embraced in the Imperial Protocol for 1530. This copy was examined by Pfaff, at Mentz. He adds that it seems highly probable that the originals are no longer to be found, when we remember the various injuries to which the Archives at Brussels were exposed in time of war, and that the larger part had been transferred to Antwerp and the islands; that the original had been so often lent, and that the Archives of Mentz had, in time of war, been removed to another place.[1]

When the Confession had been publicly read and presented, many began to entertain a more favorable judgment in regard to the features of our doctrines; but its adversaries at once began to turn their thoughts to the discovery of the best means of alienating the mind of the Emperor completely from the Protestants and of extirpating our holy faith. They immediately drew up a refutation of the Confession, which, though

[1] See Walchii Introd. in Libros Symb. p. 178. Buddei Isagoge, Lib. II. Cap. 2. § 7. p. 427. and Hase Prolegomena, § 2.

publicly recited and approved by the Emperor, was not able to accomplish any thing against the cause of God and of truth.

After the Confession had been publicly read and presented, many of the great lords of the Empire, who had given close attention, felt the power of truth, and ceased to entertain the harsh opinions with which they had been prepossessed. We are told that the Emperor himself said, "the Protestants do not err in the articles of faith;" and afterwards, "if the priests had done their duty, there would have been no need of Master Luther." This much is certain, that although previous to the reading of the Confession he had exhibited great moderation in the matter, yet after hearing it he became still more gracious—appeared to incline more and more to the Protestant side, and intimated, in no obscure manner, his favorable feeling toward John, Elector of Saxony. Other princes acted in the same way, of which, among other proofs, we have a letter of Luther to Hausmann, in which he writes: "Mentz is said to be extremely pacific. Duke Henry of Brunswick, who gave Philip a sociable invitation to supper, declared, that he could not deny the Articles on the reception of the Lord's Supper in both kinds, on the marriage of priests, and on the indifference of meats. They say that nothing could go beyond the mildness of our Emperor throughout the whole Diet. So the thing begins. The Emperor treats our prince not only kindly, but almost reverently. So Philip writes: 'I should not wonder, as every one seems to be full of an enthusiastic affection for the Emperor, if God please, that as the first Caesar was the worst, this last one should prove the best.'"

But the enemies of a pure faith employed every means which hate and cunning could suggest to alienate the mind of the Emperor from the truth, and with such success that in the Diet, at least, the Emperor began to favor the cause of the papists. Various were the views and plans suggested as to the course proper in this emergency. Some thought that the Edict of Worms should be enforced, by putting the Lutherans to the sword; others, inclining to milder measures, thought the Confession should be put into the hands of good and able men who had not taken sides with either party, that they might express a judgment upon it; others, in fine, desired that a confutation of the Confession might be drawn up, and that the whole matter should be left to the judgement and will of the Emperor, that by his command every thing might be restored to its former position, till a legitimate adjudication of all the points in controversy might take place in a general council. On this matter Melancthon wrote thus to Luther:

"Our Confession having been set forth, resolutions of three kinds were suggested in the body of the princes. The first was most atrocious: that the Emperor should simply compel all the princes and their people to conform to the Edict of Worms. The second was milder, that our Confession should be committed to good, learned, and impartial men, and that the Emperor should afterwards pronounce sentence. This was introduced by king Ferdinand. The third now appears likely to prevail, that a confutation of our Confession should be recited to us."

This last opinion did, in fact, secure the approval of a majority of the Diet, on discovering which, John, Elector of Saxony, wrote to Luther and enquired, whether, and to what extent, the question of religion might be submitted to the Emperor. Luther replied, that the Elector could say, that he admitted and desired to receive the judgement of the Emperor on every point connected with this matter, provided he determined nothing contrary to the word of God.

It was determined, therefore, that the papal theologians should examine our Confession and prepare a reply to it. Those who took part in this confutation were most bitter enemies to Luther. The most prominent among them incited by munificent rewards, and urged on by the legate and the other papal nuncios, by Pimpinellus and Peter Paul Verger, exerted themselves to the utmost in writing this confutation. There were nineteen or twenty of them in all. The most eminent among them were Jo. Faber, who is said to have been the composer, J. Eck, Jo. Cochlaeus, Conrad Wimpina, Arnold de Vesalia, Jo. Mensing, and others. Whilst these theologians were engaged in their work, and, doubtless, at their suggestion, the Emperor ordered the question to be put to the Elector of Saxony and his associates: whether the Articles of the Confession contained all their views, or whether they wished to propose more? This question, after consultation with the legates of the cities, they looked upon as insidious, and replied, that, although they were aware of more abuses both in doctrine and discipline, they had yet thought that to set them forth more fully, would not be in keeping with the desire, expressed by the Emperor in calling the Diet, that mutual love and forbearance should be exhibited; that hence, also, they desired to make no additions, since in the summary of their doctrine they had sufficiently shown how far they were removed from those most important errors with which they were reproached by their enemies.

The confutation was at length drawn up; but as it was extended to an immoderate length, and was full of reproaches, they were ordered to abridge it, and to exhibit more moderation, in order that no new matter might be furnished to embitter the opposing parties. Though this order was not relished by them, they were compelled to obey and give to their confutation a new form. After six weeks had thus passed, it was presented, and by command of the Emperor read in the German language, by Alexander Schweiss, in the same conclave in which our Confession had been presented. After the reading had been finished, it was announced by Count Frederick, Elector Palatine, and the associated princes, that the Emperor entirely approved of this confutation, and desired that the Protestants should give their assent and support to the doctrine contained in it. The Protestants begged the Emperor for a copy of this writing, a petition with which he professed to be willing to comply, if they would promise neither to refute it, nor to put forth any thing on the subject; a condition which they felt themselves compelled to reject. There is a difference of opinion as to the reasons which induced the Emperor to deny this request. Sleidan says: "On the second day, the Emperor, after considerable deliberation, said that he would give it to them, but on this condition, that no part of it should be divulged or printed: that he was unwilling to allow any more disputing, and wished them to come over to his views; they signified that on such conditions they could not receive it." Spalatine says: "God doth his own work best, and our enemies were so confounded by our Confession, that six weeks passed before they brought forth their answer, to which it would be hard to give a name: certainly it was filled with the merest trash, so that when they were besought most earnestly to give to our side a copy of it they were ashamed to do so."

During the reading, however, of the confutation, our theologians had taken notes of the most important points, so that Melancthon had all that was necessary in the preparation of the "Apology for the Augsburg Confession," in which he explains and defends in so masterly a manner the great symbol of our church.

The confutation by the papists was first made public in the year 1573, by Andrew Fabricius, in his "Harmonia Confessionis Augustanæ," &c. It forms also a part of the Prolegomena to Hase's edition of the "Libri Symbolici." It is only necessary to read this production to be satisfied how empty and pointless were the arguments with which it was attempted to overthrow our doctrine. Yet though their attack was so desti-

tute of real force, they claimed the victory over a Confession resting on the unshakable foundation of God's word. Previous to the appearance of this confutation, various writings, in which Luther and his doctrines were attacked, had been exhibited to the Emperor, among which are the following: "Brief answer to each head of the Confession of the Protestant princes, written privately at Augsburg, by Arnold of Weselia, and John Cohlaeus, conjointly." "Antilogiarum, that is, Babel of Contradictions in Martin Luther, taken from the writings of that Apostate, by D. Jo. Faber:" "Heresies and Errors, collected together from various books of M. Luther:" "Monstrous Sects sprung from Luther and the Lutherans," and various others, principally composed by John Cochlaeus.[1]

When the confutation by the papists had been presented, various deliberations on the mode of settling the religious difficulties took place, all of which proved to be vain. The Emperor employed various methods of reconciling the conflicting views and parties. Among other plans seven men were chosen on each side, who were to settle on a mode of union. On the side of the papal party were Christopher von Stadion, Bishop of Augsburg, Henry of Brunswick, in whose place (after he had left as legate from the Emperor to the Landgrave) George, duke of Saxony, was put: from the lawyers were selected the Chancellors Bernard Hagen, of Cologne, and Jerome Vehus, of Baden, whose work it was to offer propositions; on the part of the theologians appeared Jo. Eck, Conrad Wimpina, and Jo. Cochlaeus. On the Protestant side the pacificators were George, Marquis of Brandenburg, John Frederick, duke of Saxony, son of the Elector, Gregory Pontanus, and Sebastian Heller; from the theologians, Melancthon, John Brent, and Erhard Schnepf. The disputes between the parties were protracted, and though there were points in which they seemed to agree, they appeared to make no approach to the end at which they were aiming. In the hope of facilitating that concord for which they were striving, they reduced the number on each side to three. On the part of the Romish church were John Eck and the Chancellors of Baden and Cologne, whom we have mentioned; on our behalf, Pontanus, Heller and Melancthon. The result was what every man of experience might have expected. The time was consumed in empty disputations which brought them no nearer the conclusion, which they fondly hoped might be reached. Such extrava-

[1] Walchii Introductio, p. 178—183. Seckendorf Historia Lutheranismi, Lib. II. p. 173. Hase.

gant concessions were demanded on the part of the Romanists that it was impossible for the representatives of our church for a moment to entertain them. Whilst this fruitless effort was progressing the Elector of Saxony was making preparations for his departure, and begged of the Emperor permission to leave. It was at once intimated to him that his intention was not regarded with favor by Charles. The Emperor intimated his desire that the Elector should remain until the Diet was brought to a close, and although he pointed out very strong reasons why he could not comply with Charles' wish, he was still strongly urged to delay his departure at least for several days. A decree was finally put forth by the Emperor, in which he commanded the Protestants to acquiesce in the pontifical confutation. Against this most unjust and absurd demand, it is hardly necessary to say, they presented an unflinching determination to maintain the great truths of the Gospel they had confessed. In the consultation on the composition of this decree, the Electors of Mentz and Brandenburg, the Bishops of Saltzburg, Spire and Strasburg, and Dukes George of Saxony, William of Bavaria, and Henry of Brunswick, were selected to take part. It was made public, September 22nd, about dusk, at the lodgings of the Emperor. The following is a summary of its contents: "That the Elector of Saxony and his associates in doctrine had exhibited their Confession, which was afterwards confuted by evidence of Holy Writ; that subsequently, with great difficulty, they were led to renounce some of their doctrines. In order that they might discover how earnest was the desire of the Emperor to promote concord, and how unwilling he was, rashly to do any thing which might preclude the hope of bringing it about, he had determined to exercise his royal benignity in granting them to the fifteenth day of April an opportunity for deliberation, in the hope that on mature reflection they would be led to embrace the rest of the doctrines received by the Pope, the Emperor himself, and the whole christian world." Having maturely deliberated on this decree, the Elector of Saxony and his associates, made another answer through Gregory Pontanus, that they utterly denied that their Confession had been refuted by the papists from the Holy Scriptures, and although they had been unable to obtain a copy of the confutation, they had yet prepared an answer to such parts as were remembered and noted down during the reading. They begged that they might be allowed to present their Apology. The Emperor received it; but immediately, at the instigation of king Ferdinand, returned it. The decree was repeated when the Recess was

published, November the nineteenth; the Elector of Saxony had left, September the twenty-third, and reached Torgau October eleventh.

The history of the Apology for the Confession would here naturally be introduced, and may, at some future period, be honored with a place on the pages of our Review.

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## ARTICLE V.

### EARNESTNESS IN THE PREACHER.

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The interest manifested in the study of Pulpit Eloquence of late years must be gratifying to every friend of an effective ministry. The gratification arises not simply from the fact that Pulpit Eloquence is made a subject of study, and that in almost all theological institutions, the means are provided for its cultivation, and that it holds a prominent place in their courses of study; but also from this other fact, that its true character seems to be, in so large a degree, understood and acknowledged—that on the one hand it is no longer necessary for its friends to defend their pursuit of it from the attacks of ignorance and fanaticism, and on the other, they are guarded against allowing it to dwindle into a mere artificialness, or to be admitted as a substitute for sound piety. It has come to be better understood, that true Eloquence has near affinity to true Piety—that art is born of Nature—that the highest measure of the christian may also be the highest measure of the eloquent speaker. The relation between the heart and the lips, between the inner spirit and the outward expression, is carefully regarded; and good men need no longer fear that in studying the art of oratory our young candidates for the sacred office may be diverted from the study of personal piety. It is no longer an undecided point that that preaching which is most strictly according to the rules of Rhetoric, and the art of the orator, may also be most truly in the demonstration of the spirit and of power.—And yet, doubtless, there is need that these admitted principles should be kept before the mind. Our security lies in this, that they are exhibited and defended. Those who are appointed to teach in this department are rightly expected to keep them closely and clearly before the minds of their pupils; while all who have had experience in

the ministerial work, and who intelligently love the cause of the Redeemer, may freely give their suggestions, and utter their admonitions, in connection with them. However correct may be the general sentiment and the admitted principles on this subject, there are probably some points not so fully regarded as they deserve to be; and others whose frequent consideration must be attended with good results. It is the design of the present article simply to throw out a few remarks, perhaps somewhat miscellaneous in their character, yet intended to bear upon the importance of *earnestness* as a characteristic of Pulpit Eloquence.

The great aim of the christian preacher obviously should be the religious improvement of his hearers: their improvement in all that pertains to the religious life. His department of eloquence differs from all others in this; that the results which he aims to produce affect man's highest interests, even his everlasting welfare. He seeks the salvation of the souls of his hearers; while, at the same time, he proposes to them, and urges upon their adoption the means of attaining to the best condition of life on earth. His province is not simply to instruct, or convince, or amuse. His purpose is not accomplished when he has placed important truths before the mind, and convinced the intellect with powerful argument. True eloquence, in no department, stops at this—certainly not the eloquence of the preacher. He fails of a right estimate of his work, if he views man simply as an intellectual being. Man's will is to be persuaded. His heart is to be reached, and to be pervaded with the great, living truths which the preacher has committed to his trust. He must be viewed by the preacher as he is, a being of feeling as well as thought, of affection *and* intellect; susceptible of varied emotions, sensitive to manifold influences. And the preacher, thus viewing man, must adapt his discourse to his nature, and endeavor to gain him over to the love and the practice of the principles which he preaches, by addressing his whole being, and not simply any one part of it. Religion is both a principle and a sentiment. Principles may be grasped and retained by the intellect; but a sentiment is born of the heart, and lives only by the nurture which the heart affords. Hence there must be not simply a communication between the preacher's *intellect* and that of his hearers, but there must also be a sympaihy between their hearts; there must be an interchange of feeling, more mysterious even in its passage than the flight of thought on the mystic wire that almost annihilates space, yet distinct and powerful. He summons to his aid all that belongs to man.

Intellect, imagination, fancy, feeling, taste, all are made to act and bear their part. His own soul fired with his theme, combines in glowing thoughts and burning words the riches of these various portions of man's compound nature, and so pours its full tide of thought and feeling on his hearers' souls that they melt before it, and yield and embrace the truth. Now this is Eloquence in the highest form. This should be the Eloquence of the Pulpit.—Prose and Poetry in a glorious combination: Philosophy baptized in feeling—all of Prose that instructs, all of Poetry that charms, and moves, and wins.[1] And this, too, while it is the highest form of Eloquence, and may be made an object of severe study, will also be found to be most simple and natural. "The sermon must be written," says Schott, "in the spirit of the Bible, and this is the spirit of Eloquence; in the style of the Bible, also, so far as this style is congruous with our character and circumstances, and this is the style of Eloquence; not indeed of scholastic, artificial, labored, but of simple, natural, artless, and so much the more effective Eloquence."

Now this leads us to the remark, that while there is a peculiarity in the *aim* of the preacher, distinguishing his work from that of all other orators, there is a corresponding peculiarity in the *truths* by the presenting of which his object is to be attained. The *persons* on whom he is to produce effect are the same as those addressed by the scientific lecturer or the popular speaker; and yet they possess a character in the eye of the preacher which is entirely overlooked by the others. He views them as immortal beings, whose everlasting condition is made dependent on their adoption or rejection of the truths and duties which he proclaims. To him they are not merely men: beings of intellect, and emotion, and will, citizens of this world only, but they are also beings destined to live forever. But more than this: they are sinful beings, in whose moral nature a change must be produced ere they finish this mortal existence, or their future destiny will be eternal misery. And they are sinful beings holding a peculiar relation to their Sovereign and Holy God, whose minister he is, and by whose authority he speaks. Now, it will not avail to preach to such men, for the purpose of effecting such a change, ordinary scientific, or moral truth. It will not suffice to convince their understanding of the evil of sin, nor to win their admiration of the love-

[1] The reader is referred to the valuable and interesting remarks of Schott as given by Prof. Park, in the Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. II. page 42.

liness of virtue. The difficulty in their case is not to be met by any of the truths which science furnishes: the object desired is not to be accomplished by any of the appliances of merely human art. The peculiarity of the thing to be done demands a peculiarity in the means of doing it; and these means are provided. Laying out of view, now, the superadded influences of the Holy Ghost, the means by which the pulpit orator is to effect his purpose, are *the truths of Christianity.* There, in them, is his treasury of facts and principles with which to construct and enrich his discourse. There is his armory, whence to derive the weapons with which to batter down the opposing wall of sin, and gain admittance to the hearts of men. Thence must come the thought which will form the prose element of his discourse, and the spirit which will be its poetry; and the two combining will constitute the christian eloquence which alone is worthy of the pulpit. Familiar as the thought is, it cannot be too much dwelt upon, that *that* only is christian eloquence, which sets forth in a christian spirit the great distinctive teaching of the christian system. Nothing else can effect the purpose for which the preaching of the christian ministry has been established, the salvation of men by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. If the sermon have caught no coloring from the rainbow radiance of the atonement, it is not worthy of the name of a sermon. Pulpit Eloquence "must consist in the preaching of christian truth, especially in unfolding the influences of Christ's atonement. It is not *pulpit eloquence* if it be employed on mere philosophy, or ethics, or any theme which is not distinctively connected with evangelical doctrine."

But it is not enough that the preacher have a correct view of his peculiar object, and acquaintance with the means by which it is to be attained. There is yet another particular, essential to his success, and though not so peculiar to his calling as these other two, yet attaching to him in a peculiar degree. It is revealed in the well known maxim, *pectus est quod disertum facit.* The heart is the source of eloquence. The point at which the preacher aims is the heart. Now it may safely be adopted as a general truth that the heart is only to be reached by that which comes from the heart. It is indeed true that feeling not based on some degree of knowledge may be delusive and vain, and that properly to move the heart it must be approached through the intellect. But that which goes through the intellect must not be cold, abstract, independent truth; it must be vital with the heart's emotion. It must be a heart's voice speaking to a heart. The intellect may

grasp and admire cold truth; but the heart cannot take it lovingly to itself unless it be clothed in some of the forms whose home is in the heart. The skeleton of the human frame in all its nakedness may attract the gaze and engage the study of the mind wrapt in admiring examination of its wonderful structure; but it is only when flesh hides the bones, and the glow of life is on the cheek, and the eye sparkles with emotion, that the heart goes forth to embrace and love a kindred being. And here come back upon us the thoughts at which we have briefly delayed, concerning the true constituents of Eloquence, and the difference between it and mere ordinary Prose. Eloquence aims not merely to instruct, but also to move, and to persuade. It ought, of course, always to be instructive—that is, to communicate thought as well as feeling. But its communication of thought should always be for the purpose of producing feeling and persuasion—and should always be made with feeling, under the influence of emotion, and so far as may be, with an awakened imagination. And, such being the case, how is he prepared effectually to wield the peculiar weapons of the pulpit orator whose heart is not itself alive with the truths which he preaches? How can he hope to persuade men to repent, and believe, and follow after godliness, and to rejoice in Christ Jesus, to bear the cross gladly, and to look forward hopefully, whose communion with the audience is a mere communion of the mind?—from whose heart no streams of sympathy, of love for the things he preaches, and love for the Savior whose minister he is, and love for the souls to whom he professes to minister, flow into the thoughts and words he utters, making them saving, christian thoughts and words? Nay, what right has he to profess to minister to *souls*, if he overlooks this important fact in human nature, and is simply didactic where he should be eloquent? The preacher is not simply a teacher, and Eloquence is not mere didactic Philosophy. And there must be, in order to reach the highest eloquence and its greatest success, the feeling, the conviction among the hearers, not wrought out by argument but produced by what their own eyes see, their own ears hear, and their own hearts feel, that what the speaker utters is thus pervaded by his own deep feeling. If he has this feeling it will appear. And it must appear, else well may the taunt be flung back upon him by an unmoved audience, "Physician, heal thyself." It can scarcely be necessary here to guard ourselves against the imputation of encouraging mere rant, or idle declamation, or the unmeaning though glowing exhortations of fanaticism. We have already affirmed that

thought is an essential material of Eloquence, that the reason should be employed, that knowledge should be imparted, and men be made to think as well as feel. And it is because we deem the union of the two not only entirely compatible, but even essential to successful pulpit eloquence, and believe that there is some danger of overlooking the one as less important than the other, or as so much a matter of course as not to demand special attention, that we here dwell upon it.

We have thus before us the peculiar aim of the christian preacher, the peculiar means by which it is to be reached, and the source of true sacred eloquence. His aim must ever be to bring the hearts of his hearers into conformity with the doctrines and spirit of christianity; the truths which he preaches are to be drawn from the word of God, and to be pervaded by its spirit; his eloquence is to spring from a heart in which those truths exert their proper influence. In other words, truly pious, with a heart full of love towards God and benevolence towards his fellow men, he is to preach to them the pure Gospel of Christ.

Now we believe that from this position alone we have a right view of the relations of the art of Rhetoric to the work of the ministry, and are led to right views as to style and manner of address. Art is nothing save as it springs from a living force, and is itself controlled and vitalized by that force. Art as a mere mechanism, or mechanical operation, is lifeless. The paintings which have given an undying name to those who have produced them, have attracted the gaze and won the admiration of the world, not simply as the products of the pencil and the coloring skilfully employed; but the individuality of the artist is linked with them. This art is a living power. It is genius acting—it is thought, and feeling, and skill, wrought into a permanent, living form. Just so it is in Eloquence. All true Rhetoric springs from nature. All art of Rhetoric, though in the right sense of art, noble and powerful, yet as mere outward art, as mere acting distinguished from activity, is comparatively ineffectual; certainly never reaches to true eloquence. That, as we have seen, demands an inner life, infusing itself into the art, and making it a true action of the man. And for sacred eloquence there must be a sacred life in the soul, inspiring all the forms of art; or, as Theremin says, "the inner life of faith is the only source of sacred eloquence." Let now the speaker be furnished with all the rules of Rhetoric, and the fullest acquaintance with the art; let him be skilled in the choosing of texts, and in their explication, in the arranging of his discourse, its partition, its

logical array of argument, the right form of its conclusion; and even let him have thoughts with which to give it a body; still, if there be not in his soul this inner life which may flow forth into this body, his sermon falls short of what a sermon ought to be, and he fails to accomplish the end of the ministry. He may philosophize, he may instruct, but he does not preach. Nay, we insist upon it, that where this life of faith and love is wanting, the preacher will not have a right view even of the Rhetorical art, of the proper mode of adjusting his discourse so as most surely to accomplish the design of the pulpit. But where the right state of heart exists the highest art becomes the most efficient. Into what, else, were lifeless forms, or the mere framework of the intellect, flows a fullness of feeling which makes them eloquent and gives them power over the soul. We would far rather look to him to perform the work of sacred eloquence, who had no training in dialectics or in Rhetoric, but whose heart was animated with right religious feelings, than to him most accomplished in the training of the schools, but whose heart was a stranger to vital piety. But at the same time, we hold that he who unites with the most perfect knowledge and practice of Rhetoric, the highest measure of the religious life, will attain to the highest degree of sacred eloquence.

And so we may obtain a right view of the *style* of the pulpit. What language shall the preacher, thus inspired with a proper spirit, use in addressing his fellow men? If we were to reply briefly, *the language of the heart*, we should indeed give a comprehensive answer, but one that might not be deemed sufficiently explicit. Yet this would suggest that his style should possess the great characteristic of naturalness, far removed from all that is turgid, and pedantic, and affected. The general characteristic of good style should characterize the style of the pulpit, and that should especially possess simplicity, and seriousness, and strength. It is a mistake to suppose that in discourses from the pulpit the speaker should employ language different from that which he would use on any other serious and dignified subject. His theme and his object may add to the seriousness, and solemnity, and earnestness of his manner; some expressions peculiar to themselves they will demand; but in general, his style should be the good style of common life, such language as one speaking correctly would use on any subject in which he is deeply interested. From a want of a correct view on this point many preachers fail to render their discourses as effective as they should be. They seem to think that because the minister is

the embassador of God he must not speak the language of earth, and instead of couching their messages in terms level to common comprehension, and employing both language and illustrations that will "come home to men's business and bosoms," they adopt a style made up of religious technicalties and cant expressions, or else abstruse and learned, and at a far remove from the ordinary walks of life. Others again deal in exaggerations, and a species of rant, extravagancies bordering at times on falsehood, at least producing misrepresentation. These latter are fond of talking of the joys of conversion, of the pleasures of religion, of the vanity of earthly things, of the glories of heaven, and they are equally sweeping and void of discrimination in their descriptions of one as of another. They seem never to look at both sides of a subject, and not to make allowances, but dash blindly and furiously along, thinking to ride down all who oppose them. And the consequence is that they are unintelligible to the common mind, or produce in their hearers an ignorant excitement, an extasy of feeling, without solid foundation, or the intelligent irreligious portion of those who hear them are disgusted by them. Their style is not the natural style of the pulpit; not the heart utterance of men who understand their subjects, and rightly appreciate the importance of uttering them properly. Some others construct their sermons with all the elaborate polish of a most finished statue; and when constructed they stand like the chiseled marble exquisitely beautiful, but cold, exciting admiration, but not imparting life. Their figures are all exquisite, but highly wrought, complete pictures rather than metaphors, ornaments rather than illustrations, offspring of the intellect rather than the heart. Their sermons are instructive, at least pleasing essays. They may be read with interest, perhaps with profit. But they fail to accomplish the great end of preaching.

It is especially demanded of the Eloquence of the Pulpit that it be *popular* in its character. It is eminently an address to the people, on subjects in which they are deeply concerned; and it must be of such a nature as to reach and affect them. But what are the elements of Popular Preaching? The expression has been much abused, but it has a legitimate meaning of high value. And a little examination of the preaching of those who have exerted the greatest real influence over the minds of the people, will show us that it possessed these characteristics: The style was simple — the language as nearly as possible vernacular, often idiomatic; the illustrations drawn from familiar objects, arising naturally and not forced;

ornament, simply as ornament, being seldom, if at all employed. It abounded in terse expressions, in much directness, and in the use of interrogations. It was not abstruse; its aim was evidently something out of itself, and the audience all perceived that there was earnestness in the speaker. It had regard to the compound nature of men, and appealed to them as beings of thought, and imagination, and feeling, and will. Such speakers may say many brilliant and beautiful things, for which they gain applause, but they say them not simply because they are brilliant and beautiful, but because they have flashed upon their animated thought, and served to present their subject more clearly and strongly; and the applause which they produce is not their only effect; for they bear in upon the soul the claims of truth, and gain influence for it there. If we were asked for examples of this style we might point, perhaps, to Demosthenes, and Luther, and Latimer and Baxter, each different from the other, yet each possessing and employing those elements of address by which control is gained over the popular mind. Let it be remembered that the popular mind is to be spoken *to*, not spoken *at*. The truth must come to it clearly pointedly, not in disguise, specific, and direct; not in mere generalities, not in abstractions, but with a living force, in such a manner as to present an actuality, a real thing in which men are interested. And this is true of all audiences, even the most intelligent. They demand of the preacher, preaching, not amusement nor philosophy. At least such is the demand of their consciences, though their wicked hearts may be pleased with those pulpit performances which do not disturb, which awaken no uneasy feelings, but lull them to repose in their sins. Indeed the majority of men will admit that it is better that a man should be awkward, unpolished in style and manner, provided he be truthful and direct, and preaching from the heart, than that he should be ever so well trained and learned, yet indirect and cold. Says one alluding to the former class: "If I were to choose the speaker under whose instruction I should prefer to sit year after year, it would be one of these men. They subdue me — they lead me captive — they make me weep, they make me glad as no other men do. I remember their wise, beautiful, eloquent sentiments as I should the words of an oracle." And so we all feel — we want the heart of the speaker to speak to our hearts, and we want him to speak in the natural style of an earnest heart. The stately and formal style of some, or the abstruse and learned style of others, or the extremely ornate and elaborate style of others, or the pretty style of others,

is not adapted for popular effect — for that kind of efficiency we mean, which is productive of valuable results. Either of these may perhaps win a kind of applause. The vulgar mind is sometimes dazzled by a display of learning, mistaking the swamp-fire blaze of a corrupt taste for the flashes of true greatness — being fond, as South says, "of high flown metaphors and allegories, attended and set off with scraps of Greek and Latin, though not able to read even so much of the latter as might save their necks upon occasion." Yet even this admiration tires at length, and these things do not affect the judgment and the heart; they produce not the great end of preaching, the bringing of men into conformity with the will of God. We hold, then, that a dignified simplicity is the proper characteristic, the style of the pulpit, entirely in accordance with its object and its themes. And by simplicity we, of course, do not mean tameness. Let the language be as energetic as possible, let it be laden with thought, and all on fire with emotion, still it may be simple. Nor do we mean vulgarity. Approach it may to the use of colloquial expressions, but those expressions must be such only as could be admitted in dignified and earnest conversation. Nor do we mean that it should necessarily avoid ornament. It need not be plain in the sense of homely, though better so than the contrary: but it cannot be the language of animated thought and deep feeling, without employing metaphors and illustrations, without enlisting in its service the imagination as well as the intellect. It demands "that thoughts worth hearing be expressed in language that every one can understand."

But there is still a characteristic of Pulpit Eloquence of which we would speak, and to which we regard all that has been said as having a direct reference. For the work of the pulpit orator is evidently to *speak* to the people, and all that belongs to the materials, and spirit and style of his address, must be regarded, as prepared with reference to its effective delivery to the people. Between the composition and delivery, between the style and the speaking, there is a close relation — and to be rightly spoken, the discourse must be rightly composed — whether that composition be with previous deliberate study and use of the pen, or at the time of speaking. And if we were to attempt briefly to describe what should peculiarly characterize the delivery of the pulpit, we would say, it should be a *serious earnestness*. And were we called on to lay down one brief principle for the guidance of the preacher, it would be this, *be in earnest*. Of course, we do not mean blindly, ignorantly, but intelligently in earnest — a

*serious* earnestness in distinction from all that is boisterous or fanatical, or theatrical. We have no sympathy with those who would make the pulpit so solemn as to repress all animation, and cause preaching to be so *dignified* as not to be eloquent. There can be no real eloquence without earnestness or feeling, and that earnestness must communicate itself to the manner, the look, the gesture, the tones of the voice. It is a great mistake, and yet a mistake which not a few commit, unduly to repress feeling in the pulpit. It is a great mistake to be afraid there to give utterance to the heart's emotion. Where, if not in the pulpit, shall a speaker be in earnest? Who shall feel, and throw the utmost depth of feeling into his utterance, if not he who is beseeching perishing men to escape from ruin by taking refuge in Christ the Savior? We are often amazed at the perfect calmness, the want of animation, which some preachers manifest when speaking on the most moving of all themes. On any petty matter pertaining to this world, warmth and animation may be manifested, yet we have heard men let those most pregnant words which the Gospel teaches, those mighty, soul-affecting truths which it contains, fall from their lips as tranquilly as if they had no peculiar pertinence. How can men talk of heaven, and hell, of the eternal misery which some who are listening to them at the moment may have to endure, of the dominion of Sin, of the beauty of Holiness, of Jesus, his sufferings, his atonement — how can they talk of these things lifelessly? How can the minister of Christ stand before a company of perishing sinners, and be unmoved? We are ready to make all allowance for differences of temperament, and to admit that there is often deep conviction and true emotion under a calm exterior: but how coldness in the preacher is compatible with deep piety we cannot understand.

> "Is it not monstrous, that this player here,
> But in a fiction, in a dream of passion,
> Could force his soul so to his own conceit,
> That from her working all her visage wanned,
> Tears in his eyes, distraction in 's aspect,
> With broken voice, and his whole function suiting
> With forms to his conceit? And all for nothing!
> What would he do,
> Had he the motive and the cue for passion
> That I have?"

Well may the preacher of the Gospel put these questions to himself, and cast far from him all stoicism, all frigid calmness, and let his soul be possessed with great truths, and let a burning fire within send out its flaming streams upon the souls of his hearers. "Now, then, we are ambassadors for Christ; as

though God did beseech you by us, we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." And do men *beseech* with coldness? Do they *pray*, *entreat*, without emotion? Do men speak with calm, unexcited utterance who see heaven and hell before them? And, oh! with what swelling heart, and trembling lips, shall the christian minister enforce his prayer to sinners to be reconciled to God, by the reason: "For He hath made Him to be sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him." With what earnestness of soul shall he cry aloud, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world."

And to refer again to the example of Demosthenes,—how ludicrous and absurd appears to us the very supposition of the great Athenian uttering in unimpassioned tones, and without action, those orations of his in which the "firmly linked chain of thought glows with the most living fire of emotion:" of his being cold, or unmoved, or quiet, when those words fell from his lips which made the hearts of the multitude gush out in one spontaneous shout of patriotic resolution. And had Luther thus with formal dignity and unkindling soul, poured forth his thoughts and desires, his discoveries and arguments, how could it ever have been said of him, "He grasped the iron trumpet of his mother tongue, the good old Saxon, the language of noble thought and high resolve, and he blew a blast that shook the nations from Rome to the Orkneys." And had such been Baxter's way, who could have said of him that "he spake as a dying man to dying men." Nay, these all were earnest men—and in their earnestness, doubtless, lay the grand measure of their power.

And so, we repeat the idea, earnestness in the preacher is of prime importance. He cannot be eloquent without it. He cannot do a preacher's work without it. And though this alone does not constitute eloquence, yet it will atone for many defects; while the want of it will always be felt as a most serious deficiency. Of course the earnestness of which we speak is not rant, nor boisterous declamation. It must be serious. It must be under the control of good sense and good taste. It will prompt to the use of right means. It will not cast away thought, and forget man's intellectual part; but it will work with thought, and pour its fire upon the intellect. It will not trust to noise, but will have a meaning in its sound. It will have the flash of the forked lightning striking in its strength the gnarled tree, as well as the thunder which accompanies the stroke. It must carry at once to the hearer's soul the conviction that the preacher means what he says—that he

feels his sublime truths, and is truly anxious that they should feel them. In the pulpit, more than any where else should there be an application of the Horatian maxim, "Si vis me flere," &c. The hearer needs to feel that the preacher is in earnest ere he will be likely earnestly to set himself to work for his salvation. Scarcely any thing has so much power over the audience as this perception of earnestness in the preacher. There is a vast fund of important meaning in the trite prayer that the minister may preach, "as a dying man to dying men."

Now all this is entirely consistent with a careful study of the art of Rhetoric. For to this end we believe the art of Rhetoric, in the unperverted exercise of its legitimate powers, will direct. It aims to make men earnest speakers. It insists that they should be such. It urges the preacher to have an eye to this in all his work, to write with the audience before him, as if he were actually speaking to them—and to speak as man naturally speaks to his fellow man on themes in which he is deeply interested. It bids him not be afraid to manifest feeling. And we would join with it and say to every preacher, speak with feeling. Have it in your heart and let it come out. Never be cold, studied, formal, pompous, nor prosy, dull, lifeless. But observe this: the feeling must be in the heart. And if we were asked how this earnestness in preaching might be acquired, we would take the inquirer back to our first principles and bid him contemplate the peculiar nature and object of the ministry, and in them find the power which shall kindle the fire within him. The theme, the cause itself must make a man earnest. The preacher must be pervaded with love for his work, and must fully apprehend his subject. He must be in the spirit of it, or he will never rightly speak. "If he lives only in outward things, and not in the depth of religious intuitions, he will never grasp his subject at that point whence a fulness of thought naturally developes itself." And, we may add, unless he nourishes in the depth of his own soul the emotions which are the legitimate offspring of such religious intuitions, he will never set forth his subject with that fulness of feeling which eloquence demands. And thus will it be found that the heart of piety is the fountain of christian eloquence. And if we might be permitted to offer a word of exhortation to candidates for the sacred ministry, or to our brethren in the holy office, bearing on their study and practice of the Rhetorical art, which, meanwhile, we would thus most duly honor, it would be, to seek to have their hearts deeply penetrated with the truths of the Gospel, and filled with grateful

love to God, and benevolence to men. Often contemplate, would we say, the truths which you preach, as grand, glorious, awful realities—dwell much on the great object of the ministry, the salvation of souls—and whether you instruct, convince, or persuade, always *be in earnest*, always let your heart be full of the greatness of your work, and always speak as those who mean and feel that which they say.

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## ARTICLE VI.

### PROCEEDINGS OF THE GENERAL SYNOD.

*Proceedings of the Fourteenth Convention of the General Synod of the Lutheran Church in the United States, convened in New York, May 13th*, 1848. Baltimore: printed at the Publication Rooms, No. 258, Balt. St. 1848.

The General Synod of the Lutheran Church in the United States of America has been in existence about thirty years. Its founders, consisting of the Synods of Pennsylvania and the adjacent States, New York, and North Carolina, contemplated in its formation, the union of the entire Lutheran church in the United States. Lutheranism had spread itself extensively over our country, but previously to the establishment of the General Synod, although several District Synods had been formed, and occasional correspondence, by means of delegations, had occurred, there was no medium of union for the entire body and no organization which, either by legislation, or counsel, could reach the entire mass. Under these circumstances, a general feeling pervaded the pastors of the church in favor of a connecting link; and mutual consultation and deliberation, on the part of eminent divines, selected by their respective Synods, terminated in the adoption of the Constitution, under which its agency has been conducted, and the establishment of the body.

The simple and restricted character of the Constitution, contemplating fraternal intercourse and advisory enactments, designed to impart uniformity in the usages and in the devotional books of the church, as well as to combine in harmonious and efficient action the entire church in those enterprizes, literary and religious, in which concentration is necessary to high success—induced the expectation that the arrangement would be

hailed, universally, with delight. Its novelty furnished malicious and ignorant persons, an occasion of misrepresentation, and terminated in opposition so violent that the leading promoters of it, and more particularly the Synod of Pennsylvania &c., its principal stay, deemed it expedient to abandon it, at least until it could be established under fairer auspices. Fortunately, we think, for the growth of Lutheranism in the U. States, at this crisis a new Synod had been formed in Maryland and Virginia, which, together with the Synod of West Pennsylvania of later date, both cut off from the great mother Synod of Pennsylvania, united with the Synod of North Carolina in taking up and upholding the discarded organization. Biennial meetings have taken place, in different parts of the church, since the period above designated, and so great has been the influence and so marked the change, that it has become customary to designate the period commencing with the General Synod as the era of the General Synod. Amongst the more prominent advantages which have sprung from it are the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, and indirectly the College at the same place. From these, other institutions, similar in their character, have had their origin. Education has been encouraged and a Parent Society established for the education of poor, pious young men, which has increased the number of efficient ministers and extended the borders of our Zion. Home Missionary operations have been, likewise, encouraged, and have accomplished much good. Foreign Missions have been commenced and an interesting field has been opened in the Telugu nation in India, in which there are three male laborers whose work is prosecuted with encouraging success. These are some, and only some of the fruits of this organization. Other important results might be mentioned illustrative of the utility of the institution. The publications of the Synod, by which a church literature has been founded, the recommendation of a Formula for the government and discipline of the church, the draught of a Constitution for district Synods, all of which have met with extensive favor, and have had happy effects, might be presented amongst the achievements which establish the claim of the General Synod to warm commendation. The Fourteenth Convention of this body, which by the increasing favor it has found, now embraces fifteen Synods, took place in the city of New York, in May, 1848.

It is proposed in the remainder of this article, to give a general account of the proceedings of that Convention on the basis

of the Minutes which have been published, and circulated in the church.

The first thing to which the attention may be directed is, the christian spirit, and the delightful harmony with which the entire proceedings were conducted. An interval of three years, one year more than usual, had occurred since the last meeting, in the city of Philadelphia, and the effect of the longer interval seemed decidedly to be a conviction on the part of the members that the intervals should rather be diminished than increased. The opinion was expressed in private that annual Conventions would best meet the interests and feelings of the brethren. This is mentioned as illustrative of the beautiful spirit of concord and fraternal feeling which distinguished the Convention.

Amongst the items of business, that which elicited most interest, excited most debate, and appeared least likely to be disposed of to the satisfaction of all, was the revision and improvement of the Hymn book. The General Synod had ordered the preparation of a Hymn book in the English language, and had received, adopted and published, something more than twenty years ago, a collection of hymns, which had been well received in the churches, extensively used, and had been a source of considerable revenue to the body. At the meeting in Philadelphia, a committee was appointed to revise this Hymn book. This step met with some resistance at the outset, and gave rise to a controversy in the Lutheran Observer, conducted with a good deal of spirit, and some bitterness, the parties to which affirmed or denied, according to their respective views, the extraordinary excellence of the collection, or its susceptibility of improvement, and the expediency of revising it at this time. The committee, happily selected, both on account of talent and poetic taste, appeared with a Report prepared with much care and judgment, and at once produced an effect fatal to the pretensions of those, who were prepared to resist all innovation. A result was reached, not without some skirmishing, although the leading combatants did not reach the arena, such as the advocates of change desired. The Report of the committee was adopted, and the committee, enlarged by the addition of others, was "instructed to prepare the book in accordance with said Report, not omitting more than fifty hymns and the duplicates from the old book, nor altering more stanzas of other hymns than is actually necessary." The Appendix, containing a considerable collection of hymns, was submitted entirely to the control of the committee.

It is matter of congratulation that this interest, so important in itself, found a consummation so desirable. It is reasonably to be expected that, at a period not far distant, (the book, it is understood is in considerable forwardness,) the Church will be supplied with a collection of excellent hymns, superior to what she has had, and more in accordance with the judgment and taste of the day.

Another item of great interest, which had long been before the Synod was finally disposed of at this meeting. A liturgical committee, appointed by the Synod to prepare a liturgy, on the basis of the German liturgy of the Pennsylvania Synod, brought their labors to a close. The final adoption of the book took place, and it was recommended to the churches. It is but justice to say that the labor of preparing this work finally devolved upon a single member of the committee, the Rev. Professor H. I. Schmidt. The desire of uniformity, in the style of the forms and prayers, led to the translation of the whole, (which had previously been done by different members of the committee,) by that individual.

The subject of Christian Union has claimed a good deal of the attention of the General Synod. An elaborate Report was presented by Dr. Schmucher, chairman of the committee, on Union, exhibiting a plan by which union might be effected between some of the leading Christian denominations and be attended with happy results, without interfering with the separate organizations of any one.

The doctrinal basis of the Evangelical Alliance as adopted by the World's Convention is recommended for adoption by the highest judicatories of each denomination. This embraces — the divine inspiration, authority and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures — the right and duty of private judgment in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, the unity of the Godhead, and the Trinity of Persons therein — together with the other doctrines which are usually held in connection with these fundamental views, excluding those aspects of the Evangelical System, upon which the Reformers and their successors divided, and embracing merely those in which there was uniformity of view. Other points contained in this Report are — "the regular interchange of delegates between the Supreme judicatories of the several denominations; and coöperation of the different associated churches in voluntary societies, local and general. This principle is especially applicable to Bible, Tract, Sabbath School and Foreign Missionary Societies." The entire Report is worthy the attention of those who take

an interest in the re-union of the scattered members of the Protestant body.

Correspondence with our brethren in Germany has, from time to time, claimed the attention of the General Synod. A committee, appointed in Philadelphia, addressed a letter to the German churches, designed to exhibit the position of the American Lutheran church, and to furnish correct information in regard to it. It appears from the Report of the committee, as presented in the Appendix of the Minutes, that although sent to a number of eminent divines, in different parts of Germany, and published in various periodicals, it had not yet been answered. The philosophy of this apparent absence of interest is given by the committee, and it is maintained that it results from causes other than want of respect for the communication itself, or of interest in our church, except on the part of the "Old Lutherans" who would view with but little favor the wide deviations from the primitive faith of the church, which are said to have been avowed in the letter. It may be made a question, whether, if we cannot secure more notice from our trans-atlantic brethren, it would not be expedient to cease from troubling them. Thus far, it would appear that the correspondence has all been on one side. We are also surprised that so important a document as this should not have been laid before the General Synod, either before or after being sent. Certanly as the matter now stands the letter is not to be regarded as expressing the views of the General Synod, which knows nothing of its contents, but merely of the committee by whom it was prepared.

The subject of Parochial Schools was brought before the Synod, and a committee was appointed "to inquire into the expediency of establishing such schools within the bounds of our church, under the superintendence of the pastors and church-councils of our congregations, and report to the next General Synod." In very appropriate juxtaposition with this was a resolution in reference to the Catechism which was passed in the following language: "*Resolved*, that a committee of three be appointed to improve the Shorter Catechism, and to superintend the publication of the improved edition; that they be directed to have the passages of Scripture printed in full in the Order of Salvation — that they frame suitable questions, to elicit more fully the sense of the answers to the original questions, and give the passages of Scripture proving the same in full; and also to improve the collection of hymns. Of course, the "improvements" referred to are those which are specified in the Resolution—essential or doctrinal

changes being out of the question. Resolutions were also passed recommending District Synods to direct their attention to the correction of evils which have crept into the church in singing, and the character of the music employed. This is an important subject to which we are afraid our Synods have not yet done justice.

A committee was appointed to correspond with our Lutheran brethren in Nova Scotia and Canada, not connected with Synods in the U. States, in order to ascertain their condition and establish fraternal relations with them; likewise a similar committee for correspondence with the Evangelical Synods of the West, for the purpose of establishing fraternal intercourse between them and this Synod, and also with a view to the union of all parts of the Evangelical church in the great work of preaching the Gospel to the German population of the West, and likewise with a reference to the organization of all parts of our church, in this country, upon a permanent basis.

These constitute the leading items of business transacted by the Synod during its sessions. The Convention of the General Synod furnishes an opportunity for the meeting of the different general societies of the church, at which Reports are presented and important business transacted. Of these, also, it is proposed to give some account, in this place.

Previously to this, it is proper to notice the Report of the Directors of the Theological Seminary, at Gettysburg, which was established by the General Synod, and may be said to be under its care. Noticing the lamented death of Mr. Isaac Baugher, one of the Directors, in appropriate terms, and expressing the belief that "his death will be felt as a severe loss, not only by this Board, but by various other institutions of which he was an active member or officer, and by the whole church in that section of it in which he resided," they proceed to state that during the three years which have elapsed since the last Report, the number of students has varied from twelve to eighteen, during each session. The small number of students is mainly accounted for by the fact, that other Theological Schools in connexion with our church, have been established West of Pennsylvania, which students from that part of the country naturally prefer, from proximity to their homes, from local prepossesions, and, probably, from the greater cheapness of living. Since the last General Synod, twenty students have finished the entire course of study, and fifteen have pursued it partially. Since the foundation of the Seminary two hundred and two students have been connected with

it; two were Presbyterians, four German Reformed, and all the rest of our own church. One of the Professorships has been vacated by the resignation of Professor Hay. Temporary arrangements have been made to supply his place. It is designed to elect, at an early period, some one to fill the vacancy. The Alumni effort, designed to complete the endowment of the Professorships, has thus far been encouraging—fourteen hundred dollars have been collected for immediate use, and seven thousand dollars for the permanent fund. The whole amount invested, according to this Report, is twenty-three thousand five hundred and eight dollars and forty-four cents. Less than two thousand dollars is unproductive at present. This does not include the real estate owned by the Board, consisting of the Seminary buildings, two houses for Professors, and about twenty acres of land on which they are located, and the Shober lands in North Carolina, which latter are estimated to be worth four hundred dollars. The Report concludes, "from these statements it will appear, that the financial condition of the institution is gradually improving. We have to regret the paucity of students, considering the eminent theological qualifications of our Professors and the advantages afforded by our extensive library. We commend the school to the continued Providence of God, and the prayers and liberality of the church." Within the past year since this Report was presented, the funds of the institution have been still further augmented, so that two Professorships may now be considered as endowed, (that is if all the subscriptions are collected). But still more important than this is the accession of the Pennsylvania Synod to the support of this Seminary, by the concession to it of the right of nominating a Professor in it, upon the condition of assisting in his support; their nomination of Rev. C. R. Demme, D. D., of Philadelphia, to that post, and his unanimous election by the Directors of the Seminary at their late meeting. Upon this coöperation of the Pennsylvania Synod in one of its most important institutions, the General Synod has great reason to congratulate itself.—It is not only good in itself, but an omen of still higher good and more perfect union.

At every meeting of the General Synod, it has been the usage to receive Reports from the different Synods in connection with it in regard to the "state of the church" in their bounds, which Reports have either been published in detail, or an abstract of them has appeared in the Minutes. A committe was appointed at the last meeting to receive and embody such Reports in a general account. The Report of this com-

mittee appears in the Appendix, and contains interesting facts and statistics both concerning the Synods united with the General Synod and the others, not sustaining that relation. The following summary, and statement in regard to Synods not connected with the General Synod, close the Report: "It will be seen from the above that there are at present connected with the General Synod, sixteen district Synods, containing ministers and churches scattered over most of the States of our widely extended Union. From the statistics given above we gather the following aggregate result: Ministers 336; congregations 762, average annual increase, 5300; communicants, 62,022. This statement is not entirely accurate from the incompleteness of the Reports. It is probably considerably below the truth. But we will make no imaginary additions. The Synods connected with the General Synod have under their care five Theological Seminaries, four Colleges and several classical Academies. As nearly as we can ascertain there are in these institutions and with private individuals, about one hundred and twenty-five students in different stages of preparation for the ministry in our church. We are also pleased to note the manifest increase of the work of Home Missions within the bounds of the General Synod during the last few years. Several of the Synods, especially in the West and South-west, occupy Missionary ground, and may themselves be considered as Home Missionary Societies; while all, even the elder Synods, are enlarging their borders by dividing pastoral districts and building up new churches. The General Synod's Home Missionary Society has aided seventeen during the past year, and will now greatly extend its operations in this respect, whilst several of the Synods have Home Missions of their own, so that there are probably from twenty-five to thirty Home Missionaries in this field within the bounds of the Synods connected with the General Synod. Our Foreign Mission, too, in Guntoor, India, is assuming an interesting aspect, and has the prospect of a reinforcement the ensuing fall. This glorious cause is manifestly gaining upon the affections and benevolence of the church. The cause of General Education and enlightenment is also manifestly rapidly on the advance throughout the entire church, with the most cheering prospects for the future. Your committee feel warranted in saying, that the general aspect of the churches connected with the General Synod, was never more interesting and full of promise, and the friends of our beloved Zion never had more reason to thank God, take courage and go forward.

Your committee had intended also to give a general view of

the state of the church not connected with the General Synod; but upon further reflection they are not sure that their duty extended to these. And besides, they have not in their possession the recent minutes of these Synods, and no certain means of correct information in regard to the present state of affairs within the bounds of most of them. And as we do not like to indulge in conjectures, we have abandoned our original intention.

As far as we know, the following Lutheran Synods in the United States are yet disconnected with the General Synod, viz: the Synod of Pennsylvania, the Joint Synod of Ohio, [composed of the] Eastern and Western District Synods of Ohio, and the English District Synod of Ohio; the Synod of Indiana, Synod of Michigan, Synod of Missouri, Franckean Synod of New York, the Pittsburg Synod, and the Tennessee Synod. These eleven Synods embrace a large, wealthy, and highly respectable portion of the Lutheran church in this country; and nearly all of them are actively and zealously engaged in the great work which the Lord has given us in this Western World. We forbear giving statistics, because we cannot hope even to approximate accuracy."

The Foreign Missionary Society met on the 16th of May. The Rev. Dr. Pohlman, chairman of the Executive committee, read the Report, which was accepted and adopted. The Report closes as follows: "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few. Among the many millions of the Telugus we have only two Missionaries," [another has since left the United States;] "and within the whole length and breadth of the church we know of but two others, who, in answer to our repeated calls, are seriously directing their attention to the Foreign Missionary field. And what are these among so many? We are, therefore, still constrained to ask, who will go to reinforce our Mission at Guntoor? Who will say, here am I, send me? Ought not the young men who are members of our church seriously to ponder on this question? Can they esteem any sacrifice too great to make for Him who hath called them with a holy calling, and made them partakers of His grace? Will not parents press it home upon the dear children God hath given them? Can they ever forget the baptismal scene, and the holy offering of their infants to God? Said a holy Father in the Lutheran church, who is now in heaven—"when I gave up my children in holy baptism to God, I gave them to Him unreservedly, to do with them what He pleased." Two of those children are now laboring as Missionaries in heathen lands, and another in the ministry of reconciliation at

home. Will not our pastors interest themselves in this matter, and strive to train up Missionaries from the young members of their flock to go forth and preach the unsearchable riches of Christ to the heathen, that thus watering others, they themselves may be abundantly watered, and the blessing of God which maketh rich and rejoiceth the heart may descend upon them, and abide with them forever? Laborers we must have. The fields are white already to the harvest, and the reapers are but faint and few. Pray ye all, therefore, the Lord of the harvest to send forth more laborers into his harvest.

In conclusion, while a review of the operations of our Society for the past three years constrains us to cry, "our leanness, our leanness," we would this day, relying on the divine promises, encourage ourselves in the Lord our God, and go forward; and we ask the coöperation and prayers of the churches, and of all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, that God would lengthen our cords and strengthen our stakes, and grant us his approval and blessing."

The American Tract Society presented to the Society, during its meeting, one hundred dollars, for the purchasing of Tracts to be distributed by our Missionaries among the Telugus—which was thankfully accepted. It may be observed that our Foreign Missionary operations have thus far been eminently prospered. The church has spontaneously supplied the required means. No enterprize, conducted under the auspices of the General Synod, has enjoyed more confidence and promises, within its limits, happier results. The silver and gold are in the church and the hearts are there to give it—but sanctified and educated mind is needed—men full of the Holy Ghost, prepared to endure all things for Christ's sake and for the sake of perishing souls, are needed to bear the message of love far away to the home of the idolater. A brighter day cannot be far distant. It cometh rapidly. God speed it.

The Parent Education Society held its anniversary on the 18th of May. The sixth Report of the Executive committee was read by the Corresponding Secretary. In most respects, this Report presented a gloomy picture of the condition of Beneficiary Education in the church. Since the last Report it is said—"The tendency of things has been from want of confidence to discouragement, from discouragement to despondency, inactivity and indifference." The statistics presented were exceedingly disheartening, and nothing was proposed calculated to relieve the embarrassments of the Society. It is natural to enquire, in view of this state of things, what is its cause? The Education Society of the General Synod has, it

may fearlessly be said, taken a deeper hold of the sympathies of the church and accomplished more for the glory of God and the prosperity of the church than any other organization which it has ever had in this country. Its treasury was well supplied with means, its beneficiaries were numerous, it enjoyed high confidence, and was regarded as one of the main sources whence the church was to be supplied with a properly educated ministry. Here, however, the Report of the Executive committee presents to us an entirely changed state of things. Amongst the causes which have led to this result may be enumerated the diversity of views in regard to ministerial qualifications, the opposition made in certain quarters to the thorough education of those sustained by the Society, and the attempts to lower the standard and abbreviate the course of study. These conflicting views generated controversy, misunderstanding, misrepresentation. Some parts of the church were strongly agitated; confidence in those who had conducted the operations of the Society was undermined, and a different organization was called for. Accordingly the operations formerly conducted by the Executive committee of the Parent Society were transferred to Synodical Societies. This measure, which had been fully tested years before, resulted, as every one acquainted with the nature of the case anticipated, in the almost utter destruction of all such educational operations.

Other causes may have had influence in this process of deterioration, and it remains to be seen whether the return, steps towards which have been taken, to the mode of operation by a General Society and an Executive committee, will restore the lost prosperity. Whatever may be the result, and our hopes are stronger than our fears, it cannot be expected that the palmy days of the Society will be immediately restored. The whole subject deserves to be considered with sorrow and with shame; it is to be hoped that the church will hereafter profit by its experience here, so dearly and so disastrously bought.

The Home Missionary Society, at its meeting, had an interesting Report presented to it, from which the following is copied, as exhibiting the results of the first three years of its existence: "It will thus be seen that seventeen men have been altogether, or in part, supported by our funds during the past three years; three in Pennsylvania, six in Indiana, two in Maryland, three in Ohio, one in the District of Columbia, one in Kentucky, and one in Illinois. About twelve new houses of worship have been erected, or commenced; about thirty new congregations have been organized; hundreds of persons

destitute of the means of grace have now the Gospel preached and the Sacraments administered. Sunday schools have been established; Catechumens have been instructed and confirmed; our church publications have been circulated; and our name and influence have been extended in places where they were not appreciated before. We think that the Society has accomplished much, and it is now in our power to do much more, if we had the men to send abroad into the field. The church has come up liberally to our help without any great exertion, and she has not yet done all that she is willing to do, when the call for more aid is addressed to her."

This Report presents various additional facts of much interest. The Society could greatly extend its labors and its usefulness, if it could be furnished with suitable men to do its work. This may be said to be, after all, the great want of the church. Educated, pious ministers of the Gospel, able to preach both in German and English, are the great want. There are now schools in the church, literary and theological, in which they can be educated; there is wealth in the church to do it, and to employ in their work—why, then, should it not be done, and done with all our might?

The Historical Society of the Lutheran church, organized for the purpose of collecting and preserving the literature of the church, held an anniversary on the 18th of May, and a discourse was pronounced by Professor Reynolds, of Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, on the early history of the Swedish Lutherans in America. This valuable discourse was ordered to be printed, but has not yet made its appearance.[1] The excellent and appropriate discourse of Dr. Bachman, of Charleston, South Carolina, delivered at the opening of the Synod, has been given, in accordance with the desire of the brethren, to the public, and has, it is presumed, been extensively read in the church, to its edification and gratification. The Synod, before its dissolution, resolved, that Charleston, South Carolina, and the last Saturday in April, 1850, should be the place and time for the meeting of the next General Synod.

A hasty review has thus been given of the proceedings of the last General Synod of our church and cannot but prove interesting to all who sympathize with our Zion. The amount of important business transacted, and the harmony and kind feeling in which every thing passed off, must give it a prominent place amongst the Conventions of the church which have influenced her destiny.

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[1] It is now published as the first Article in this No. of the Review, and also in pamphlet form. Ed.

## ARTICLE VII.

### EXEGETICAL ELUCIDATION OF MARK 9: 49. 50. BY DR. BÆHR, OBERKIRCHENRATH AT CARLSRUHE.

Translated from the German by Prof. H. L. Baugher, D. D., of Pa. Col. Gettysburg, Pa.

49. Πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἁλισθήσεται, καὶ πᾶσα θυσια ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται. 50. Καλὸν τὸ ἅλας· ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἅλας ἄναλον γένηται, ἐν τίνι αὐτὸ ἀρτύσετε; ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἅλας, καὶ εἰρηνύετε ἐν ἀλλήλοις. [49. *For every one shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt.* 50. *Salt is good: but if the salt have lost its saltness, wherewith will ye season it? Have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another.*]

Although many explanations have been attempted of this passage, which is admitted on all hands to be obscure, yet a new effort will not be regarded as superfluous, inasmuch as one main point involved, viz: the *salting of the sacrifice* is not found as prominent in the mass of exegetical discussions as its importance demands.[1]

First of all, the question must be answered, whether the passage stands related in general, and in what connection, with the preceding context. All expositors, and especially the more recent, agree in this, that the closing words εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἀλλήλοις, (be at peace with one another) refer back to verse 33, where it is narrated that the disciples disputed with one another who among them was the greatest. This dispute led the Savior to place a little child in their midst, for the purpose of leading them, by a living illustration, to the feeling, that, in His kingdom, self-abasement and not self-exaltation, that to condescend to the lowly and little ones, exalts. To this is then connected the farther exhortation, or rather reasoning, not to place a stumbling-block or occasion of offense, either by word or deed, (through self-exaltation and pride) before the lowly and little ones. From this, viz: not to give offense to others, he proceeds to speak of the offense which a man occasions to himself, or which he may receive, which, however, he should avoid at any price. Thus also he connects, with the summons to self-abasement and humility, the other summons, which is inseparable from it, the surrender and consecration even of the dearest object. Thus every thing included between verses 33

[1] A critical synopsis of the more ancient and of the later expositions is found in Fritzsche, Comment. in Evang. Marc. p. 397–411.

and 48, as is pretty generally admitted, is connected, if not in the strictest sense, yet always in a connection which is undeniable. Now, when the passage under consideration which is connected with the foregoing γάρ, follows, and closes with the words εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἀλλήλοις, [be at peace among yourselves] which manifestly refer back to verse 33, nothing is more natural, or indeed necessary than that the intervening passages from πᾶς [For every one] to ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἅλας [salt in yourselves] be brought into the same connection, so that they do not contain separate and entirely general sentences, but that they, as well as all which precedes, and as particularly the concluding, εἰρηνεύετε [be at peace] which is connected with the whole section, be referred to the disciples. To this is to be added, that the expression, καλὸν τὸ ἅλας· ἐὰν τὸ ἅλας κ. τ. λ. [salt is good: but if the salt, &c.] although in quite another connection, is referred specifically by the other evangelists, Matth. 5: 14. Luke 14: 34. to the disciples, so that we are inclined already in advance to refer the passage in this connection also to the same. There remains, therefore, besides, only the passage πᾶς γάρ—ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται. [for every—shall be salted]. But that this is not to be regarded as violently separated, the connecting γάρ [for], as has already been remarked, clearly shows. In consequence of this connection, we are justified, if not compelled to regard the passage before us, not as a mere general sentence, but as a discourse of the Lord directed especially to the disciples and against their censurable frame of mind.

If we proceed to the explanation itself, every one by a glance at verse 49, will admit in general, whatever sense he may attach to the words taken singly, that the principal thought contained in it, relates to the salting of the sacrifice, which as a significant act is presupposed. The proper understanding of this principal thought is the next thing which claims our attention, i. e. the signification which the speaker attaches to the rite here referred to.

That the words καὶ πᾶσα θυσία ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται and καὶ πᾶν δῶρον θυσίας ὑμῶν ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται,[1] are taken from Leviticus 2: 13. is manifest, and will be questioned by no one. In this immediate connection the verse referred to continues οὐ διαπαύσατε ἅλας διαθήκης κυρίου (בְּרִית אֱלֹהֶיךָ מֶלַח) ἀπὸ θυσιασμάτων ὑμῶν,[2] and pre-

[1] "And every sacrifice shall be salted with salt, and every gift of your sacrifice shall be salted with salt."

[2] "Neither shalt thou suffer the salt of the covenant of thy God to be lacking from thy meat offering."

sents to us here, in general, the meaning of the rite under consideration, viz: that salt in a sacrifice denotes the covenant of Jehovah with Israel. That this and no other is the signification implied in the passage is manifest from the nature of the case. For he who introduces the words of the law so minutely, was also acquainted with their signification, and naturally ascribes to them the same authority which is due to the command itself. Therefore must he presuppose that they, to whom he spoke the words, also understood the words which immediately follow the command, and thus applied the signification to the rite of salting which their notion of the divine origin of the command expressly ascribes to it. The idea, then, cannot be entertained which ascribes to the salting of the sacrifice the notion of *seasoning*, and that the origin of the rite is to be found in such a coarse anthropomorphism as that God, as well as man, wanted to eat nothing that was unsalted, and that, when man would place before him that which is palatable, just as for his fellow man, it must be seasoned.[1] Admitting, for the sake of the argument, that such representations were prevalent in heathendom, yet nothing is more certain than that the Mosaic law had no knowledge of them. The express declaration that it is the salt of the covenant of God, at once excludes such a representation. Just so the prohibition of leaven in the meat offering is given, (v. 11. 12.) immediately before the commandment requiring salt, whilst at the same time the leaven is the very substance which makes the bread palatable. The bread which was eaten by the offerers, although it had been devoted as first fruits, might be leavened, that, however, which was placed on the altar, and was, properly speaking, the offering, in every case must remain unleavened. Therefore it follows incontrovertibly that, as little as the palatable and relishable influenced the introduction of the prohibition of the leaven, so little are they at the foundation of the command relating to salt which is intimately connected with it.

But the signification, which has been given, as derived from the law, according to which the sacrificial salt is the salt of the covenant of God, being too general, does not extend far enough to elucidate verse 49. adequately. This elucidation will occur only when we have ascertained *why* "the salting" has this signification, and *how* it can have it. To this point, Numbers 18: 19. and 2 Chron. 13: 5. conduct us in which בְּרִית מֶלַח i. e. covenant of salt, means undeniably, according to

[1] Comp. *de Wette*, Exegetisches Handbuch I. 2. S. 189.

the connection, the same as an indissoluble, inseparable, never ceasing, but ever-enduring covenant.

The reason why such a covenant is called a covenant of salt, is found in the fact that salt is a specific antidote against dissolution, corruption and decay, and prevents the separation and falling away of the parts of the substance to which it is applied. For this reason it is, to this day, in the east, a symbol of union, friendship and covenants in general. In sacrifices, however, it is used expressly to indicate the covenant of God with Israel, which covenant, in its substance and aim, was the covenant of sanctification. God had selected Israel out of all the nations of the earth and had made them his people, for the purpose of sanctifying them; He is therefore, as compared with this people, *the Holy One;* and the chosen people, as compared with the other nations, are *the holy people.* The contents and foundation of the covenant are expressed in the language, "*Be ye holy for I am holy.*" This object is brought out in an especial manner in their ceremonial worship, which, constantly, either renews the covenant relation or continues it in force, that is, it forms the fundamental idea of the act, viz: the offering, which is the soul of the whole worship. As symbol of this sanctifying covenant is salt so much the more appropriate, inasmuch as, in addition to its power of preventing dissolution and separation, that which makes it symbolical of covenants in general, it removes every thing decaying and impure. Its preserving, consolidating or binding power consists in this, that it removes all corruption, every substance and germ of decay producing uncleanness: with the preserving is also connected the purifying. In so far, then, as the idea of religious purity among the Hebrews partly harmonized with that of holiness, and partly presupposed it, was salt, in sacrifices, the natural symbol of the covenant of sanctification; it gave the sacrifice (which already in itself indicated that the relation to Jehovah, the God of Israel, the Holy One, which had been disturbed was restored) this particular impression, in addition, that it was connected with the holy and sanctifying relationship sustained to Jehovah. The entire resignation to Jehovah, which was invariably exhibited in the sacrifice, obtained, by means of the salt which was connected with it, the character of sanctifying, and with it the appropriate consecrating act.[1]

To return to verse 49. We have, in the first place, to point out the relation which subsists between its two members. It

[1] Symbolik des Mos. Cultus, II. page 324—327.

is manifest that the ἁλισθήσεται [shall be salted] of the first member corresponds with the ἁλισθήσεται [shall be salted] of the second. Certain, however, it is that the ἁλισθήσεται of the second is not derived from the first, but that, contrarywise, the first is derived from the second, because it belongs to a permanent passage of the law and is not now for the first time introduced into it. Inasmuch, then, as the ἁλισθήσεται of the first member is secondary and derived, it must also be understood in accordance with and like the second. By this, then, the relation also of both members is determined to be, not that of opposition, but dependance. According to this καί, which connects both members, can not be translated *at* [but] as Lightfoot and others would have it, which besides is hardly admissible.[1] With as little propriety can we, with Olshausen, supply διὰ τοῦτο [for this reason] after καί; so that the second member would depend upon the first, and the Old Testament rite would have its origin and foundation in the truth which is contained in the first member; whereas the opposite relation is much more probable. The correct conception of the force of καί is that which of late has been made current by Fritzsche and de Wette, according to which it is like the Hebrew ו *exequationis* and may be translated "like as," (comp. John 5: 7.) a signification which has its foundation in the parallelism of members, not in the particle itself. The signification, then, would be the following: "As, according to the law, each sacrifice must be salted with salt, so also must each one of you be salted with fire." This relation of both the members to each other, points out also how the γάρ of the first member is to be apprehended. They only who place the two members in opposition to one another and translate γάρ by *at* [but] can refer γάρ to the immediately preceding words concerning hell-fire: they, however, who do not use καί by way of opposition, but in the sense of *sicuti* [as] are compelled to use γάρ more in a general sense, as a connecting particle, and to refer in general to the preceding. From the whole, our Lord makes verse 49. the conclusion of what he was addressing, by way of reproof, to the disciples, concerning their strife, having summed up what had transpired up to that time, and therefore uniting it by means of γάρ.

From the relation of the two members, it is self-evident that πᾶς [every one] is contrasted with πᾶσα θυσία [every sacrifice]

[1] Fritzsche in loc.: that καί has the force of *sed* (not to say *at*) neither Storr Opusc. Acad. II. p. 27. nor Schott Opusc. II. p. 38. nor Kuinoel on Matth. 7: 26. has taught, nor will any one teach.

and πυρί [fire] with ἁλί [salt]. Therefore the transition was very easy, to compare each of the disciples to a sacrifice, inasmuch as our Lord, in what preceded, desired the giving up and offering up of the valued and loved, i. e. an unconditional and complete renunciation, in which the essence of the sacrifice consists. When, therefore, he compares πυρί [fire] with ἁλί [salt] he presupposes a relationship in the substance of both. This, however, can consist in nothing else than in its purifying power, which is also, under other circumstances, ascribed to fire, (Sirach 2: 5. 1 Peter 1: 7. 1 Cor. 3: 15. Rev. 3: 18.) Especially is Matth. 3: 11. "he shall baptize with fire" to be brought into consideration: Baptism is effected by means of water, and indicates purification, (Eph. 5: 26. 1 Peter 3: 21.); inasmuch, however, as fire possesses purifying power, the expression "baptized with fire," might also be used. With equal propriety may the expression "salted with fire," be used, inasmuch as the salting occurs by means of salt, and fire possesses a purifying, refining, and according to 1 Cor. 3: 13, 15. a preserving power, and therefore may be compared to salt.[1] The position of Lightfoot and others, therefore, is untenable to refer πυρί [fire] to hell-fire, and to explain it as follows, viz: "Each one of them (i. e. the condemned) shall be salted with fire, so that he may be unconsumable and continue forever to be tormented, inasmuch as salt preserves him from corruption." Laying aside all other considerations, salt, according to this view, would serve to retain the corruption which is in the condemned, whereas its preserving power consists directly in this that it destroys and removes corruption. In addition to this, as has already been remarked, ἁλισθήσεται, [shall be salted] in the first member, can not be understood in any other sense than in the second; it is taken in a good sense in the one, which is absolutely necessary; so also must it be used in the other. Salt is not employed in general, and least of all in sacrifice, to preserve in corruption, which is death, but on the contrary, in permanence, which is life, and therefore the ancients ascribed to it the power not of retaining death but of producing life.[2] Our Lord certainly appears to have been led by the frequent use of πῦρ ἄσβεστον [unquenchable fire] verse 43, 45, and 47. to employ πυρὶ instead of ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται: however, this does not, by any means, make it necessary that the word must be understood in its new connection

[1] Plin. Hist. nat. 31: Salis natura est per se ignea. Olshausen, Bib. Comment. I. S. 554: "Salt may be called a fettered fire."

[2] Symbolik des Mos. Cultus, II. p, 326. obs.

precisely as in the preceding; especially as every particular definition of it, such as ἄσβεστος and γέεννα, [unquenchable and fire] is absent. The mention of the inextinquishable, tormenting fire, might have at once furnished him with the occasion, by way of antithesis, to pass over to the salting, i. e. the purifying and preserving fire. The Romish conclusion, therefore, in reference to the idea of Purgatory, which is made to rest upon this passage, is untenable and erroneous.

If we maintain the position which the signification of the sacrificial salt, above deduced, has given us, then will we have the following as the signification of verse 49: viz.: "each of you will and must become himself a sacrifice; as, however, according to the law, salt, which is the consecrating symbol of the holy covenant, must not be wanting to any sacrifie, so, also must every one, in and with the gift which is offered up, be purified and refined. The discipleship of the Lord consists in a continued resignation and dedication, which is connected with a continual purifying and refining process. This refining process, so far from being destructive in its nature, is much more the very thing which preserves and retains unto the true eternal life." Thus viewed, the expression is a short, highly pregnant, condensation of that which the Savior had uttered before and in another form; hence also arises the obscurity which belongs to this passage, in common with all pregnant expressions, especially those which are violently separated from their connection. The want of self-denial and resignation, which was the subject of the preceding discussion, leads to eternal corruption, where the worm dies not, and to eternal consuming fire, which is never quenched; the continued resignation, self-denial and offering up conduct (by means of the necessarily connected, refining, purifying and sanctifying process) unto eternal life. This, in a symbolical, condensed expression, is the meaning of πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἁλισθήσεται (every one shall be salted with fire.)

The following verse 50, "Salt is good; but if the salt have lost its savor (i. e. its peculiar strength,) wherewith will ye season it?" (wherewith shall it obtain its peculiar strength), connects itself with the preceding in a proper and unconstrained manner, only then, when we refer it to the disciples. If ἔχετε [have] and εἰρηνεύετε [be at peace] are referred to the disciples, of which no one can doubt, then also must be the immediately preceding ἀρτύσετέ [shall be seasoned,] and with it also the whole clause which is necessarily connected with it. As has already been intimated, the same expression, only a little altered, occurs in Matth. 5: 13. and Luke 14: 34., and

in both is first of all referred to the disciples. The former of these passages has no connection with the one under consideration, but the latter in which our Lord says: "Every one among you who does not renounce all that he has cannot be my disciple. Salt is good, but if the salt have lost his savor wherewith shall it be seasoned?" Just as in the passage under consideration, the command here to his disciples to exercise self-denial, renunciation of the world, resignation and self-consecration leads to the expression concerning salt, and plainly means that the end of discipleship, viz. to be the salt of the earth (Matth. 5: 13.) depends upon the condition of denying the world and self; that without this, discipleship, however great and good it be in itself, in its essence ceases to exist. Thus, also, in the passage under consideration, every one who is "salted with fire" thereby becomes a salt to the world, i. e. a purifying, sanctifying, preserving and life-giving power. Does he lose this power; does he lose this renunciation of the world and self, then with it ceases also that which made him a disciple, and that power cannot be replaced by any thing else; he is deprived of the peculiar essence of discipleship, he has become unprofitable and useless in the kingdom of God, and is going to perdition. To this expression, the exhortation "have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another," naturally connects itself. In this, our Lord, as has already been intimated, returns again to the beginning and the occasion of his whole discourse; and this exhortation constitutes its particular closing application. He would say, "as you, in general, require for your calling this power of self-consecration and of self-denial, and, more than this, as you yourselves should be such a power for the world, so must you needs have it among yourselves; therefore preserve it for yourselves, and give evidence of its seat being among you by this, that you do not exalt yourselves one over another and thereby come into contention, but, on the contrary, be at peace with one another." We must not overlook the close connection of the two expressions "have salt," and, "be at peace." Where there is salt, there is peace, inasmuch as salt does not remove nor separate, but holds together, retains, binds and preserves from dissolution. Therefore, Arabic princes ratify their covenants by strewing salt upon bread, whilst they exclaim: "Salam (peace); I am the friend of your friend, and the enemy of your enemy."[1] Peace cannot exist in that community where every one desires to be the greatest and most exalted; much

[1] Symbolik des Mos. Cultus, a. a. O.

rather does such a spirit occasion strife and division. There only dwells peace where each one, in self-abasement, humbles himself, submits to the others, and serves them in resigned and devoted love.

The close and unstrained connection in which the whole passage appears, according to the explanation which has been given, furnishes at once the best refutation of every other view. Particularly, however, must that one be rejected which has become so common, which makes salt in verse 49 correctly "sacrificial salt," but in verse 50, unexpectedly, the "salt of wisdom." Thus Fritzsche, who conjectures, that ἁλς [salt] in verse 49 is used in its proper sense, but that in verse 50 it means wisdom (Col. 4 : 6.) He paraphrases the whole passage in the following manner; verse 49: "For every one shall be salted (i. e. tried) with sufferings as if with fire, and every victim shall be sprinkled with salt (i. e. because all shall be prepared by sufferings, for the enjoyment of eternal life, as, by the law of Moses all victims were to be prepared by salt for immolation.) Verse 50. Salt is good; but if it have begun to be unsavory, with what will you season it, (i. e. wisdom is good; but if it shall have been converted into folly and rashness, with what can it be corrected? "Have the salt of wisdom and cultivate peace among yourselves." On the supposition that salt in verse 50, has not precisely the same meaning as in verse 49, yet it must have at least a related and derived meaning. But that the sacrificial salt has no relation at all to wisdom, we have seen above, and is indeed self-evident. Equally plain is it also that the expressions ἁλισθήσεται [shall be salted, &c.] ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται, καλὸν τὸ ἅλας, ἔχετε ἅλας sustain a certain relationship to one another, and one dare not give to these expressions, especially in such a close connection and succession, significations entirely heterogeneous and unconnected. To ascribe to the salting of the sacrifice no other object than the preparation necessary to offer it, so that the phrase πυρὶ ἁλίζεσθαι [to be salted with fire,] means in general *igne præparari* (i. e. *ærumnis*,) to be prepared by fire (i. e. sufferings,) has been correctly pointed out by de Wette as "too vague," and, laying aside all other considerations, has the express illustration of the ritual law itself opposed to it, (Lev. 2 : 13.)

## ARTICLE VIII.

### WINER'S BIBLE DICTIONARY.

*Biblisches Realwörterbuch zum Handgebrauch für Studirende, Candidaten, Gymnasiallehrer und Prediger ausgearbeitet von Dr. Georg Benedict Winer, Königl. Kirchenrath und ordentlichem Professor der Theologie an der Universität zu Leipsig, Ritter des Civilverdienstordens, Domherrn des Hochstifts Meissen. Dritte sehr verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage.* [*A Bible Dictionary as a Manual for Students, candidates for the ministry, teachers in Colleges and preachers, by Dr. Geo. Benedict Winer, &c. Professor &c. &c. Leipzig, published by C. H. Reclam, Sen.* 1847–8.]

The name of Winer is not unknown in the United States. His New Testament Grammar, in an earlier and a later edition, has been given to our public, and has taken a classic place amongst us. Many of our theologians, both young and old, Doctors and Professors of Theology and New Testament Exegesis, have been materially aided, in fundamental investigations of the original text, by the masterly exhibition of the philosophy of Greek philology, which the luminous pages of this accomplished scholar and divine have afforded. Another great work is now before us, not indeed for the first time, but in a third, enlarged and greatly improved edition, entitled, "Winer's Biblisches Realwörterbuch, or Dictionary of the Bible, devoted not to the definition of words, not to theological discussions, but to things; to geographical, historical, archæological and physical facts." It is what the Germans denominate a 'real', not a verbal, Lexicon. It is designed, and admirably adapted to accomplish the design, to aid students of Divinity, Licentiates, Professors in literary Institutions, and ministers of the Gospel, in the study of the Divine word, and especially in the comprehension on scientific principles, of the revelation of the Old and New Testaments. Winer was led, nearly thirty years ago, to feel the want of an Exegetical Manual embracing the subjects above mentioned, especially in view of the wants of those who could not in their studies have recourse to a large number of works. In the *Preface* he remarks, "in forming the plan to meet this deficiency in our Exegetical literature, the following views presented themselves to me: A Manual for the purposes designated above,

might be arranged in systematic, or in alphabetic order. The first is preferable as preliminary to the study of the Bible, the second for the actual study of it. I adopted the latter because aid in the study seemed to be more needed and called for, inasmuch as systematic works on general principles of interpretation are not so much used and rarely resorted to for the elucidation of difficulties. This excludes from the work, 1st. Biblical introduction and theology, as these are useful not merely in the elucidation of detached passages, but in penetrating into the general import of the sacred records, and belong to the preparatory training of the expositor, and do not admit of being broken up into detached parts. My plan is restricted to Biblical History, Geography, Archæology, and Natural History. 2d. The plan excludes all proper names of persons and places which cannot be illustrated from the Bible itself (either directly or by means of historical combinations), or from any other source. On the other hand a Dictionary cannot omit them, for philosophical reasons, as the recent Lexicographers have conceded. 3d. Well known things are omitted (for who would expect in such a work a perfect history of the day, or the information that the Greeks were a well known nation of antiquity?), but in the inserted articles only so much is introduced as is indispensable to the illustration of the Scriptures; an extensive topography of Athens, or a description of the varieties of apes, of the ant, &c. (see the Goth. Encyc.), no one would, certainly, desire because in a few passages the ape, the ant, and the city of Athens are mentioned. 4th. It was considered superfluous in historical articles, such as David, Moses, &c. to incorporate at any length the biblical narrative: the plan of the work embraced a condensed chronological (if possible) outline of the principal leading points together with the necessary historical, antiquarian, and physical explanations. A Chronological chart seemed to be necessary, which has been added."

The manner in which his plan has been carried out is distinguished for thoroughness (or Gründlichkeit) at which he aimed. A very extensive range of reading furnished the materials, and aid was derived from others in departments in which professional knowledge, other than theological, was indispensable. There is a very extensive reference to the literature of the topics treated and the different authors, both ancient and modern, are cited with great care. He remarks—"in quotations from Latin and Greek authors not in every body's hands, (as Strabo, Josephus, Pliny,) I considered it best to give the passages in the original." Another feature of the

work is condensation in the articles and precision in the expression. Both have been secured in a very high degree by various devices to which we need not refer. We simply remark that it would not be easy to find a book in which there is so vast an amount of matter compressed into so small a space. It is a real *multum in parvo.* It is true the "*parvum*" might not, at first glance, appear so evident, as there are two large volumes containing together nearly fifteen hundred pages, but the "*parvum*" is relative to the contents. Easiness of reference is another matter at which the author aimed, and he has certainly succeeded to admiration. We have compared some of the articles of the present edition with the second, and find reason to laud the diligence of the distinguished author and to pronounce his work much enriched.

A more useful work could hardly be placed in the library of a clergyman. Although the first cost of it might appear high, it is really a cheap work, because its possessor may dispense with many others. Its views are not always in strict accordance with the higher orthodoxy, either of our own country or of Germany. We should sometimes dissent from the conclusions of the author, but we find him, too, frequently bearing his testimony against the latitudinarianism of the extreme rationalistic school. We do not think any danger need be apprehended from the use of his work, for even where he adopts what we regard as erroneous views, he does not conceal the opposite ones. As the design of this notice is merely to make known the work, the object may be promoted by translating as a specimen one of the articles. We select, almost at random, that on the Apostles.

"Apostles, ἀπόστολοι. Thus were more particularly the twelve called, according to the number of the tribes of Israel (Mt. 19, 28. *Lightfoot* hor. hebr. 323. vgl. Tertull. c. Marcion. 4. p. 415.) selected by Jesus from his disciples (Mr. 3, 13 fol. Luke 6, 13 fol. comp. Joh. 6, 70.) and designated as Heralds of the kingdom of God (Mark 3, 14.) whose names are mentioned by Matt. 10, 2 fol. without noticing their call. They were prepared for this vocation (the κηρύσσειν) by intimate intercourse and instruction; Jesus, in addition, gave them the power of healing diseases snd of casting out devils: see part. *W. Cave's* antiquitates apost. or the history of the apostles. Lond. 1677. (deutsch. L. 1724. 8.) *F. Spanhem.* de apostolatu et apostolis in s. dissertatt. histor. quaternio. L. B. 1679. 8. *J. F. Buddei* eccles. apostol. Jen. 1729. 8. *Fr. Burmann* exercitt. academ. II. 104 sqq. *Hess* Hist. and writings of the Apostles of Jesus Zürich 1821. III. 8. *G. J. Planck* Hist. of Christi. in the

period of its introduction into the world by Jesus and his apostles. Götting. 1818. II. 8. *K. Wilhelmi* Christ's apostles and the first christians, or history of the Apostles, &c. Heidelb. 1825. 8. (*Cappelli* historia apostol. illustr. Genev. 1634. 4. Salmur. 1683. 4. Frcf. 1691. 8. refers to Paul, and J. H. G. v. *Einem* historia Chr. et. Apostol. Goett. 1758. 4. as likewise *Rullmann* de apostolis. Rint. 1789. 4. are unimportant). The names of the persons selected by Christ were: Simon Peter, Andrew, James (the son of Zebedee), John, Philip, Bartholomew, Thomas, Matthew, James (the son of Alpheus), Lebbeus (Thaddeus), Simon and Judas Iscariot, all unlearned, (*J. Lami* de eruditione apostolor. [Flor. 1738. 8.] c. 2. & 7.) simple, teachable men from the people, principally from Galilee, (it was known to Jesus, that the spiritual regeneration of the people must and would proceed from them, Matt. 11, 25.) some of them related to him and his youthful associates, some who had already been disciples of John the Baptist. A gradation of rank did not exist amongst them, and although Matt. 16, 18. ascribes to Peter a special part in the establishment of the church (see comments. on the passage) and he is likewise made prominent in the Gospels, he is by no means placed at the head of the others and was not so regarded in the primitive church (see the article on Peter). Jesus very soon made them acquainted with the solemnity of their office, the dangers to which they were exposed (Matt. 10, 17.), but did not communicate to them an esoteric (or hidden) doctrine—for as the entire tendency of his instructions was practical, he had no mysteries for the initiated,—but they accompanied him in his journeys, devoted to teaching and attending the festivals; they saw his wonderful works, were present when he taught the people (Matt. 5, 1 fol. 23, 1 fol. Luke 4, 13 fol.) held conversations with learned Jews (Matt. 19, 13 fol. Luke 10, 25 fol.) accompanied him frequently (particularly some of the more intimate, Peter, John, and James the elder), into retirement (Matt. 17. fol.) and had intercourse with him, seeking instruction (Matt. 15, 15 fol. 18, 1 fol. Luke 8, 9 fol. 12, 41. 17, 5. John 9, 2 fol.) in regard to religious topics, at one time bearing upon assertions of Jesus, at another of a general character (Matt. 13, 10 fol.), once, indeed, they had occasion to make trials in proclaiming the kingdom of God (Mark 6, 7 fol. Luke 9, 6 fol.), when they were successful in healing the sick (Mark 6, 13. Luke 9, 6.), in which, however, they were not always successful (Matt. 17, 16.) As the Messiah (ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ), furnished with extraordinary powers (Luke 9, 54.) was he regarded by them (Matt. 16, 16. Luke 9, 20.), though they

made but slow progress in understanding the spiritual doctrine and tendency of their Master, being impeded by their limited capacity and national prejudices (Matt. 15, 16. 16, 22. 17, 29 fol. Luke 9, 54. John 16, 12.

Even the import of plain parables they had to ask of him (Luke 12 : 41, fol.) and openly acknowledged the feebleness of their faith (Luke 17 : 5.), and when Christ left the earth, and they had, for more than two years (see the Art. Jesus), been carefully and in proper proportions (see Matth. 16 : 21.) instructed, they were not far advanced in knowledge (Luke 24 : 21. comp. John 16 : 12.) see *Vollborth de discip. Christi per gradus ad dignitatem et potent. apostol. evectis. Gött.* 1790. 4. *Bagge de sapientia Csti in electione, institutione, et missione Apostolor. Jen.* 2754. 4. *Ziez quomodo notio de Messia in animis app. sensim sensimque clariorem acceperit lucem. Lubec*, 1793. II. 4. *Liebe, in Augusti n. theolog. Blätt.* II. I. 42. fol. *Ernesti de præclara Chr. in app. instituendis sapientia et prudentia. Gött.* 1834. 4. Neander's Life of Jesus, 229. fol., comp. likewise *E. A. Ph. Mahn Comm. in qua ducib.* 4. *Evang. Apostolorumq. scriptis distinguuntur tempora et notantur viæ, quib. Apostoli Jesu doctrinam divin. sensim sensimq. melius perspexerint. Gött.* 1809. 4. The symbolical consecration itself which under such impressive circumstances they experienced at the last meal of Jesus (Matth. 26 : 26. fol. Mark 14 : 22. fol. Luke 22 : 17. fol.) did not keep alive their enthusiasm, (Matth. 26 : 40. fol.) nor protect them from despondency when Christ died, (Mark 16 : 14. fol. Luke 24 : 13. fol. 36. fol. John 20 : 9, 25. fol.) They left the burial of the Lord to one who was not an apostle and to women, and it was his undoubted resurrection alone which could gather them together from their dispersion. Many went back from him to their trade, (John 21 : 3. fol.) and it required a new command of their Master, (Matth. 28 : 8. fol.) to bring them to their office, and to gather them in Jerusalem, (Acts 1 : 4.) Here they abode in the devout communion of the Holy Ghost, (John 20 : 22.) whom Christ had promised as the paraclete, (John 14 : 26. 16 : 23. Acts 1 : 8.) and soon after the departure of Christ, on the festival of the establishment of the Old Covenant (Pentecost,) they experienced an extraordinary occurrence, the power of this Spirit within them (Acts 2.), and did not delay to complete their number, by the election of Matthias to fill the place vacated by the departure of Judas Iscariot, (Acts 1 : 15. fol.) as witnesses of the life and resurrection of their Lord, (Luke 24 : 48. Acts I : 8, 22. 2 : 32. 3 : 15. 5 : 32. 13 : 31.) and to commence the proclamation of the kingdom

of God with courage and success in the holy city, (Acts 2: 41.) Their calling was now decided, and what had been before obscure was made plain, (John 2: 22. 12: 16–8. Henke in Pott. Syllog. 1. 19, seq.) The Mother Church at Jerusalem was formed into an intimate union, though by no means externally detached from the Jewish worship, under the inspection of the Apostles, not without personal sacrifices on their part, (Acts 3—7.) and the apostolic zeal carried the Gospel to Samaria, where Jesus (John chap. 4.) had already found susceptible minds, (Acts 8: 5. fol. 14.) This is the first period of apostolic activity. But more decided was the step of Peter, who courageously and without countenance of the first christians preached the Gospel to the heathen upon the sea coast (Acts 10: 11.); for it was the signal for the formation of a considerable congregation in the Capital of Syria, Antioch, (Acts 11: 22. fol.), which was received into friendly communion by the church at Jerusalem, (Acts 11: 22. fol.)— the second period of apostolic activity. But all that had yet been done was surpassed by the agency of a Pharisee, Paul, who was miraculously called to the apostolic office. At first treated with suspicion, he was soon able by his brilliant endowments to obtain the favor and concurrence of the apostles, (Acts 13.) but he was more at home in Antioch, and from thence he carried, training and employing active assistants, the Gospel into distant heathen lands, leaving to others, (to Peter, Gal. 2: 8.) the conversion of the Jews — the third period of apostolic labors. From this period Paul was the centre of apostolic history, Peter himself disappears gradually, and it is not till Paul's withdrawment from Asia Minor that John re-appears there, but restricting himself to narrow limits. It was, therefore, a man who did not personally know Chsist, who, at any rate, was not prepared and consecrated to the apostolic office by him, who accomplished more than all the immediate apostles of Chistianity, not only outwardly in relation to the geographical sphere of action, but internally as he comprehended the universality of the Christian salvation, and brought learning into fellowship with the simplicity of the divine doctrine. How remarkable, that a Pharisee should have been the first to entertain the most enlarged views of the unrestricted character of the Christian religion! The authentic records furnish no data in regard to the apostles of Jesus in addition to what is mentioned incidentally in the Narrative of Luke concerning Peter, John, (Acts 8: 14.) the two James, (Acts 12: 2, 17: 15. 13: 21, 18.) Traditions in reference to most of them are current — some of considerable antiquity, (*Euseb. H. E.* 3,

1.) (s. the *Acta Apost. apocrypha*, which are generally ascribed to one Abdias, in *Fabric. cod. apocryph.* 1. 402. fol., and *W. Cave antiquitates apostol.* s. above, likewise *Peronii Vitae Apostol. Par.* 1557. 16. and ö. Frcf. 1744. S.), they must be very carefully sifted as they are partly contradictory — their gradual growth can in many instances be traced. This much is evident, after thorough examination, that James subsequently to the execution of the Elder James, (Acts 12: 2.) remained generally in Jerusalem and was regarded as the head of the Church, (Acts 12: 17.) and the director of the apostolic affairs, (Acts 15: 13. 21: 18. Gal. 2: 9.), Peter traveled principally as a Missionary amongst the Jews, (ἀπόστολος τῆς περιτομῆς Gal. 2: 8.) John finally, (the three are called στῦλοι of the Church Gal. 2: 9.) sought, from Ephesus as a middle-point, to diffuse the affectionate, practical character of Christianity, which was even then endangered by gnostic tendencies, and to train pupils in the same spirit. The labors of these apostles is not to be considered small, but it must always appear singular, that so little was done by the immediate apostles, and that their services were commemorated, even in the first century, in not very trust-worthy traditions.

The choice of Jesus might easily appear to have been unfortunate, and particularly as Judas was one of the chosen. But it should not be lost sight of, that it was in many respects important for Christ, to gather around him at an early period, a select few, that is, when an extensive selection could not be made, (Matth. 9: 37. fol.) that Christ could only look to intellectual and moral capacity, and that the result of the training (particularly in the turn which christian affairs took under Paul,) did not depend entirely upon him, and could not certainly be foreseen without omniscience, (which is not ascribed to him in John 2: 25.) Men of diversified individuality (*F. Q. Gregorii diss.* II *de temperamentis scriptorum N. T. Lips.* 1710. 4. comp. *Hase Leb. J.* 112 fol.), partly of very marked character, he selected (Neander's Life of J. 223. fol.) and he hardly thought that they would all be adapted to their great calling: the planting of the Chnrch in Palestine and the neighborhood is doubtless their work and praise. In addition see the separate articles on the labors of the Apostles, but (in the New T.) Neander's Gesch. d. Pflanz. u. Leitung d. christ. Kirche durch die Apostel. Hamb. (1832. ff.) 3 Aufl. 1841. 2 Bde. S."

We omit the Notes on this article one of which on the pentecostal manifestation, particularly the speaking with tongues, we consider decidedly objectionable — because expressing

views which conflict with the highest reverence for inspired documents. There are statements too in what has been translated which are any thing but sound, and particularly what is said in regard to the Omniscience of Christ. Whatever may be the Exegesis of the passage referred to (John 2: 24.) and it appears explicit enough, the Omniscience of Christ will neither admit of denial nor evasion. We recommend the work, but at the same time must express our regret, that it comes to us with so much that neither accords with the older orthodoxy, nor is reconcileable with right views of the Redeemer and the inspired Scriptures. K.

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## ARTICLE IX.

### RUDELBACH AND GUERICKE'S JOURNAL.

*Zeitschrift für die gesammte Lutherische Theologie u. Kirche, herausgegeben von Dr. A. G. Rudelbach zu Copenhagen und Dr. H. E. F. Guericke zu Halle. Zehnter Jahrgang*, 1849. *Erstes Quartalheft. Leipzig, Dörffling und Francke.* [*Journal for the Lutheran Church and its Theology in general, edited by Dr. A. G. Rudelbach at Copenhagen and Dr. H. E. F. Guericke at Halle. Vol.* 10. *No.* 1.]

This is the first number of this periodical, which has now commenced its tenth volume, that we have had an opportunity of examining. Taking this as a specimen, we hesitate not to say that its spirit and contents fully meet the high expectations which we were led to form of its character from the manner in which we found it quoted and referred to in the current church literature of Germany. Expecting to present our readers with occasional translations from this able representative of Lutheranism in the land of its birth, we take this opportunity of giving them some information in regard to it, which seems the more called for as, like a large part of the recent theology of revived Lutheranism, it has hitherto, for reasons that might very easily be given, attracted no attention in this country.

The editors of this work, Drs. Rudelbach and Guericke, are two of the most remarkable men and among the ablest scholars of that land of scholars, Germany. Foremost among those who have aided in the revival of religion against the withering blight of infidelity, which, under the names of rationalism and

philosophy, had spread itself over all western Europe, and Germany especially, they did not stop there, but "contended earnestly for the" whole of that "faith which" had, as they believed, been "delivered to the saints," not only in the age of the Apostles but no less in that of the Reformers. They therefore felt no sympathy with that system of indifference which, under the name of "union" and "the Evangelical church," the late king of Prussia undertook to dictate to his subjects, and which whilst it professed equal reverence for the symbols of both the Lutheran and the Reformed church, practically set them all aside. Against this Rudelbach first raised his voice in his masterly and fearless work entitled, "*Reformation, Lutherthum u. Union*," [The Reformation, Lutheranism and the Union] in which with a learning as profound as his logic is irresistible, he developes the original and proper principles of the Zuinglian and Calvinistic systems (which he identifies) and the Lutheran, shows how one diverges from and is incompatible with the other, and thus overturns from its very foundation, in the supposed ultimate identity of the two forms of faith, the king of Prussia's cherished scheme of union. Dr. Rudelbach's writings are numerous, but that just referred to is the only one which it has been our good fortune to obtain. Although opposing in the decided manner just mentioned the favorite policy of the government under which, we believe, he was then living, which was, at the time, almost an unpardonable sin against most of the governments of Germany, where the reins of authority were drawn so tight (we have seen their snapping in our day), his acknowledged abilities have given him the highest stations in the church. From the position of a superintendent in Saxony, if our memory serves us, he was called, several years since, to a similar post in Denmark where he now resides, and where we hope his labors may long be blessed to the edification of the church.

We cannot better describe Dr. Guericke's character, or give a better idea of his position than we find in the following extract from a notice of his latest work, his "Christian Archaeology," (*Christliche Archäologie*) contained in the No. of the Journal which we are now noticing, from the pen of his friend and colleague, Rudelbach: "It is an especial good fortune in which our Evangelical Lutheran church which is again raising itself from the dust, can rejoice, that it has from the first never had a deficiency of learned builders, and that, by God's help, they do not grow weary. For it is the decided opinion of our church, in the first place, that the saints should be well prepared, in all respects, for the work of the ministry—and

how important for this preparation is *true theology!* Then, again, how important is it that the manuals and text-books of theological instruction not only present their topics, no matter how, but that they do this with an eye open to the glory of the church, with deep love for her of whom Luther says: "*She hath my heart enraptur'd.*" We have thus briefly indicated Guericke's position as a Lutheran theologian, and his vocation as a cultivator of science. When he made his first appearance in his "History of the Catechetical School of Alexandria," (*Historia scholae catecheticae Alexandrinae*) (1824–5), we all immediately saw what fruits for the church were promised by a spring thus germinating and blossoming (which was not less evident, in a more practical direction, in his "Life of *A. H. Francke*," 1827.) Like all the rest of us, he has had a summer teeming with tempests—he has fought as a soldier, labored as a man of science, and gathered his palms in both fields. For we do not assert too much in saying, that the series of his Introductory writings, even down to his "Historico—critical Introduction to the New Testament," display a scientific depth and research, and a polemical skill which increase with every step and with every blow of his opponent, such as are seldom to be found united. And who can fail to perceive in his "Manual of church-history," (of which the sixth edition is now before us), a heart breathing love to the church, and the unchangeable fidelity of a confessor, but, on the other hand, also, great scientific command of his subject, sagacity in the discovery of every trait of life, keen and yet really mild judgement of others? .... And who has not perceived in his "General christian Symbolicism," even after the labors of *Marheinecke*, *Winer*, and others, a gigantic stride towards the scientific organization and exhibition of the whole of the matter belonging to this department? .... Amid all this .... the church of the country where he was laboring twined for him no wreath of gratitude or of approval, but prepared for him only the pointed thorns of neglect and of persecution. .... — We thus speak and give this testimony, not as though others did not know this as well as we, and doubtless they might express it better—but, in the first place, the church may not be a silent spectator of the contests and labors of her sons—she, who has equipped them and placed them upon the field of battle, she also must give her testimony to her warriors and laborers, — and then, in the second place, it is our business to notice this work (the Christian Archäology) which is the ripest and most mature fruit of the author's literary labors."—Thus far Rudelbach in regard to his friend and col-

league. We shall only add here, that Guericke continues to occupy the post, which he has long filled, of Professor of Theology in the University of Halle.

These two gentlemen are assisted by a large body of able contributors in almost every department of Theology and the connected sciences, such as Delitsch, Caspari, Pistorius, Besser, and others. This Review appears to be conducted in a very systematic manner. The first part is occupied by Essays or extended discussions of important points in theology, church government, church history, &c., and the second part is devoted to notices of new publications, which are longer or shorter according to the nature of the subject involved. Perhaps we cannot give a better idea of the work than by stating the contents of the No. now before us. There are only three Essays in it. The first is a very short one by *Münchmeyer*, Pastor in Lamspringe, on "*The government of the church by Princes*," from which, and from various other quarters, we are happy to perceive that the church in Germany has become fully awake to the evils of the connection of church and state, and has deliberately made up her mind to dissolve it. The second Article covers some sixty pages, and is by *E. Huschke*, who discusses this proposition, that "*The word and sacraments are the factors of the church.*" The third is of about the same length and from the pen of *Th. F. Karrer*, Pastor at Oettingen. The subject is "*The Ministerial office*," in a letter to a friend, written in a most interesting and masterly manner.—The second part, which is under the general head of "*Universal Bibliography of the latest theological literature of Germany*," contains notices of about *thirty* different works, all of which have, we believe, been published within the last two years, most of them in 1848. Some of these notices are very brief, others of considerable length; for example, that of Thiersch's "Lectures upon Catholicism and Protestantism," by Rudelbach, which occupies fifteen closely printed pages, 8vo. These notices are of great interest and value to all who would keep themselves informed in regard to the current theological literature of Germany. R.

## ARTICLE X.

### HYMNS FROM THE GERMAN OF LUTHER, ACCORDING TO THE ORIGINAL METRES.

By William M. Reynolds.

No. 3. A version of "*Es spricht der unweisen mund wol.*"
(The 14th Psalm.)

1. Though fools in words may boldly say:
'In God we are believers;'
Yet unbelief their hearts doth sway,
Deeds prove them base deceivers;
Corrupt, averse to all that 's right,
And hateful in Jehovah's sight,
None doeth good before Him.

2. The Lord himself from heav'n look'd down,
The sons of men beholding,
Prepar'd his faithful ones to crown,
In arms of love enfolding
Those who his heavenly wisdom sought,
And what His word directed wrought,
Still in his fear abiding.

3. "None walketh in the narrow way,
All have from God departed;
Impure is all they think and say,
Not one is single hearted;
Not one is there that doeth good,
Tho' many would be understood
As serving God uprightly.

4. How long shall I no knowledge take
Of these most vile transgressors,
Who mischief all their business make,
And are my saints' oppressors?
Who never place their trust in me,
Will uot to God for succor flee,
Will be their own protectors?

5. Thus doth their heart no quiet know,
They are in terror ever;
But to my people I will show
My love that faileth never.
Despise not ye my humble poor
Who have a refuge ever sure
In me their God forever."

6. O! when in Zion shall appear,
For Isräel salvation?
God will his people's cry then hear
And free our captive nation.
This will He do thro' His own Son,
Then Jacob's joy shall be begun,
And Isräel shall triumph.

No. 4. A version of "*Jesus Christus unser Heiland.*"

(The Hymn of St. John Huss, improved.*)

1. Lord Jesus Christ! to thee we pray;
From us thou turn'st God's wrath away;
Thine agony and bitter death
Redeem us from eternal wrath.

2. That we may never this forget,
Thy body for our food is set;
And in the wine thou giv'st thy blood,
To cleanse our souls, a sacred flood.

3. Let none, impenitent and bold,
This sacred feast profanely hold:
He who unworthy sitteth there
Shall sink to death and dark despair.

4. But praise the Father by whose love
The Son descended from above,
Became the bread of life to thee
And bore thy sins upon the tree.

5. Firmly on this thou must believe;
That here the sick their food receive,
Which heals them from the wounds of sin,
Creating heav'nly health within.

6. Such grace and mercy must be sought
By those whom sorrow long hath taught;
If anguish ne'er thy heart hath rent
Be not thy knee there vainly bent.

7. Our Savior saith: Come unto me,
Ye who now feel your poverty:
My mercy I will freely give,
Your anguish'd conscience I'll relieve.

8. Could'st thou unaided this obtain,
Then have I shed my blood in vain;
This feast was vainly spread for thee
If thou require no food from me.

9. If in thy heart this faith doth rest,
Which thou hast here in words confess'd,
A welcome guest thou here shalt be,
And Christ himself shall banquet thee.

10. But fruits must still thy faith approve;
Thy neighbor thou must truly love;
That love let him from thee receive,
Which here to thee thy God doth give.

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* This hymn of Luther is an *imitation* rather than a translation of Huss' Latin hymn commencing, "Jesus Christus nostra salus."

## ARTICLE XI.

### PAUL GERHARDT:

*A ballad, from the German of Schmidt of Lübeck.*

[Paul Gerhardt, who stands at the head of the little less than inspired array of German writers of hymns, who have glorified God and animated the devotions of his people, not only throughout the two centuries during which they wrote, but even down to the present day — and will, if we err not, continue to do so to the end of time—Paul Gerhardt was born at Gräfenhainchen in the year 1606. In 1657 he became Deacon, or third minister, of St Nicholas' church in Berlin. "After the transition of *John Sigismund* to the Reformed church," says Guericke, (Kirchenges. III. 371-2.) "there was no end to the collisions between the Reformed whom he favored and the Lutherans who were harrassed in various ways, especially in Berlin. The administration of *Frederick William the Great*, by the partiality which it manifested for the Reformed of Berlin in the transactions connected with *Exorcism*, etc. and its harshness towards the Lutherans, aggravated matters still more, and the Elector, under the influence of his Reformed chaplain, *Stosch*, who subsequently became the chief Court-preacher (Oberhoffprediger), endeavored to suppress the complaints of the Lutheran preachers by various Edicts which aimed if not at union, yet at toleration based upon indifferentism. To these Edicts he demanded the subscription of the ministers. Such a subscription *(Revers)* contained the engagement, on the part of a Lutheran minister, to pursue a christian course of conduct towards the Reformed, to approve of the Reformed doctrines, to make no more appeals to the Formula Concordiæ, and literally to obey all the Electoral edicts touching matters of faith." Not only was the whole body of ministers thus insulted, but Lutheran preaching was thus completely fettered. All who refused this subscription were deposed. In 1665, two of Gerhardt's colleagues, the Archdeacon *Reinhart* (of Halle) and the aged Provost *Lilius*, refused to subscribe, and were deposed; the repeated intercession of the Estates in their behalf was vain. Lilius, however, in 1666, having made explanations, was restored, but soon died, amid deep anguish of conscience and penitent self-condemnation; Reinhart died in exile in 1669, at Leipsic, where he became Superintendent. After the restoration of Lilius subscription was demanded of *Gerhardt;* this he refused, and was "removed" from his office in February 1666. All Berlin made application to the Elector on his behalf, sending deputations even to Cleves, where the Elector was then staying — but all in vain. It was only after the petition of the Estates presented in the same year (1666) that the Elector became somewhat milder, and, in 1667, upon the intercession of his wife, the amiable Electress, Louisa Henrietta, daughter of the Prince of Orange, [authoress of the impressive hymn "*Jesus meine Zuversicht*," also of "*Ich will von meiner Missethat*," &c.] — the year that the pious Princess died — he restored *Gerhardt*,— but with the intimation of the Elector's assurance, that "*he would henceforth, even without subscription, act in accordance with the Electoral Edict which he had not before rightly understood.*" Gerhardt's conscience did not allow him to resume the full discharge of his duties under this crippling quasi-condition, which bound his heart at least, if not his hand, and prevented a full and free declaration of his sentiments as a Lutheran, in opposition to every error, even if it were protected by the Elector himself. He temporarily resumed the discharge of his official duties, but at the same time declared to the Elector his conviction of the incompatibility of the electoral Edicts which bound the free word of God with the Formula Concordiæ. The Elector, instead of replying in such a way as to relieve his conscience by annulling the Edicts, and declaring the Lutheran ministers free to preach

as they pleased, repeatedly urged the church to proceed to a new election, if *Gerhardt* still had scruples in the matter, and, at last, after vainly waiting, recommended a new Deacon to it." After having remained a year in Berlin without any official station, but supported by the voluntary contributions of the people who were devoted to him, his wife having deceased in March 1668, he went, in September of the same year to Lubben, where he was regularly settled in 1669, having been invited thither by Duke Christian of Saxe-Mersenburg, a year before. The history of those transactions (like many other acts of despotism) is involved in considerable obscurity. *Paul Gerhardt* has become the subject of various popular traditions, one of which *Schmidt* of Lübeck has embodied in the following ballad, which we are sorry that our translation does not more perfectly reproduce — the original metre has rather too many double rhymes for our less melodious English — yet we thought its form as well as its substance worth preserving.] R.

O'er Brandenburg was ruling
Th' Elector once so fam'd:
Then love's first glow was cooling,
A novel faith proclaim'd:
Laws, stern and unrelenting,
God's truth to preach preventing,
Were publish'd far and near.
But can they ever fetter,
Or make their base abettor
That minstrel void of earthly fear?

He stood before the altar,
A star on Zion's sky,
And he will never falter
To lift his voice on high:
"Faint not and be not fearful,
Firm be your faith, and cheerful
In Him who works his will!
Though heav'n itself be shaken,
Earth's props away be taken,
A safe stronghold our God is still!"

Th' Elector sent and bid him;
Before the prince he came;
And thus the tyrant chid him,
While glow'd his eye like flame:
"The self-will'd, idle prater,
Who, to our laws a traitor,
Resists what we command,
Shall lose his rank and station,
Incur our indignation,
And, exil'd, forthwith leave our land."

The old man calmly answer'd,
"O prince, 't is meet for me,
The meanest of God's servants,
To bow to thy decree.
But, when God's word I'm teaching,
What else should I be preaching
Than what that word contains?
His will is just forever,
I'll murmur at it never."
His answer this, unchang'd, remains.

Then to his home returning
He soothes all sorrow there.
His staff and bible only
As his he thence may bear;

One child the pale wife claspeth
To her breast, the other graspeth,
Convulsive, by the hand—
Thus o'er their threshold passing,
To heav'n their glances casting,
They, joyful, leave their native land.

Who in that distant valley,
As weary pilgrims go,
Whilst on the plains wide surface
The sunbeams fiercely glow?
In steadfast faith they wander,
As though were blooming yonder
An earthly paradise.
And when the day was ended
A forest hut extended
Its rest, in humble guise.

Behold the gentle slumbers
Of the children on the floor!
But the mother's heart with sorrow
At length thus runneth o'er—
Who, in the stranger's city,
Will look with love and pity
Upon these helpless ones?
Who will be their defender?
For bread, men often tender
Poor, starving children stones."

The pious poet smileth:
"They 're in the hands of God!"
Faith's palms give joy and courage
To those o'er whom they nod;
And where their verdure gloweth
Cool water ever floweth
In happiness along.
Forth from the hut he springeth,
And speedily he bringeth
Sure consolation's golden song:

"Commit thy ways' direction,
And all that grieves thy soul,
To Him whose sure protection,
Doth heav'n itself control." *
Then ev'ry fear and sorrow,
All caring for to-morrow,
Is lifted from their breasts;
The song hath not yet ended,
When on them hath descended
That peace which on God's children rests.

Their vows ascend in silence
Beneath the silent night,
Whilst o'er the groves and meadows
Is spread the starry light;
They vow, tho' floods sweep o'er them,
Destruction yawn before them,

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* The first four lines of Gerhardt's celebrated hymn—
"Befiehl du deine Wege."

For aye to trust in God.
And scarce their vow had ended,
And heavenward ascended,
When at the door their succor stood.

For on the sand already
A horse's tramp is heard,
And from the Saxon country
Its rider brings this word:
"O minstrel, peace and greeting!
This is a happy meeting—
Prince Christian bids thee hail;
He will the faithful martyr,
Who would not God's truth barter,
As God's true servant honor well.

Thee hath the prince selected,
A happy flock to feed,
And threefold shall his favors
Thy losses here exceed.
Come then! Gray morn descendeth,
And here thy sorrow endeth,
God doth thy trials close!
The bound'ries stand inviting;
Ere stars night's sky are lighting
Thou shalt in thy new home repose."

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## ARTICLE XII.

### LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.—GERMANY.

*Guericke's Church History.*—We are glad to see by an announcement in the first No. for the current year of the "Zeitschrift für Lutherische Theologie u. Kirche," that Dr. Guericke has in press the *seventh edition* of his admirable Church History. As a manual for the student and a book of reference for the general reader we know of no work in any language, of either ancient or modern times, which can at all compare with this compend of Church-history. Although the style is none of the smoothest, and rather too involved for those not perfectly familiar with the German, it is so accurate and minute, so clear and condensed in its statement of facts, and so decidedly orthodox and evangelical in its doctrinal stand-point, that it gives exactly what the student and general reader wants, in a book of the kind. We are, therefore, rejoiced to see a *translation* of this announced as one of the works which will shortly be published as a part of the series of "*Bohn's Standard Library*" of the best English and Foreign Authors, which is now in the course of publication in London.

*Harless' Sermons.* We see the third volume of this distinguished author's sermons announced as coming from the press. Although we have seen but a few extracts from his discourses we take it for granted, from the avidity with which they seem to be read (they are all published within a few days after their delivery), and the deep impression which he makes upon the multitudes who crowd his church, that Dr. Harless stands at the very head of the present pulpit orators of Germany. The career of Harless is perhaps the most interesting, and his position one of the best defined and most commanding among the theologians of Germany. As a theologian he has no superior in our day. His "*Commentary upon the Ephesians*" was admitted (until that of Stier appeared, and we greatly doubt whether this will change the state of the case), to stand in the very front rank of works of that class. His work on "*Christian Ethics*" likewise sustains a high character, and his Journal the "Zeitschrift für Protestantismus u. Kirche," yields to no other in the ability with which it is conducted. Dr. Harless was formerly Professor in the University of Erlangen, in Bavaria, but now occupies the same position at Leipzig and is also preacher at St. Nicholas' Church in that city. His evangelical and pointed preaching there, of course, gives but little satisfaction to the rationalistic party by which both the University and city of Leipsic have so long been swayed, and they would fain have got rid of him long since, but are at a loss how to do it with any decency. The sermons to which we have reference appear under the title, "Die Sonntagsweihe–Predigten gehalten von Dr. G. C. Harless, Consistorialrath," u. s. f., that is, "Sunday consecrated-Sermons delivered by Dr. G. C. Harless," &c. &c. They are published by Teubner, in Leipzig, at 1 Thaler a volume — each volume containing twenty sermons. We shall, perhaps, say more about them when we get the copy for which we some time since sent, but which failed to come to hand in due season.

*Rudelbach's Christian Biography.* Dörfling and Franke in Leipzig announce the publication of a new work from Dr. Rudelbach, under the title of "*Christiche Biographie*," &c. that is, "Christian Biography: Lives of the witnesses of the christian church, as fragments of its history. No. 1. *Cyprian.*" "The work," we are told in the advertisement, "is designed to take an intermediate position between historical monograms and the ordinary developements of church history. The sketches are to follow each other in chronological order, but

with a regular interchange of the three periods of christian antiquity, the middle ages, and the period since the Reformation." Although the fruit of ripe scholarship, this work is, of course, designed for popular use. The price of each No. will be regulated by its size, but will be low, that of the first being only 12 Ngr. ($37\frac{1}{2}$ cts.).

*German Booksellers' Semi-annual Catalogue.*—The politeness of Mr. R. Garrigue, of N. York, again furnishes us with the German Booksellers' Catalogue of "Books, Periodicals, &c. published in Germany from January 1st to June 30th, 1849." pp. 264. In theology, authorship appears to begin to flow very steadily in its old channels, with, perhaps, a more decided preponderance of what is orthodox and evangelical. The Lutheran element, especially, appears to be moving itself with great vigor. Thus we find not only the continuation of such great works as *de Valenti's* Dogmatik the publication of the fifth volume of which (being an Introduction to the whole) is here announced, and *Irmischer's* new and complete edition of *Luther's works* in German and Latin, of the former of which the fortieth part (being the "Exposition of the 5th, 6th and 7th chaps. of St. Matthew,") now makes its appearance, and of the latter the 20th (being the conclusion of the "Commentary on the XV Psalms of Degrees); and vol. XV. of *Bretschneider's* complete edition of *Melancthon's works*, but a large number of less elaborate and extensive, but not less effective works, such as Uhlhorn's "*Libri Symbolici;*" a Prize Essay published at Göttengen, "in which the legitimate use, moral obligation, moral character, grounds and reasons of Symbolical Books, especially of those which have been received in the Lutheran church, are set forth;" "*Die Augsburgische Confession*," &c. that is, "The Augsburg Confession, new edition, for the instruction and encouragement of all who will be and remain Evangelical-Lutheran Christians," second edition; "The Evangelical-Lutheran church;" Nos. 1 to 10. 1. "Why do we profess to belong to the Evangelical Lutheran church?" 3. "Open declaration of a layman against Union" &c. 4. "The Augsburg Confession, the apple of the eye of the Lutheran church and a thorn in the eye of its enemies." Löhe's "Bavarian General Synod of 1849, and the Lutheran Confession;" with many others of the same sort.—In general theology, we see that *Neander's* "*Life of St. John Chrysostom*" has reached a third edition, and the same illustrious author has also published a "*Commentary on the Epis. to the Philippians*," intended to be for popular and practical use.

*Tholuck* has also published a volume of sermons on "The latest commotions of the times," which has already reached a second edition. (We are happy to state in this connection that Dr. Tholuck, in a letter lately addressed to Dr. Barnas Sears of this country, avows himself to have renounced the views which, as is well known, he formerly entertained, in favor of final restorationism, he declares himself to have been led to his present convictions by the consideration of our Lord's declaration relative to the sin against the Holy Ghost.)—Dr. *Gieseler* has also brought out the second vol. of the fourth edition of his "Manual of Church-history," (*Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*). There is also a German edition of Cureton's "*Corpus Ignatianum*, or complete collection of the Ignatian epistles, genuine, interpolated, and spurious," &c. Reprinted from the London edition. Berlin: Asher and Co. 6 Rthlr.

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## ARTICLE XIII.

### NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

1. *The Mercersburg Review, Nos.* I–V. This Review which is published every two months has reached its fifth (Sept.) No. Professing to "be the organ of the so-styled "Mercersburg" system," it has most faithfully and vigorously fulfilled that mission. Indeed it could not well do otherwise, for the great mass of its articles are from the prolific and pungent pen of Dr. Nevin himself, the distinguished head and founder of that school in theology. Whatever difference of opinion there may be in regard to the value of Dr. N's. opinions, or the soundness of his theology, there can be none in reference to his high talents, his profound learning, and his deep earnestness and thorough conviction of the truth and importance of the principles which he advocates. What Dr. N's. views are, or what is the estimate which we form of them this is not the place to state, but those who wish to see them discussed in all their bearings and relations can do so by consulting the Mercersburg Review. The September No. contains two pregnant articles of this kind, the one upon "*The Sect System*," covering some twenty-five pp. but not yet completed, the other very brief but not less explicit, in answer to the question "What is historical Developement?"—We should do injustice to our own feelings did we not here acknowledge the liberal notice taken of our Journal (The Evangelical Review) in another article in this same (Sept.) No. under the heading of "*The Lutheran Confession.*" Whilst conscious that we do not, individually, at least, deserve the high compliment

there paid us, we shall yet, within our humble sphere, endeavor to fulfil the mission so clearly pointed out for us, not only by Dr. N. but by the nature of the case and the name which we bear. At the same time, justice both to Dr. N. and to ourselves requires us to define our mutual position which we cannot do better, so far as he is concerned, than in his own language. After having, at the close of his congratulations upon the appearance of the Review, said, "We are glad that Lutheranism has found an organ, after so long a time, to plead its cause before the American church; and we are glad it has found an organ which promises to plead this cause so ably and so well," he proceeds to answer the question so natural in this age of professed liberality, and of practical bigotry, "Are *we* (of Mercersburg) then Lutheran?" by saying, with his characteristic frankness, "Just as little as we have become Roman. As we stand in the bosom, externally, of the *Reformed* church, we find in it, also, the only satisfactory resting place, at present, for our faith." So too must we say, (and we say it with the highest respect for Dr. Nevin personally, and for the German *Reformed* church generally) *we* do not sympathize with his peculiar views, nor occupy his position, because we are neither Zuinglian nor Calvinistic, nor any thing between the two, but simply Lutheran in our apprehension of the whole evangelical system.

2. *Prof. Schaff's Kirchenfreund. Vols. I.—II.* This Monthly Magazine which Prof. Schaff of Mercersburg conducts with equal ability and spirit, has now nearly reached the close of its second year, with, as we are pleased to hear, a fair prospect of its continuance. It is, as it professes to be, an "organ for the common interests of the American German church," which it represents, in general, with great impartiality. We are sorry to see an exception to this in the last (October) No. where a writer on "The Evangelical Association of the West," makes a rather violent attack (under the form of a defense) against his Lutheran brethren of the Missouri Synod. It is true the Editor declines responsibility for this article, but we think it would have been more consistent with his *irenical* position to have declined the article itself, or at best so much of it as is polemical against "*a common interest.*" Still, we are decidedly of opinion that our German cotemporary improves with age. The Editor's articles, especially, are always marked with great ability, as instances of which we would particularly refer to those upon American and upon General Church-history. The communications of many of his correspondents, especially those which treat of the condition of the Germans in the west, and of the political and religious state of Germany, are highly interesting. An article in the last September No. on "The German and Swiss colonies in Russia" contains a great deal of interesting information upon that subject. If the German churches will unite in the support of this periodical we have no doubt of their ability to sustain it, and if more of our

ministers who have the ability to write would do so, it would not only be a relief to the laborious Editor, but would add greatly to the value of the work. We must also thank our worthy cotemporary for his kind notice of our incipient efforts.

3. *Sermons delivered in the Chapel of Brown University by Francis Wayland, President of the University. 2nd Edition.* Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1849.

These University sermons, the distinguished author tells us, in his Preface, "were delivered in the College chapel on Sabbath afternoons, before the officers and students of Brown University.—Written during a period of four years, in preparing them for the press, they have been so arranged as to form something like a series of discourses on what I suppose to be the most important doctrines of the Gospel.—It is the design to present a plain exhibition of the way of salvation by Christ." Dr. Wayland has long been before the public as one of our most popular writers in various departments of science and morals. His style is easy and fluent and rich in illustration, though not remarkable for great depth or logical acumen. The sermons before us will add nothing to his high reputation, though they exhibit his character very favorably as a serious christian of the liberal school of Robt. Hall. The volume contains twenty-one sermons upon some of the most important doctrines and duties of the Gospel, and is got up in the elegant style that characterizes the publications of Messrs. Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln.

4. *Proverbs for the People: or Illustrations of Practical Godliness drawn from the Book of Wisdom, By E. L. Magoon, Author of "The Orators of the American Revolution."* Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1849. pp. 272. 12mo.

This is another book, got up in the same tasteful style, by Messrs. Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. The writer is rather a young author, and this is the first of his efforts which we have had an opportunity of perusing though we saw his "Orators of the Am. Revolution" very favorably noticed when it first made its appearance. The work before us is a series of Lectures on select passages from the book of Proverbs, in which, as the author informs us in his Preface, "an attempt is made to discuss the exalted principles of Christian morality in a manner adapted to the comprehension of the great mass of mankind." For sermons of this kind the Book of Proverbs furnishes an exhaustless store-house of texts and of illustrations, and is, at the same time, a complete demonstration that such instruction is contemplated by the divine word, for why was this Book put into the sacred canon if it is never to be used? Yea why is there such a perfect dissection and baring of the human heart, and such a complete catalogue of its follies and weaknesses, as well as of its deeper sins, and also of the opposite virtues, and of that form of holiness of which our blessed Lord was the human

impersonation, if this is never to be used, and if those duties are not to be insisted on in all their length and their breadth? We think, therefore, that Mr. Magoon has done well in directing attention to the subject, and hope that the example that he has set of minutely analysing moral character and enforcing moral duties will be followed by many both in the pulpit and by the press. In the eighteen chapters of which his book is composed, he discusses some very important points of morals, that are too generally overlooked.

5. *Grammar of the Latin Language. By Leonhard Schmitz, Ph. D. F. R. S. E. Rector of the High School, Edinburgh.* Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1849. *(Classical Series.)*

This is another work in the excellent series of Text-books for classical schools, to which we have already directed attention. We have not yet found time to give this book so minute an examination as is necessary to speak confidently of its adaptation to the important purpose for which it has been prepared, but so far as we have examined it our impressions are highly favorable. Twenty years' use of and labor with "Adams' Latin Grammar," whilst they have naturally rendered us partial to it as an old friend and companion in adversity, and whilst they have hitherto brought nothing (in English) which we have thought could, with advantage, be substituted for it, have also made us acquainted with many defects and imperfections in it. Some of these we find supplied in this work of Dr. Schmitz. Thus, for instance, we find the fact that *Deponent verbs* have *Gerunds and Supines* noticed, which Adams and so many of his editors have overlooked. The Syntax, also, strikes us as much superior to the dry and unconnected system of Rules given by most English grammarians, although we would prefer that the Rule should be presented in that condensed form that it has usually taken, and which is so necessary to the memory. At the same time we entirely approve of Dr. Schmitz' effort to make the Rules intelligible and to give the rationale of every thing. With all this, the work is remarkably condensed so as to occupy (together with a good index) only 318 pp. 12mo.

6. *Q. Curtii Rufi de gestis Alexandri Magni, Regis Macedonum, libri qui supersunt VIII.* Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1849.

We are delighted to see this most interesting fragment of ancient history, the eight surviving books of Q. Curtius' Alexander the Great, made a part of Schmitz and Zumpt's Classical Series. We know of no Roman prose writer more attractive to the young student of the majestic language of the conquerors of the world, which is so well adapted to celebrate the exploits of this world-conqueror. The introductory matter is written with the care and clearness which always characterize these publications, and the previous labors of the Editor, Dr. Zumpt, in this direction, are a sufficient guaranty that the text is the best with which the public

has ever been favored.—The American edition has the neatness and cheapness which have hitherto distinguished these publications of Messrs. Lea and Blanchard.

7. *Manual of Ancient Geography and History. By W. Pütz, Principal of the Gymnasium of Düren. Translated from the German. Edited by the Rev. Kirchever Arnold, M. A., Rector of Lyndon, and late fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Revised and corrected from the London edition.* New York: D. Appleton & Co. 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: E. S. Appleton, 164 Chesnut St. 1849.

This is another valuable school-book and manual for students, issued by Messrs. Appleton in the handsome style of their publications generally. It is accompanied by an interesting Preface, from Prof. Greene, of Brown University, in which the importance and proper method of studying History are well exhibited, and the Notes and additions by Mr. Arnold are such as might be expected from so sound a scholar and experienced a teacher. The work itself gives evidence of the usual thoroughness and ripe scholarship of Germany. With a good Atlas to accompany it, we have no doubt that this will be a very satisfactory introduction to both the important subjects, Ancient Geography and History, namely, which it is designed to elucidate.

8. *A Compendium of English Literature, chronologically arranged from Sir John Mandeville to William Cowper. By Charles D. Cleveland.* Philadelphia: E. C. & J. Biddle. 776 pp. 8vo.

The Public are under obligations to Professor Cleveland for preparing this valuable Compendium of English Literature. Designed as a text-book for the highest Classes in Schools and for Junior Classes in Colleges, it furnishes the student with a knowledge of the best British poets and prose writers, arranged in chronological order, to show the progress of the English language. It consists of biographical sketches of the Authors and Selections from their works, with Notes explanatory and illustrative, also directing to the best editions of the writers, and to the various criticisms upon them, and to other books upon kindred subjects, which may be read with profit. It is long since we have encountered a work so interesting in design, and so judicious in arrangement. We have risen from its examination with satisfaction and delight. Prof. Cleveland's accurate scholarship, patient industry and extensive experience give him rare qualifications for the difficult task of compiling such a Compendium. The work was much needed, and certain are we, that its execution could not have been placed in better hands. The Selections are made with excellent taste and uncommon discrimination. The biographical sketches, prefixed to the extracts, are judicious, accurate, and elegantly written; they are well fitted to introduce the pupil to an acquaintance with the most finished portions of our literature, and will prove a valuable auxiliary in the study of a subject which has been most shamefully neglected in our Academies and Colleges. The book deserves to be extensively adopted, and we are pleased, that it holds a place in the course of studies in Pennsylvania College. We should do injustice to the enterprising publishers did we not make an allusion to the elegance of the mechanical execution, and remark that they have done their part in a style of unusual beauty.

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Erratum. On page 189, lines 15 and 20, for 1848 read 1748.

THE

# EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

NO. III.

JANUARY, 1850.

## ARTICLE I.

### MEURER'S LIFE OF LUTHER.

By Prof. H. I. Schmidt, A. M., of Columbia College, N. Y.

1. *Luthers Leben aus den Quellen erzählt, von Moritz Meurer. Dresden, Verlag von Justus Naumann*, 1843.
2. *The Life of Martin Luther; related from original authorities. With sixteen engravings. By Moritz Meurer. Translated from the German, by a pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran church.* New York: printed by H. Ludwig & Co. 1848.

Of all that have lived since the establishment of the christian church, no man has exerted an influence on the destinies of mankind in any sense or degree as far-reaching, powerful, and thoroughly pervasive, as Luther. Since the days of the Apostles, no man has occupied a position on the great theatre of human life, for a moment to be compared, in its majesty and imposing grandeur, with that of our great Reformer. The church has been blessed with a multitude of great and good men, who accomplished, with ability and fidelity, their respective missions, and whose praise is in all the churches; but in that marvellous combination of powers, intellectual and moral, which invests its possessor with a decided mastery, a sort of dictatorship, whether acknowledged or not, over the collective mind of the human race, and whose faithful and fearless employment in the service of truth and goodness, renders him the benefactor of the whole family of man, Luther stands unrivalled and alone. In fact, Luther, or if any should so

prefer, the work which Luther achieved, is the grand central point from which the greatest and best developments of modern history radiate, and around which they revolve. That those who seek to trace human affairs to their sources are sensible of this, is obvious from the very contempt and obloquy, which have, in a certain section of the church, been, of late years, heaped upon his name, by degenerate protestants, recreant to those great principles which involve the freedom, the purity, the very life of the church. No man can look at the immense mass of literature, to which Luther and his doings have given rise, without according to him the conspicuous and important (we abstain here designedly from all other descriptive terms) place in human history, which we claim for him. No uninspired man has ever been more written about, both for and against, than Luther; none ever more enthusiastically admired and extolled, none more rancorously hated and more venomously vilified. All this renders it a work of supererogation to insist any longer on his *greatness*, however much dispute there may be as to the *nature* of that greatness, which we shall endeavor to consider calmly and without prejudice. So numerous are the biographies of Luther, that to read them all would be a super-herculean task. Among these we find every conceivable variety, from the elaborate and comprehensive history, imbodying the rise and progress of the Reformation, or the vivid, sparkling and dramatic representation and scenic exhibition of D'Aubigne, to the simple, unpretending, but most copious, faithful and attractive memoirs before us, with a great many intermediate varieties, which we cannot tarry to specify. But they are for the major part, probably all, with the exception of Michelet's Memoires de Luther, a pleasing, instructive, but imperfect compilation from his own writings, and the work named at the head of this article, written from the subjective standpoint. The biographers of Luther have painted him more as he appeared to them, than as he really was; and the portrait has been faithful or untrue, grand or mean, in proportion as the artists were able to understand, to measure, to appreciate him and his position, to catch and delineate the ceaseless play of deeply-significant expression, shadowing forth the movements of his great heart, and his mighty spirit, on his speaking countenance, and to trace the inward life of the man, in the outward manifestations of his fervent piety—in his never-resting activity. Thus we have caricatures. in which every feature is distorted; eulogiums, in which all is magnificent, splendid and glorious; and rationalistic disquisitions, in which every thing is acutely scanned,

minutely measured, shrewdly explained, and summarily decided and placed beyond the pale of further discussion. There has been a most ample display of subjectivity, in all its rampant self-complacency, or, more modest in its manifestations, in truly admirable works *on* Luther, — in divers attempts to portray to the eye of mankind the great hero of the Reformation; but we have not, until lately, been favored with a Daguerreotype likeness, taken directly from the majestic form of the Reformer himself. This, therefore, has been the desideratum, in order that men might have Luther as he lived, and wrote, and spoke, and acted, and died, before them, in the simple beauty, dignity and excellence of his own character, not bedizened with any foreign ornament, or tawdry trumpery, and that thus they might form their own estimate of his character and greatness from a picture, about the fidelity and objective truthfulness of which there could be no dispute or doubt. And it is such an objective representation of Luther and his life, that the work of Moritz Meurer professes, and most justly professes, to be. Ere we proceed to any further remarks on this work, we claim the privilege of saying a few words, from our subjective standpoint, with reference to that occupied by some others.

If we except Roman Catholic writers, and the silly twattlers of the Oxford school, we have little reason to complain of the spirit in which modern authors have written concerning the life, character, and achievements of Luther. That he should be duly appreciated in Protestant Germany is no more than we naturally expect: that Protestant Americans should admire, honor and revere him, is equally natural: that of late years English writers of great ability, have expatiated, with glowing eloquence, on his character, and forcibly set forth his claims upon the profound gratitude, and the perpetual veneration of christendom, is a gratifying evidence, that his greatness is more and more widely understood and thoroughly appreciated. There are not many among the enlightened men of the present age, who manifest any disinclination to do him ample justice. For two men of no mean reputation in the world of letters, the distinction has been reserved of speaking disrespectfully and contemptuously, the first of the Reformation alone, the other of Luther and his achievements: we refer to Dr. Durbin and Mr. Hallam. Respecting the recently published opinion of the former we do not think it worth while to say much. It betrays so glaringly the effervescent self-complacency and arrogance of Methodism, that none but decided sectarians of his own denomination will be likely to

assent to it, and his dictum so clearly proves, that he does not even remotely or faintly begin to understand his subject, that he knows nothing at all about the character and spirit of Luther and the Lutheran Reformation, that, really, it would be a waste of time and labor to devote another word to the refutation of an assertion, absolutely pitiful in its ridiculous absurdity.

But at the opinions, so deliberately and soberly put forth by Mr. Hallam, a critic in general so calm, judicious and just, we are greatly amazed. He thinks that men have formed a very exaggerated estimate of Luther's intellectual greatness; he regards him as entirely overrated, even, by Schlegel, who, a professed critic as well as Mr. Hallam, was certainly not biassed in his opinions by any sectarian partialities, or theological prepossessions; he speaks disparagingly of his genius, almost contemptuously of his learning, and sneeringly of his judgment; he condemns his theology as inconsistent with Scripture and with itself, and declares roundly, that "some of his treatises, and we may instance his reply to Henry VIII. or the book 'against the falsely-named order of bishops,' can be described as little else than bellowing in bad Latin." Those who have any desire to see all that Mr. Hallam says of Luther, will find his opinions expressed in various places of the first volume of his "Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries," more particularly at p. 197 sq. We may mention in this connexion, that, on this subject some of the finest minds in Great Britain are totally at issue with Mr. Hallam. And indeed, we do not think his opinion worth regarding, for evidently he is here either under the influence of an early-imbibed and settled prejudice, or actually in the same predicament as Dr. Durbin, i. e. in blissful ignorance of his subject; and we notice it merely because of his high reputation as a literary critic, which he has fairly earned by his vast research, and the general acuteness and correctness of his views, and because the injustice of his sweeping charges against Luther have given rise to the few general considerations which we wish to present, before we proceed to comment on the work named above.

If Mr. Hallam is to be believed, Luther was totally destitute of genius, nay of any extraordinary ability, and as for literature, "none had he himself," says our critic, "save theological." This judgment of Mr. Hallam's is so utterly at variance with the verdict of all candid and impartial Protestants, that to set soberly about its confutation would seem almost like childishness. Luther, that man without literature, was the

chief ornament and pride of his university, the able and eloquent expounder of the Aristotelian philosophy, before he shone as a theologian; he was a thorough Hebrew scholar, and to assert, that oriental learning is nothing more than one department of theology, is downright affectation; he was intimate with the classics, especially those of Rome, and wrote Latin verse with great facility;[1] he was a poet of deep inspiration and great power of utterance; his expurgated or improved version of many of Æsop's fables, preceded by an interesting and instructive introductory dissertation, betokens his intimacy with classic lore, and shows what he might have accomplished in this direction, as a critic, and an entertaining popular author, had his life of ceaseless activity left him time for such pursuits; his published letters, models of epistolary writing, and filling five bulky duodecimos, were addressed to all sorts of persons, in every rank and station of life, and treat of every variety of subjects; his lively and brilliant conversation embraced every department of human knowledge, then cultivated, and afforded entertainment and instruction not only to the unlearned but to the most opulent and polished minds of his time; he

[1] In proof of this and as a sufficient answer to Mr. Hallam's attempt at wit, in speaking of Luther's attack upon the English monarch, which is, after all, perhaps, in the eyes of this Englishman, the greatest offense that he has committed, we merely subjoin the following specimen of Luther's Latin versification, which is to be found in the edition of his works now in the course of publication by Irmischer, at Erlangen, *(D. Martini Lutheri Exegetica opera Latina curavit Dr. Joan. Conrad. Irmischer, Ecclesiae Neopolitanaè Erlangensis Pastor alter.)* Tom. xvii. p. 265. It is a version of Psalm 128, and when Mr. Hallam produces any thing at all comparable to it in grammatical propriety and poetical taste (in the same language) we will admit his right to criticise Luther's Latin.

*Psalmus CXXVIII,*

Carmine phalecio redditus a D. Martino Luthero, anno 1543. et oppositus Martialis epigrammati: Vitam quae faciunt beatiorem etc.

Vitam quae faciant beatiorem,
O carissime christiane, sunt haec.
Aeternum dominum Deum timere,
Mandatique sui vias amare.
Sit victus manuum labore partus,
Sic vivis bene, sic eris beatus.
Uxor prole tuam domum beabit,
Laetis ut generosa vitis uvis.
Ad mensam tibi filii sedebunt,
Ut pinguis tenerae novella olivae.
Sic fidus benedicitur maritus
In casto domini timore vivens.
Donet te benedictione semper
Ex Zion dominus Jerusalemque.
Florentem faciat bonis vigere,
Ut natos videas et inde natos,
Et pacem super Israel per aevum.
Hic dicat pius omnis amen, amen.

may be said to have created the modern language of Germany, in which his writings have served as a model to all subsequent ages; and, to say nothing of his other works, no later production can be compared, in point of simple elegance, unaffected sublimity, and nervous power of style, with his translation of the Bible, considered merely as a literary performance: and yet, notwithstanding all this, Luther "had no literature save theological!" Verily Mr. Hallam must have presumed greatly on the ignorance and credulity of the age to hazard such an assertion.

We merely add here the following statement from the work before us: "At Erfurt he came in contact with the cavilling dialectics of those times, and with his ready powers of perception he speedily made himself master of them. As his earnestly inquisitive spirit, however, longed for different and more substantial food, he privately read most of the ancient Latin authors, the works of a Cicero, Virgil, Livy, and others. And this he did not merely after the manner of school-boys, on account of the words, but for the sake of the instruction which they afford, and the mirror of human life which they hold up. This caused him more attentively to weigh the sense and the meaning of these writers, and, being gifted with a faithful and sure memory, he always had at his command most of what he had read or heard. . . . . Nor did he ever doze away or neglect any lesson, but sought opportunities to make enquiries of his teachers, respectfully conversing with them; often too, reviewing with his chamber-fellow what had been learned; and whenever there were no public lectures, he could always be found in the university library." p. 14. sq. And all this before he had ever so much as seen a Bible. If such are the pursuits and habits of an *illiterate* man, we should like to know what *are* those of the man of letters.

We are willing to admit, that the strength of Luther's genius did not so much appear in clear, comprehensive, connected argumentation on abstract subjects, as in the distinct, intuitive perception, and the firm grasping of great and important truths, and of their relations to each other, and to man's character, duty, and destination, and in that unshaken tenacity of purpose, that prompt and vigorous action, which are the offspring of clear and strong convictions of truth and duty. We do not always, perhaps not generally, when the higher mysteries of religion, and the more abstruse points of belief are under discussion, find in his writings that clear, close, consecutive course of reasoning, which at once satisfies the minds of others, and irresistibly forces conviction upon them.

But this was not the result of any vagueness or want of clearness, in his own mind. Luther's mental vision was exceedingly acute and far-reaching, and pierced at once to distant points, which other eyes could reach only by slowly traversing the intervening medium. And it is in consequence of this intuitive perception of truths and their relations and corollaries, that he often reaches his conclusions by elastic bounds, where others come to the same result by tardy and careful groping and plodding over a long and wearisome way. Had he discovered any great and momentous truth, the effect was not as in the case of those, before whose intellectual sight such truth appeared like a dim nebula in the darkness of an almost immeasurable distance, requiring minute and anxious inspection through a telescope, but it was as though a new sun had suddenly burst from beneath the horizon, and, darting athwart the sky, had fixed itself in the zenith, shedding its brilliant light around, illumining other bodies far and near, but by its dazzling splendor preventing the spaces between them from being, in every instance, duly explored and carefully scanned. Of this we have an illustration in that first great discovery which he made in the first Bible that came into his hands, that salvation is by faith, and by faith alone. Mr. Hallam reckons the strong assertion of this doctrine among Luther's paradoxes, or "unlimited propositions," and positively denies its truth. But this doctrine was the bright and everbeaming sun, in whose light Luther now read and understood the Scriptures. And it is "as true as the sun." It may be that Luther, in asserting and defending it, sometimes dealt in language too strong and sweeping, that he fell into vehement dogmatism, and was even betrayed, for a time, into false conclusions, as, e. g. in respect of the genuineness and value of the Epistle of St. James, which he subsequently fully acknowledged. But all this was the result of peculiar circumstances. We are to remember how Luther came to state this doctrine so broadly, to defend it so vehemently, and to make it the great *punctum saliens* of his theology. It must be borne in mind that, while Luther, though engaged in earnest inquiry, was still encompassed by the darkness of popery, this great truth suddenly burst upon him, took his understanding by storm, agitated his soul with a very whirlwind of thought, and threw open to his enraptured contemplation the glorious economy of the Gospel-dispensation, until then hidden from his view. Hitherto he had been blind, now he saw; and, like a man born blind, and suddenly gifted with sight, he could not bear that any thing should derogate from the glory, and shut him out from the

enlightening and cheering beams, of that sun which enabled him to see. And hence, in urging and vindicating the paramount importance of this great truth, he sometimes expressed himself with a breadth of language, and a boldness of assertion, which seemed to involve contempt of other momentous truths. But this was only in appearance, and it is only to superficial readers of his writings that it can appear so. It seems almost idle to state, that Luther no where denied, but that he always insisted upon, the necessity of good works, of a righteous and holy life. Let this one passage suffice, to set forth his view of the connexion of faith and works: "We are made free by the faith of Christ, not from works, but from the self-complacency of works, i. e. from the foolish conceit of justification obtained by means of works. For faith restores, rectifies, and preserves our consciences, whereby we learn that righteousness does not consist in works, although works cannot, and ought not to be wanting."[1] It is, and will ever remain, unalterably true, that man is saved by faith alone. His works have no more to do with his salvation, with his justification before God, than his knowledge has. Yet his knowledge of the truth is as important in leading to faith, nay in rendering it possible, as works are in furnishing evidence of its presence, or rather as the indispensable fruits of faith. And to Luther belongs the merit of reproducing to the world, from the treasury of divine truth, long buried in dusty libraries, and concealed under popish rubbish, this cardinal doctrine of the Gospel. Had Luther had Gnostics to deal with, instead of Papists, he would probably have as vehemently contended against the pride and self-sufficiency of reason, as he did against the "presumption of justification derived from works."[2] And then Mr. Hallam might have had the satisfaction of maintaining, that he dealt in paradoxes and unlimited propositions to the disparagement of reason and knowledge, in order to exalt the exclusive importance of faith. Luther knew as well as Mr. Hallam, and doubtless much better, the significance and importance of good works in the christian profession: he knew perfectly well, that all claims to religious faith, without holiness of character and righteousness of life, are utterly worthless: that by their faith believers become branches of the true vine, and that of this union good works are the necessary, un-

[1] "Non liberi pro fidem Christi ab operibus, sed ab opinionibus operum, i. e. a stulta praesumptione justificationis per opera quaesitae. Fides enim conscientias nostras redimit, rectificat, et servat, qua cognoscimus justitiam esse non in operibus, licet opera abesse neque possint neque debeant."

[2] Praesumptio justificationis per opera quaesitae.

failing, spontaneous fruit — the necessary manifestation of the soul's new life. Can any one that knows aught of Luther's own religious life, — any one, in fact, but our sagacious critic, seriously doubt, that his understanding was perfectly right on this subject? And if, any where, his language appears one-sided, it must be explained from other parts — from the whole tenor — of his writings: a process necessary, sometimes, in bringing out the whole and proper meaning even of the sacred Scriptures.

We have admitted, that Luther did not *preëminently* evince the greatness and power of his genius, by clear, comprehensive, and close ratiocination; that his intellectual vigor was rather manifested, not only in the illumination, the distinct assertion, and the bold application of great principles, but in the discovery, appreciation, and clear annunciation of great and pregnant truths, of their scope and general relations; and that he found them less by the process of laborious inquiry, and tardy induction, than by the piercing keenness and the discriminating sagacity of his mental vision. The line of reasoning which was to commend them to the acceptance and to explain them to the understanding of others, — to bring them into just connexion with other truths, to exhibit their relative position and importance in the great system of religious truth, was a matter of after-thought, involving a process not always palatable to a mind as vigorously active as his, which marched forward with the stride of a giant, where others could but plant one foot directly in front of the other. And yet there are among Luther's writings some, in which he exhibits all the close and irresistibly conclusive reasoning of the most skilful logician, thus showing, when time and circumstances permitted, that he was as perfectly master of dialectics as any of his compeers.

It is strictly in accordance with those intellectual peculiarities which we have ascribed to Luther, to say, that he had an eminently keen eye for the objective. We may, indeed, most justly assert, that in a very great portion of his works, we witness the mighty conflict of objective truth, with the subjective notions and speculations of that and of past ages, and the condemnation of those of later times. And it is this distinct, full, and striking presentation of objective truth, which, apart from his flow and power of language, his overpowering eloquence, has given his writings such a deep and permanent influence over the minds of men. Among plain, practical, and consistent members of our church, a dictum of father Luther puts an

end to all doubt and dispute. His statements commend themselves with singular force not only to the unsophisticated understanding, and the unperverted common sense, but to the humbly believing soul, that desires not rationalistic definitions, explanations, and refinements, but clings to words of power, which speak to it with an authority and a παῤῥησία, [freedom] that no human utterance can claim, except it be manifestly and thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the sacred Word. And if, "throughout a great portion of christendom, subjective Protestantism has been gradually degenerating into the corresponding extreme of multiform division, of arbitrary determination, and of the contempt of all authority," not only is the cause not to be sought in the character, the activity, or the writings of Luther, but it is manifest, that, the more the Protestant church recovers from, and renounces this purely and extremely, and wrongly, and mischievously subjective tendency, she will, and she does, return to the position maintained by Luther, as regards the faith, the organization, the usages and practice of the church catholic. This decided and powerful vindication of the objective truth of Scripture against all the subjectiveness of men, appears most strikingly in his exhibition of the nature of the Lord's Supper. In the view to which he so firmly adhered, the Lord's Supper is not, as in other systems, a vague ceremony, to which we may attach all sorts of subjective notions, according to our individual standpoint, but it is an actual, veritable something, of very definite and august character, a great, and glorious, and sacred mystery, in which the word, and promise, and presence of the divine Savior, connecting themselves in a manner which it would be presumptuous to endeavor to explain, with outward and visible symbols, convey unspeakable blessings to the believing soul. And therefore the consistent Lutheran, finding in the eucharist something real and objective given, would rather die at the stake, than forego the fulness of the blessing which that Sacrament offers to his soul.

But, still further; if the greatness of Luther's intellect does not always appear "in the clear and comprehensive line of reasoning," this is likewise, in a great measure, to be ascribed to the vast multiplicity, and the almost incredible amount of his daily labors. His time was too much occupied, his mind too much engaged, his attention too much divided, by a ceaseless round of the most multifarious duties, by affairs and interests of almost every conceivable variety which demanded his consideration, to admit, at all times, of his sitting down quietly in his study to follow up a line of argument, through

all its slow, cautious, and minute processes, like one who, like Erasmus, had nothing to do but to nib his pen, and then to expatiate ad infinitum. We have already maintained that, when time and circumstances permitted, or there was special reason for more than ordinary care, Luther could reason as clearly, comprehensively, and closely as even Mr. Hallam could desire. But if the vigorous and daring character of Luther's mind, his power and habit of bold and rapid excursion in the field of thought, his quick and piercing sagacity, combined with the vast amount and compass of his labors, made him often impatient of the tardy, and minutely analytical and cautiously synthetical processes of the professed dialectician, and led him to the employment of an axiomatic and *ex cathedra* style of writing, we find in this his brilliant and nervous style, enunciating great and momentous truths in clear, vigorous and comprehensive language, and with an eloquence often perfectly overpowering, the brightest expression of his powerful genius. It was, if we rightly remember, Carlyle, who gave as one reason why he considered one of the most illustrious authors of the present century as destitute of true genius, this, that his writings contained none of those profound, pregnant, and brilliant sayings, which can be separately quoted, and become household words in the world of cultivated mind. The reverse is the case with Luther. There is no writer whose works more abound in terse, compact, deep and convincing utterances, that speak with authoritative power to the soul, — in "thoughts that breathe and words that burn," in clear and comprehensive sayings upon every concern and interest of life, which become the common property and indistructible heirlooms of enlightened nations, which awaken and suggest thought, which furnish employment to numberless commentators, and serve, from age to age, as statutes for the decision of disputed points.

To say that Luther never erred would mean, that he was more than human. When we consider the education which he had received, the age in which he lived, and the astounding number and extent of his labors, the wonder only is, that he made so few mistakes, that he so speedily and thoroughly emancipated himself from all vital error, and that he achieved such extensive and brilliant conquests in the realm of truth. It is, in fact, the comprehensiveness of his genius that amazes us, and for this Mr. Hallam has no eye. According to him, Luther had no genius, because he came short of actual perfection in one or the other department of intellectual activity and culture. But though Luther did not attain to unrivalled

greatness as a poet, a critic, or logician, he was truly great in that rare combination of intellectual endowments and attainments, and of moral qualities, which render its possessor capable of grappling with the greatest affairs of humanity in their largest bearings, to deal with the interests of individual and social man, as a denizen of earth and a pilgrim to heaven, both in their widest compass and their minutest details, and to be, in every situation and position, however difficult and perplexing, *the man* whose counsel and whose action go directly to the point, with the needful, the dicisive and the salutary effect, demanded by the occasion and the juncture of affairs. Luther was not at liberty, nor had he time, to devote himself exclusively to any one particular department of science, to any one separate branch of human culture, so as to achieve, in that one pursuit, that peerless distinction, that unquestionable mastery, which belongs to Shakespeare and Milton in poetry, to Newton in physics, to others in other distinct walks of science or literature. But those, whose genius is thus exercised mainly in the achievement of unrivalled excellence in one specific direction, are seldom, perhaps never, eminently great in any other. The exceptions are certainly so very few and far between as only to confirm the rule. In respect of learning, it is, indeed, true, that theology was Luther's appropriate department, to which his best powers were mainly devoted, and in which he was, in the depth, the soundness, and the compass of his knowledge, the equal of his greatest cotemporaries, the superior of most. In elegant and minutely critical scholarship Melanchthon was doubtless his superior. But the piercing sagacity, and the comprehensive range of Luther's vision, combined with the tenacious grasp with which his powerful understanding seized and held fast every truth once clearly discerned and fairly mastered in all its relative bearings, saved him from all those vascillations, inconsistencies and unadvised concessions; those futile attempts to patch up an old garment with new cloth, and to preserve new wine in old bottles, into which his timid friend suffered himself to be betrayed. Indeed, Luther's greatness in this one department of theology alone appears almost marvellous, when we consider how numerous and diversified were the subjects and affairs, which constantly claimed his attention, and in which his advice and influence were perpetually in demand. He had greater things to do than to become a Milton, or a Reuchlin, or a second Aristotle. His mission was not only to dispel the darkness of error and superstition and falsehood, which had settled down upon theology, and wrapped the church in night, and again to elevate

aloft the beaming light of gospel-truth, which had so long been hidden from the eyes of men, but to guide that mighty revolution, that searching and thorough Reformation, which Providence had made him the instrument of commencing, and of conducting to such a state of forwardness in its developments, as to leave no doubt of its ultimate result: and here, in his dealings with the learned and the unlearned, with princes and with peasants, in matters great and small, he exhibited an extent of knowledge, an acuteness and soundness of judgment, a correctness and comprehensiveness of view, a decision, boldness, promptness, firmness and vigor of action, a directness and masculine force of argument, a sort of ubiquity of influence, by his presence and his pen, arising from the versatility of his powers, and the universality of his internal resources, and withal, an eloquence, which Schlegel characterizes as "most original, surpassed by few names that occur in the whole history of literature," that fill us with admiration, but make us cease to wonder at the results which he accomplished. If Luther was great in the study, in the professorial chair, in the pulpit; great as the fearless champion of truth before the principalities and powers of this world, he was equally great in general affairs, as a universal man of business. And it is this his collective greatness which is the most wonderful; for, as we have already more than once insisted, how rare is that combination of intellectual and practical genius, which, in connexion with true moral courage, is equally efficient in influencing, guiding, guarding and promoting the manifold interests of human life!

Many writers have employed themselves in commemorating a variety of external circumstances, which, as they profess to believe, would have effected the Reformation even though no Luther had appeared. We confess ourselves incapable of appreciating the force of their reasoning; and from the result of the recent revolutionary movements in Europe, these theorists may learn, that where the guidance of a master-mind, of a commanding spirit, is wanting, no great enterprises, affecting the affairs, and involving the interests, of communities, of nations, nay, as in the Reformation, of mankind, can result in any thing but disaster and discomfiture. It would be just as pertinent to maintain, that the French nation would have prosecuted, and that with the same success, those wonderful campaigns which convulsed Europe from its centre to its utmost bounds, without the devising, guiding and executing genius of Napoleon. We do not believe that Luther was, in any sense, the child and creature of his time — the exponent

of his age: he was, in his moral greatness and strength, the child of God's truth in the Bible; and thus begotten from above he became himself the father of that great Reformation, which has changed the aspect of the world. We certainly do not doubt, that that "sacred and secret hand," which directs the destinies of mankind, could and would have found, or prepared in due season, another agent, alike fitted for the great work. But this admission does not in the slightest degree detract from the importance, or derogate from the greatness, from the fitness for the work, of the agent whom Providence *did* employ in its accomplishment. The more the history of the Reformation is studied, the more clearly does it become manifest, how entirely its character, its progress and its success depended, under Providence, on the character of Luther.

We shall conclude these general reflections, which have already been extended to a greater length than was originally intended, by referring, for an estimate of Luther's character and greatness, by most competent judges, to the sermon preached by Dr. Bugenhagen, and the address delivered by Melanchthon, at Luther's funeral, which close the volume named at the head of this article. And it is, indeed, time to cease from our subjective discussion, and to direct attention to the work before us. We shall confine ourselves to a general view of its character, design and execution, and offer our readers a few interesting extracts.

We have already intimated that the author, or, as we ought perhaps rather to say, the compiler does not give us any opinions or notions of his own; that he abstains from all subjective delineation and coloring of the great subject of his memoir. He places before us Luther's life and character, as they are imaged in his own words, written and spoken, and as his contemporaries, who had the best opportunities of knowing him thoroughly, depicted them. Meurer says in his preface, "that here, for the first time, the attempt is made of portraying Luther's life entirely from original sources, and indeed, throughout, in their very words, so that we become acquainted with Luther, as he presents himself to us in his works and letters, and as his friends and contemporaries described him." To this plan the editor or compiler has strictly adhered, and we are glad to bear witness to the entire success of the attempt. The materials are, of course, not thrown loosely or promiscuously together, but thoroughly digested into a well-rounded whole; they are selected with great judgment and discrimination, and very happily arranged and connected, so that they form an unbroken, continuous narrative; and after wading

through volumes of subjective description and dissertation, sometimes of empty declamation and fustian, it is quite delightful and refreshing to sit down quietly to gaze at this simple and unadorned, this living and speaking likeness of the great man himself. Here we are never left to doubt, lest the likeness should have been distorted or destroyed by excess of either light or shade, by coloring either too strong or too feeble; for it is the man himself who stands before us and speaks to us; and where he himself withholds the desired information, we receive the witness of his intimate friends, and of his well-informed contemporaries. In order that our readers may see, what the compiler himself says respecting his method of proceeding, we present here the following extracts from his Preface: "The compiler has abstained from making any additions of his own: he has studied his authorities carefully, and has examined, compared and compiled with the utmost watchfulness. .... A material alteration the compiler has as little allowed himself as a material addition. His entire additions confine themselves to the connection of the various authorities, the borrowed passages, &c., so that they may be compared to a string upon which the pearls are strung, or the mortar which binds the building-stones of a house. Whoever will take the trouble to compare the authorities cited at the close of each chapter, will find this assertion verified.

This mode of representation necessarily has its defects: it is natural that the language will not be as fluent and smooth as if it had come from a single pen. But if the work has otherwise succeeded, the *gain* for the reader will be greater than the *loss*. Here he has a Luther as he actually presented himself, and as he appeared to those who surrounded him; no ideal, and no caricature. It is true, that the reader must form his own judgment, but the material has been laid before him in all candor; and as regards the language,—its freshness, originality and variety will compensate him for the lack of smoothness and symmetry.

Accordingly it is evident, that this History of Luther stands diametrically in opposition to those histories which represent him '*in the light of our times*,' or dress him in this or that garment, according to the peculiar plan that may, perchance, be followed.

As regards the *selection*, made from the rich treasury which stands at the command of a biographer of Luther, the compiler does not expect to have satisfied all, nor that his choice has been always the very best. But he must also, in this respect, for the understanding of some, remind the reader of

those points in which this work differs from many, (if not from all,) of its compeers. While in many biographies of Luther, the whole history of the Reformation is embodied in extracts, the compiler has, on the other hand, strictly kept in view, *that his sole design was to write a Life of Luther;* he has, therefore, only so far touched upon the scenes of the Reformation, as Luther himself participated in them, thus giving in these narrow limits an unequally greater amount of details, than is generally to be found in (most) other biographies of Luther.

The compiler has directed his particular attention to Luther's *works:* whatever was found in any manner of importance, has at least received notice according to its contents; extracts, or at least specimens, of the more important have been given. A particular Index at the close of the volume gives information on this point. The compiler hopes that his work will thus serve as a guide to those who are unacquainted with Luther's works."

This is quite sufficient to afford to our readers a distinct idea of the nature of the work. The copious extracts from Luther's correspondence and works will render this memoir truly acceptable and exceedingly valuable to those, who are unable to possess themselves of his voluminous writings. The volume presents a great number of interesting and striking passages on the most important subjects, indeed, in many instances, quite extended discussions, so that the reader has a very fair opportunity of acquainting himself with Luther's views and his manner of expressing himself; he will see for himself, in the Reformer's perspicuous, forcible, and truly eloquent style, the medium of that mighty influence which his powerful mind exerted on his age, and will continue to exert on all coming generations; an influence second only to that which proceeded from the indomitable energy of his character, as displayed in his decision, promptness, vigor and effectiveness of action. Thus we may assure the reader, that though, as the compiler says, he "must form his own judgment," he will here find abundant materials supplied to enable him to do so intelligently and justly. And this the reader is left to do throughout, for there is nowhere any attempt made to explain Luther's conduct, further than his own writings, or those of his friends, supply the explanation. He is thus also left to form his own opinion relative to one unfortunate transaction in which Luther was engaged, which is here presented with the utmost simplicity and fidelity of the impartial historian, and which we had certainly not forgotten when we penned our introductory remarks; we had this transaction in mind,

when we spoke of Luther's liability, with other mortals, to err. We allude here to the affair with the landgrave Philip of Hesse, of which the author of "*Luther by a Lutheran*," has given us an explanation. This explanation may satisfy some minds; we think it far from satisfactory. That Luther was actuated by good motives we are fully persuaded; if he advised the Landgrave to do evil, it was, undoubtedly, with the view, and in the hope, that good might come thereby; but, like all similar counsels or attempts it was a grand mistake, and utterly wrong. We might give our own explanation of the affair, but, considering that the less is said about it, the better, we turn to matters more agreeable and profitable.

Although the work before us can scarcely be said to present any new facts relative to Luther's childhood and youth, it yet enables us to correct an error into which others have fallen. On p. 53 of "*Luther by a Lutheran*," we are told: "Luther's mother seems to have been firm, but somewhat hasty in her temper. 'One day,' says Luther, 'she chastised me on account of a horse until the blood came.' In German [um] 'eines Rosses willen,' perhaps for venturing too near a horse." On p. 4. of the work before us (p. 12. of the English translation), we read: "Die Mutter stäupte mich einmal um einer geringen Nuss willen [on account of an insignificant nut] dass das Blut darnach floss." May not the mistake have arisen from this nut being a Ross-kastanie (horse-chestnut.)? This is, indeed, a small matter. But words of more importance are added to those which we have just quoted, as follows: "and the austere and stern life which she led, was the cause of my afterwards entering the cloister, and becoming a monk." We have always been of opinion, that the causes of Luther's entering the cloister lay deeper and farther back than his biographers have generally stated. They all agree in ascribing this step to the effect produced upon his mind by the assassination of his friend Alexis, and the terror with which a fearful clap of thunder, during a violent storm by which he was overtaken, inspired him. Some writers even commingle the two events, by representing his friend as struck down at his side, by a thunderbolt. Now to us it is evident, that Luther's mind, full of gloomy thoughts, and agitated by distressing conflicts on account of sin and the severity of the law, had long contemplated this step; had long been seriously employed in considering the propriety, the desirableness, and the benefits, of choosing the retired and studious life of the cloister, and that the two events just spoken of had, really, no other influence

on his determination, than to bring him to a fixed, and rather sudden decision. We consider the following paragraph, notwithstanding its concluding sentence, as fully bearing us out in the view we have taken.

"But not long after this, he, contrary to the expectations of his parents and relatives, all of a sudden entered the cloister of the Augustinians at Erfurt. The reason why he chose this mode of life, which he regarded as the one most favorable for growth in piety and the acquisition of divine knowledge, was this: he had repeatedly already, on more earnestly considering the wrath and severe judgments of God, been suddenly seized with such terror, as nearly to expire under the influence of it. Melanchthon himself was witness how, even in afterlife, during a conversation on a doctrinal point, he became so lost in thought and grew so dispirited, that he cast himself upon a bed in a chamber near by, and again and again in his prayer repeated to himself the words: 'He has concluded all under sin, that he might have mercy upon all.' These terrors of conscience he experienced first, or at least most intensely, at the time when an intimate friend of his was assassinated, and a heavy gust and fearful clap of thunder so greatly terrified him, that he fell prostrate on the ground and made a vow to enter a cloister, there to serve and appease God by saying mass, hoping thus to earn eternal salvation by means of monastic holiness. It was not deliberately or willingly, therefore, that he became a monk, but, as he himself states, being of a sudden encompassed with the terrors of death, he made a reluctant and forced vow." *Meurer*, p. 16. sq.

The severe trials and struggles, which Luther experienced during his life in the cloister, afford strong evidence of the depth, the piercing and comprehensive power of his understanding, which could not rest satisfied with the external popish observances that made up the religion of those among whom he dwelt; they arose from the clear apprehension of the holiness of God and his law, of the magnitude and hatefulness of sin, and of the heinousness of every sinner's guilt. A mind like his, which scanned, with searching and comprehensive view, this awful subject, and pierced, with keen and profound intuition, into its solemn relations and bearings, could find true peace only after completely mastering all its revealed details, and reconciling and harmonizing all the antagonistic elements and conflicting interests, considered, embraced, and duly consulted and satisfied, by the Gospel-scheme of man's salvation. Hence Staupitz said to him: "You do not know that such trials are good and necessary for you, as without them nothing good would come of you." How wonderful, in wisdom and goodness, are the ways of that Providence,

which gave Luther, at this period of distress and conflict, an instructer and counsellor like Staupitz.

We find manifold evidence in Luther's life of his self-diffidence and humility, and of the deep convictions he had of the awful importance of the preacher's office. It is not only in this connexion, but also for the description of the chapel in which Luther first preached, that the following extract will be interesting to our readers:

"Staupitz earnestly admonished Luther likewise to apply himself to preaching, which the latter, however, considering that it was not a small matter, in God's stead to speak to men and to preach to them, was not easily persuaded to do. He advanced some fifteen reasons and arguments by way of excusing himself and showing his unfitness for the ministerial office, and finally said: 'Doctor, it will deprive me of life; I shall not endure it three months.' But Dr. Staupitz rejoined: 'Well, in God's name, grant it be so; but what shall we do? God has important business, and has employment for intelligent men in heaven,' &c. And thus Martin had to comply, having, in the first place, to preach to the brethren in the saloon [chapel?] of the cloister, and afterwards publicly to the congregation. But Myconius thus describes the little church, in which Luther at first preached: 'In the new cloister of the church of the Augustinians at Wittenberg, the foundations for the new church were indeed laid, but had not been carried up farther than to a level with the ground. Within the space embraced by this new foundation, there yet stood an old chapel built of wood, daubed with clay, in a very dilapidated condition, having props on all sides, and being about 30 feet by 20 in size. There was in it a small, old, sooty gallery, scarcely affording convenient room for twenty persons to stand upright. Against the wall, on the south, there stood a pulpit, which was raised about four feet and a half above the ground, and was put together of old rough planks. In short, it had, in all respects, the appearance which artists give to the stable of Bethlehem, in which Christ was born. Now, in this poor and wretched chapel, God permitted his holy Gospel and dear child Jesus to be born anew; held forth and exhibited to all the world. It was not a minster or famous cathedral, though there were many thousand such, which God had chosen for this purpose. But soon this chapel became too small, and Luther was directed to preach in the parish-church; thus the child Jesus was brought into the temple too." P. 28. sq.

We read a good deal, in a certain quarter, of Luther's having made Cicero his model in eloquence. Of this fact, if fact it be, we find no evidence in this most authentic life of our great Reformer. That his great intimacy with Cicero's writings should have had its cultivating influence on his mind, we are not absurd enough to question. But Luther, with his mas-

culine understanding, his sound common sense, his strong convictions, his lively imagination, his deep and fervid feeling, and his serious appreciation of the importance and solemnity of the message he had to deliver, and of the unspeakable preciousness of the interests with which it was conversant, was, like Patrick Henry, an orator by nature, eloquent without art or model, while his vast knowledge, in lore profane and sacred, gave his eloquence weight, point, and overwhelming effect, whatever the subject which he treated, or the occasion on which he spoke. If he actually and deliberately made Cicero his model, we should like to have better evidence of the fact, than the bare assertion of a biographer more subjective than most others. If Luther *studied* eloquence, we incline to think that his model will have to be sought elsewhere than in Greece or Rome.

We have already said, that this work presents, with considerable copiousness, Luther's views, in his own language, on the most important subjects that employed his prolific pen. We shall abstain from quoting any passages on the Lord's Supper and Baptism, with reference to which a good deal of interesting matter is given. But we cannot forbear transcribing the following extracts from Luther's eighth sermon at Wittenberg after his return from the Wartburg. The sermon treats of Confession, and the paragraphs here given, besides directing our attention to an express command of Christ, which, as far as we know, is little honored by observance, present divers considerations, which deserve the serious attention of christians, and of the church.

"In the eighth sermon, finally, he treats of *confession*, and here distinguishes, 'firstly, a confession founded on scriptural authority. Thus when any one had fallen into open sin, so that men knew of it, he was also publicly accused before the congregation. If he desisted from his sin, they prayed for him before God and assisted in reconciling him. But if he would not desist and refused to hear the congregation, he was excommunicated, being excluded and separated from the assembly, and no one was permitted to have any dealings whatever with him. Of this confession we have not the shadow remaining in the church. If any one could again restore this confession, he would perform a precious and good work.' ... 'Secondly, there is a confession in which we lament our sins before God alone, and confess to God himself, acknowledging unto him all our faults. And the observance of this confession is highly necessary for us, so much so that we are to practise it every hour, and every moment, it being, moreover, also enjoined upon us.' ... 'Thirdly, there is a confession in which *one man confesses to another man*, taking him apart by himself, and relating to him his

trials and difficulties, in order to hear from him some word of consolation with which to quiet his conscience.' That the pope had enjoined this confession, and made of it a matter of necessity, this he, Luther, had rejected; but yet he would not suffer any one to take from him private confession, and would not exchange it for all the treasures of the world, knowing what strength and comfort it had afforded him. 'I know Satan well,' says he in conclusion, 'if you also had known him as well as I do, you would not have made so light of private confession. Let this suffice now, and let us pray God for his grace that we may pursue the right course, and not be seduced from it.'" P. 252. sq.

There is no part of his public career, in which Luther's greatness of soul, the vigor of his faith, the boldness and invincible firmness of his courage in the cause of truth and righteousness, were more manifestly and strikingly exhibited, than in his journey from Wittenberg to Worms. When we consider, that he had the precedents of Huss and Jerome of Prague before him, that it was the most pressing concern of that hierarchy which gave them to the flames, to slay him also, that his enemies, who dreaded his appearance at Worms, left no means untried to discourage and terrify him, and that even his friends, filled with dark forebodings, warned him against the dangers to which he was about to expose himself, and sought to dissuade him from proceeding, we are at a loss for words to express our admiration of his heroic perseverance in an enterprise, in which, humanly speaking, he seemed really to stand alone against the world. The events connected with the citation to Worms are so familiar, that it is unnecessary to recount them here. The reader will find, in the work before us, not only a lively and very ample account of the whole affair, but also some interesting facts, which we do not remember having met elsewhere.

We know of no instance, except the affair of the landgrave of Hesse's marriage, in which Luther suffered himself to be betrayed, by any considerations whatever, into a temporizing and worldly policy; it needed only that he should know the path of duty, and no power on earth could prevent him from pursuing it; where he could move on in the assurance that Providence guided and protected, no fear of man could ever stop or turn him aside. This courage, arising from the conviction of a righteous cause, and of enjoying the protection of Him who "knoweth the way of the upright," appears in all his public acts, whatever the rank or condition of those with whom he had to deal. In his manner of treating those princes who were hostile to him, he showed that he neither feared

nor cared what man could do unto him: and in his intercourse with his own sovereign, and with other princes who favored the cause of the Reformation, although his deportment was in the highest degree respectful, a very model of dignified urbanity, he ever manifests that modest energy, that lofty boldness of the christian hero, who is every where true to his cause and himself, and who, while standing before kings, and addressing the mighty of this world, never forgets that his Master is the "King of kings and Lord of lords." In this connexion the reader is referred to the "Writing concerning the temporal government, how far we are to obey it," which was called forth by Duke George's mandate against his translation of the New Testament, and which, under date of Jan. 1st, 1523, he dedicated to Duke John of Saxony. The following petition, addressed to the Elector of Saxony, will show on what terms Luther stood with his own sovereign, and with what freedom he could venture to approach, and speak to him in the name of duty and humanity:

"Grace and peace in Christ, Amen; and my most humble service, most serene, highborn prince, most gracious lord. It is with reluctance that I trouble your Electoral Grace with petitions for other people; the pleasure which this affords me, I would also willingly forego. Necessity compels, and love urges me to this task. I previously wrote to your Electoral Grace from my solitude concerning Christopher N., whose wants urged him to request this of me, and now he has come to me again, and beseeches me so earnestly, that I am overcome, and his wretchedness excites my heartfelt commisseration, so that it has, as it were, excited a thirst in me to write to your Electoral Grace, for I had not supposed his wants to be so great. I shall not go to law with your Electoral Grace on his account; it may be that he has deserved this and even worse; I well know the sincere wish of your Electoral Grace to wrong no one. But I also know that there is no prince so pious and prudent, as that no one should ever be unjustly dealt with by himself or his officers. David was the worthiest prince upon earth, and he yet, at the information of Ziba, did wrong to the unhappy Mephibosheth, thinking, nevertheless, that he had not done wrong. (2 Sam. xvi.) A prince must remember, that his government is tinctured with unrighteousness; well for him who has least of it; wherefore it is also necessary to show so much the more mercy and kindness, that mercy may rejoice against judgment, as St. James says (2: 13.). Therefore I cast myself at the feet of your Electoral Grace to show mercy to the poor man, and to support him in his old age for the remainder of his life. It will never do to permit him thus to perish and to seek alms; for I perceive that his poverty so greatly distresses him, that he might, perhaps, ulti-

mately become deranged. And your Princely Grace can easily relieve him by affording him board, food and drink, or by making some other arrangement for him. God has more Schneebergs,[1] so that there need be no apprehension of the dominions of your Electoral Grace becoming poor in consequence of too great liberality; nor have they thus become poor, thus far, in consequence. *Quia verum est, date et dabitur vobis* (for this is true — give and it shall be given unto you); where *date* (give) is in abundance, there *dabitur* (it shall be given) will be in still greater abundance. And let your electoral grace be assured, that I shall not suffer the man to depart thus unprovided for; I will sooner myself go a begging for him, and if I do not succeed in this way, even rob and steal, most of all from the elector of Saxony, whatever I find most convenient; for I trust I should even escape being rewarded with the gibbet by your Electoral Grace, though I should, in such distress, rob every saint of a treasure.[2] I humbly pray your Electoral Grace graciously to receive this my anxious or foolish communication. My heart is with God as far as I can feel. May the Almighty God preserve your Electoral Grace in health and happiness, according to his mercy. Amen." P. 291. sq.

It is well known that the famous insurrection of the peasants was attempted in various ways, to be brought into odious connexion with the Reformation, nay, that it was sought to make Luther himself responsible for it. Luther's real position in regard to this affair has, we think, been greatly misunderstood; a late writer in a British Quarterly labors to show, that the great champion of religious liberty here espoused the cause of despotism and oppression, and that he had, evidently, no clear understanding or appreciation of popular rights. In the work before us, a full and lucid narrative of this whole affair is presented at p. 307 sqq., showing that Luther understood the actual state of things, and the true interests of the contending parties, much better than modern journalists, who deem themselves competent to judge and condemn his course of proceeding. Though he knew full well, that human rights are positive things, he also knew, that not every period was favorable to the assertion and maintenance of all alike — and that the work of ameliorating the condition of nations, in which the few and the many, the strong and the feeble, are so often found arrayed against each other, in the relative positions of oppressor and oppressed, must, in order to lead to sub-

[1] The silver mines at Schneeberg were just then exceedingly productive.

[2] Luther frequently, in a half-jesting tone, refers to the relics which the elector, with so much trouble and expense, had collected for the church of All Saints, at Wittenberg. Cf. p. 235.

stantial and fixed results, advantageous equally and justly to all parties, generally begin in mutual forbearance and concessions. Hence, if he denounced the excesses and violent doings of the peasants, he lectured the princes and nobles with the same fidelity and earnestness, with respect to their relations and duties towards those whom they were to govern and not to oppress. The language of his exhortation to the rulers is singularly direct, forcible, frank and pungent. We recommend the whole passage to the careful attention of those, who would form a just estimate of Luther's conduct relative to a popular movement, in which exceedingly heterogeneous and distracting elements had commingled in producing a confusion of interests, which called for extraordinary moderation and wisdom to bring them to a satisfactory and righteous issue.

In May 1530, the elector of Saxony notified Luther and his principal coadjutors, that the Emperor had summoned a Diet, to be held, on the 8th of April, at Augsburg; and as the dispute concerning religion was to form the principal subject of discussion with a view to the restoration of peace and the establishment of a permanent union, he directed them to be thoroughly prepared with regard, not only to the articles of faith, but also to external institutions and forms of the church, and, more particularly, required Luther, Jonas, and Melanchthon so to arrange all their affairs, as to be able, together with Spalatin and Eisleben, to proceed from Torgau to Coburg with the elector, as soon as they should receive orders to that effect. When, in due time, the elector set out with the rest, for Augsburg, Luther, without knowing for what reason, was left behind at Coburg. We have here introduced these preparations for the great diet of Augsburg, not in order to expatiate farther on the important transactions which there took place, but to extract a passage from the work before us, which presents an instance of the amiable and graceful playfulness, in which our great Reformer could indulge, even at a period when his own and other men's mind was agitated by the most momentous questions, and expectant of their speedy decision: it only shows how completely that strong soul was at peace, while others were distracted by fear and solicitude respecting the approaching decision.

"He now," says our narrative, "took up his abode in the castle, which he called his Sinai, but of which, as he wrote to Melanchthon, he meant to make a Zion, intending to erect three tabernacles there, one to the Psalter, one to the Prophets, and one to Aesopus. Here he was quite alone; the largest edifice, which commanded the whole castle, was wholy committed to him, and he had received

the keys to all the apartments; he was also, as he says, entertained better than well. The place was very agreeable, and suited for study, and nothing but the absence of his friends disturbed him. Having at first to be idle, because he was without his port-folio, books, and other articles, he amused himself with the movements and cries of the crows and jackdaws around the castle, and thus wrote to his table-friends at Wittenberg concerning them: 'Grace and peace in Christ: dear Sirs and friends! I have received the letters from you all, and from them learned the state of affairs among you. That you may in return know how we fare, I inform you that we, namely, myself, Magister Veit, and Cyriacus, do not proceed to the Diet to Augsburg; we have, nevertheless, come to another diet. There is, namely, below our window a bushy close, like a little forest, to which the jackdaws and crows have convoked a diet; here there is such a coming and going, such a clamor day and night, without ceasing, as if they were all intoxicated and mad; here young and old chatter, all at the same time, so that I am surprised how voice and breath can endure so long. And I would like to know whether any of such nobility and troops remain with you; it seems to me as if they were assembled here from all parts of the world. Their emperor I have not yet seen, but as to their nobility and great Jacks, they are continually hovering and parading before our eyes, not arrayed very splendidly, but in one simple uniform color, all equally black and all equally grey-eyed; they all sing the same song, with the agreeable variation, however, of young and old, large and small. They have no regard, either, for great palaces and saloons, for their saloon is vaulted with the beautiful and spreading sky, and their floor is the simple field overlaid with beautiful green boughs; the walls also reach to the ends of the world. Neither do they at all concern themselves about steeds and armor; they have winged wheels, with which they escape from the rifle, and are enabled to deliver themselves from wrath. They are great, mighty lords, but what they are decreeing, I do not yet know. However, from what I can ascertain from an interpreter, they have in contemplation a mighty expedition, and war, against wheat, barley, oats, and all manner of corn and grain, and many a one will, no doubt, become a knight, and perform valorous deeds here. Thus we sit here in the diet, and listen and behold with great satisfaction and delight, how the princes and lords, and other estates of the realm, sing so joyfully and live so cheerily. But it affords us special joy to behold them switching their tails so valiantly, wiping their beaks, and tilting their arms, that they may gain victory and honor in their wars against corn and malt. We wish them success and prosperity, that they may all be impaled on a hedge-pole. I conceive, however, that they are only the sophists and papists, with their preaching and writing, whom I am obliged to have all in a crowd here before me, that I may hear their lovely

voices and sermons, and see what an exceedingly useful people they are, in consuming every thing that is upon the face of the earth, and then, in return, chattering for the whole world. To-day we heard the first nightingale, for it did not venture to trust April. Thus far the weather has been most delightful, there having been no rain at all except a little yesterday; with you, perhaps, it is different. Herewith adieu, and do you keep good house. From the diet of the Malt-Turks, April 28th, of the year 1530.'" P. 385 sq.

Thus could Luther extract amusement for himself and others from the familiar vernal gatherings and cawings of noisy crows and jack-daws, at a time when the most serious affairs were agitating men's minds, and, no doubt, filling his own with very grave reflections. If there be any who would regard this as idle trifling, we can only pity them. To us this artless and playful abandon of a soul most firmly stayed on God and his word, to the pleasing influences of nature, rejoicing, all around, in the balmy breath of spring, is exceedingly delightful. We love to picture to ourselves the great Reformer as, throwing all his care on Him whose tender mercies are over all his works, he drinks in sweet peace, and comfort, from the evidences of God's unchanging goodness, that greet him on every hand, in the landscape, decking itself anew with brightening verdure, and in the cheerful tones, in which the gladdened brute creation every where proclaims its joy. We love to think of him, as he sits at the open window, or walks on the balcony, of his lofty, turreted abode, meditating on the course and results of the momentous transactions then on the eve of transpiring, his mind gradually surrendering itself to the cheering influence of the sights and sounds around him, his attention at length fixed by the tumultuous discussions of the sable and uproarious assembly beneath his window, and, unable to shake off all thought of the great Diet then assembled at Augsburg, connecting its doings with the bustle and chatter of the noisy birds before him, organizing them into an august diet, giving purpose and aim to their unceasing and unintelligible palaver: — and then, betaking himself to his desk, to write a cheerful letter to his anxious friends. How full of inward peace, how full of courage, how firm in his hope and trust in God, he was during this critical period, our readers may learn from the letters, which he addressed from this retired abode, to those who were in the midst of the active scenes of the Diet. They will be found p. 389 sqq.

Of Luther in the family-circle and at the table, Meurer's work presents a beautiful and charming picture, of which we would fain give a sketch, but for the fear of marring, by any

attempt at outline, what derives its greatest attraction from the fulness of minute detail, in action, incident, and remark, perhaps trivial often in itself, but heightening effect like the skilful touches of the painter's magic pencil, and combining in the production of a tout ensemble, which, the more we contemplate, we the more admire: and but for the hope, that not many families connected with our church will deny themselves the profit and pleasure to be derived from so authentic, copious, and faithful an account of the life, character and achievements of the father of our spiritual household. The entire sixth part (comprising 156 pp.) of Meurer's work, is devoted to the last years of Luther's life; i. e. from the return from Smalcald to his death, or from March 1537 to Feb. 17th, 1546. It is here that we find the picture of Luther in the family-circle and at his table, as well as other matters of great importance and interest; but we have not space for any more extracts, not even from the chapter which gives an account of the last days of Luther's life, of his death and burial, and which will be found more than usually full and interesting in its details.

Ere we close, we must yet mention another valuable feature of this work. It contains sixteen lithographic plates, done in a style far superior to any that we have yet seen in any English biography of Luther, or history of the Reformation, and actually necessary, in order to correct any false impressions that may have been made by the caricatures which we have so often had of these things. We here give their subjects, and the order in which they occur. 1. Luther, as Preacher, after an original painting by Lucas Cranach, hanging in the saloon of the consistory, at Dresden. 2. Philip Melanchthon. 3. Luther burns the bulls and decrees. 4. Luther at the Diet of Worms. 5. The Wartburg in Luther's times. 6. Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony. 7. Catherine von Bora. 8. Luther's Father. 9. Luther's Mother. 10. The Elector John the Constant. 11. The Elector Frederick the Magnanimous. 12. George Spalatin. 13. Frederick Mathesius. 14. Magdalena Luther. 15. Justus Jonas. 16. Dr. John Bugenhagen.

And now, in conclusion, we would once more bespeak for this volume a favorable reception, and a careful perusal, throughout our American church. We have already said, that it will be found to differ materially, in its character, from every life of Luther yet offered to our reading public, and the enterprising publisher has increased his already strong claims upon the gratitude of our church, by procuring and bringing

out a translation of this important and profoundly interesting work in so handsome a form, and at a price so moderate. Of the merits of the translation our readers can judge from the passages we have quoted. We are quite aware that the translator in his anxiety to give a very close translation of the original has frequently fallen into Germanisms, and made awkward constructions, which those disposed to find fault will have no difficulty in discovering. As the translation is, on the whole, a very fair performance, always faithfully conveying the sense of the original, generally in a clear and flowing style, we did not think it worth while to notice occasional blemishes of the kind referred to, considering them of little importance. To us, as a Lutheran, this memoir is of far greater value than the spirited and elegant work of D'Aubigné; and those who prefer a simple, continuous, animated narrative of facts in the language of original documents, interspersed with numerous and most valuable portions of Luther's own writings, to the subjective lucubrations, and the stalking fustian, of writers, to whom the treatise of Longinus "*On the Sublime*," is to be most earnestly recommended; those, who duly appreciate, because they desire, the most ample and correct information respecting the life and character of the father of the Reformation and founder of our own beloved church, cannot, surely, spend two dollars more to their own advantage and that of their families, than by purchasing this very instructive and delightful volume.

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## ARTICLE II.

### THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE DEITY.

Translated from the German of Dr. Geo. F. Seiler, by Rev. S. W. Harkey, A. M., of Frederick, Md.

[The following Article is a free translation of the Introductory Chapter of the masterly work of DR. SEILER* on the Divinity of Christ. The title of the work is as follows: "*Ueber die Gottheit Christi beides für Gläubige und Zweifler; von D. Georg. Friederich Seiler*," etc. [On the Deity of Christ, addressed both to believers and to skeptics.] Tübingen, 1780. Speaking of this work

* "GEORGE FREDERICK SEILER was born near Baireuth, in 1723, and from an original condition of depression and difficulty, he rose, by the force of character and talents, to distinguished eminence as a writer for all ranks

that distinguished English divine, Dr. Pye Smith, (in his Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, 2d ed. Vol. III. p. 414. London, 1829.) says: "It is much to be regretted, that the writings of that distinguished man are so little, or scarcely at all, known in this country. This can only be attributed to a fact, which I hope will not always remain to our disadvantage and discredit, that the theological students of Great Britain have paid so little attention to the cultivation of the German language." The intelligent reader need not be informed that Dr. Seiler belongs to the older and better school of German Theology. Should this Article meet the approbation of the friends of the Evangelical Review, the translator proposes to furnish for its pages in future some of the most interesting portions of the work itself.—Tr.]

Before I enter upon an examination of the important doctrine itself, whose truth I hope to demonstrate in the following pages, I regard it as necessary to speak in general of the *manner* in which we become acquainted with the Deity. This will shed light upon the whole discussion, and enable us to remove certain doubts with the more ease. For, many persons have, among other reasons, on this account also found great difficulties in the doctrine, that in the eternal Godhead there should be one who should be called a Father, and another the Son, because they have persuaded themselves that they have the *same kind* of knowledge of God that they have of themselves and other created things. But how is this? In what way do we become acquainted with God? The short answer which I would give, is this: *only by comparison with the powers, perfections, and qualities which we find in ourselves and other persons.* For some of my readers this might

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of society; as an ardent promoter of all liberal knowledge; as a divine, a preacher, and a university professor. His writings were exceedingly numerous; but all had the great end in view of promoting useful literature in combination with piety. He wrote for infants and school-boys, as well as for students in the universities, for professed theologians, for men of science, and for persons of rank. His earliest publication was a poem, intended, like the *De Ratione Studii* of Fortius Ringelbergius, to inspire young persons, such as he then was, with an unquenchable ardor for literary and scientific improvement. He became more extensively known by a translation of Robertson's History of Scotland, which he enriched with valuable Notes. The rest of his publications were chiefly theological; and they are distinguished by their candid and luminous method of examining evidence and discussing difficulties, by their spirit of practical piety, and by their tendency to show the harmony which ever subsists between the highest exertions of reason in all the improvements of science and literature, and the pure religion of the Bible. In 1770, Dr. Seiler was appointed Ordinary Professor of Divinity at Erlangen; in 1772, Preacher to the University; and in 1778, Minister of the principal church, and Superintendent of the district or diocese, according to the constitution of the Lutheran Church. He died May 13, 1807, aged 74." — See Memoir prefixed to Dr. Wright's Translation of Seiler's Hermeneutics, London, 1835.

be sufficient to induce them to concede to me the conclusions which I shall draw from it; but for the sake of others I must examine this thought a little more closely.

All the knowledge of God and his attributes which we have, we obtain from two sources: either from special revelation, by which God in more ancient times made himself known to mankind in an extraordinary way; or from our own reflections. In both cases *comparison* is the medium by which we learn to know him.

Language, in the earliest ages of the world, necessarily had but few words; and these expressed not invisible objects or qualities, but, for the most part, such as were either obvious to the senses, or could be found in man himself. When, therefore, God wished to impart to mankind the necessary instruction by appearances, or visions and revelations, it was agreeable to His wisdom to employ this same language of the senses to express invisible objects. And inasmuch as man knew nothing beyond himself, and the objects of nature that surrounded him, there could not be given to him an idea of the higher nature of the Deity in any other way, than that God should speak of himself *as if he were a man, and thought, perceived, and acted as a human being*. By this wise condescension of the Almighty, placing his attributes and decrees into a constant comparison with human attributes and thoughts, mortals could attain to a necessary, though confessedly imperfect knowledge of the unseen and eternal Creator. This is the foundation of the highly figurative language (Bildersprache) of the whole Bible, and especially of the oldest revelations given us in the Books of Moses. Far removed from the metaphysical language and mode of thought of our day, the first infantile age of the world was accustomed to no other than objects and words of sense. How, then, could these creatures of sense represent God to themselves in any other way than under the idea of a human being? Hence it appears to me to be not only an attribute and sign of the oldest poetry, but also a necessary imperfection in the oldest mode of thinking and speaking of God, that in all the ideas which men had of the Deity, there should be found a constant anthropomorphism:—That in the creation God should not only *will*, but like a man *command*, "Let there be light"—that in the formation of man, the master-piece of creation, he should take counsel with himself, "Let us make man"—that after having finished his works in six days he should make them pass before him, felicitate himself in their goodness, and, then like a man, rest from his labors—that he should be offended with the stiff-

necked rebellion of the old world, and that he should feel bitter regret that he had made man — that he should make a covenant with Abraham and his posterity — that in these and many other passages of the books of Moses he should be represented in all respects as a man. This mode of describing the Deity was, in those times, unavoidable: men must either speak thus of Him, or not speak of Him at all. If God had used other words than such as were already known in the language of those times, no one would have understood him. Just as no European, for instance, would understand an American with whose language he was unacquainted, if he should attempt to describe American animals and productions to him. But if he were to speak in the language of the European, and *compare* those American animals and productions with such as were already known to him, then he would understand him.

From what has now been said, it follows, that the knowledge which the first men had of God was of a nature altogether different from that which they had of themselves and such other objects as could be brought into contact with their senses. And however imperfect this knowledge of the Deity may have been, resting, as it did, entirely upon *comparison*, it still contained truth enough to form a secure basis of trust in God and love to him, and in general of the true religion. But of this more in the sequel.

But, passing by those early times, some will ask, how is it at the present day? Is it not possible, in this age, for a penetrating genius by profound meditations to attain to a different kind of knowledge of God, which does not rest upon mere dark comparisons of the attributes of the Most High with those which we find in ourselves? We answer, no; it is not possible. In the science of the being of the unseen Creator, we have scarcely advanced a step beyond the first world.— Every thing, even among philosophers, still rests upon comparison. I will first notice that class of philosophers, who have, to the greatest degree, torn themselves loose from every thing bodily or material, and who, by their profound abstractions, have completely shut themselves up within themselves. They say: all things without us are appearances; we do not see objects as they are, but as, according to the peculiar structure of our senses, they act upon us. Hence we know nothing beyond ourselves with absolute certainty; scarcely even this, that it really exists. One thing we know: *we think; therefore we are.* But the question is, do we know all that we wish to know? Can we do all that we wish? Are we not very changeable? Has not our thinking had a beginning?

We are therefore not of ourselves, but are beings who have derived their existence from a *higher* source. And what kind of a Being is that? What perfections does he possess? We think; hence He who gave us this power, must think also. We have the ability, of choice and free will, to form resolutions; hence He by whom we are, must possess this power of free will also. We love what is right; rejoice in that which is good, and seek by proper means to promote it; we abhor and fly from evil: upon this rest in us those attributes, which we call wisdom, goodness, righteousness, truth, and fidelity; such attributes, must, therefore, also be found in Him from whom we have derived our existence. Here we have a continued *comparison*, according to which we ascribe to God similar attributes to those which we find in ourselves. But have we now ascertained *what the nature of the Deity in itself is?* Of this we have scarcely a single ray of light. We have reasoned from ourselves concerning the self-existent God, and have believed that we shall find in Him, in an infinite degree, what we discover in ourselves greatly circumscribed and imperfect. This mode of reasoning, it is true, has good foundation; but still by it we are not placed in a condition to know or understand the attributes of God as they really are in themselves. We see only the shadowy images of the infinite perfections of the Deity "as in a glass darkly" in ourselves, who yet know so little truly of ourselves.

Not much more do those know of God, who agree with the great majority of philosophers in saying: that there is an endless multitude of created objects standing in actual connection with us, and that through their action upon our senses those ideas or mental images are developed in our souls, of which we by and by become conscious. But all these objects or entities do not show us the real nature of the Deity; they do nothing more than furnish us, in part, the occasion, and, in part, a secure ground of comparing God with ourselves; and to transfer to him names learned from men. A man who can, with comparative ease, lift or put in motion large bodies, we call *strong* or *powerful;* how strong and mighty, therefore, must God be who upholds and gives motion to such immense globes, such innumerable worlds! Where a man does any thing, there he is; hence God must be every where present, at least influentially, for He acts every where. So to a man who rejoices in the well-being of others, and seeks to do them good, we are wont to ascribe the attribute of goodness, or benevolence: therefore God must possess the attribute of love or benevolence in the highest degree. Hence the entire system of

natural religion rests upon comparison. It tells us nothing more than this, that in God there must be something which *resembles* what in man we call power, goodness, love, wisdom, and righteousness. But what these attributes in reality are in the Deity, it does not tell us — this remains an inexplicable mystery.

We will examine this truth from another point of view. For all, or, at least, for most of human affairs, attributes and powers, we have, in cultivated languages, appropriate names, which are adapted to distinguish these objects from each other. But for that which is found in the Deity we have no special appellations. But to the realities found in God, which must differ infinitely from that which is found in man, being of quite another nature and kind, we apply the same names which have been selected and appropriated to designate human affairs and qualities. We say of God, he hates evil, and is inclined to that which is good, etc., just as if He were a human soul. And this mode of speaking is again a necessary consequence of human weakness and of the exalted nature of the Deity. God dwells in a light unto which no mortal eye can approach. Or to express this thought of Paul in our own language: we have no direct (anschauende) knowledge of God at all; hence it is impossible for us to excogitate new names to express that which is in the Deity. Nevertheless we learn to know the Creator from the effects of His power both in ourselves and in nature around us. We find that His nature developes itself by acts similar to those which great, wise, and good men perform; and on account of this similarity which the operations of his infinite power bear to human actions, and also on account of the poverty of our language and thought which do not admit of our giving immediate names to the perfections of the Deity, we ascribe to Him the same attributes which we find in ourselves and other persons. And this is unavoidable; because no finite being has any direct or immediate knowledge of the Infinite. Even the angel must conceive of the Eternal as he finds himself constituted, and ascribe to Him the attributes which he discovers in himself. Because to enable him to perceive or know the perfections of the Deity, as they are in the Divine Essence itself, would require him to become an immediate partaker of that Divine Nature. "No man knoweth the Son, but the Father — no man the Father but the Son." True, God has revealed much of himself to us; but how? Partly through His great and glorious works, and partly through that wise and gracious con-

descension, by which, using human language, He speaks of himself as if He resembled man. When Paul is caught up into heaven, he sees and hears things which are unutterable; much more is the being of God, as it is in itself, unutterable: only in dark images and weak comparisons with human attributes can we, in part, know Him, whose nature is infinitely exalted above the highest thoughts of finite creatures.

But imperfect as is this knowledge of the nature of the Deity; we can still attain to a satisfactory assurance that it is a *true knowledge, and a secure foundation of a rational religion.*

Inasmuch as the Divine Being possesses *all* possible perfections in an infinite degree, there must necessarily be among them those which resemble the attributes of our own souls. As God is the author of our reason, there must be in Him an attribute like it. As He has made us free agents, and given us the power to act according to our judgment and choice, it is impossible that He should act by a blind and thoughtless necessity. "He that made the eye, shall he not see? He that planted the ear, shall he not hear?" Yea, of these important truths, which we have already in part learned from nature, we are still more fully convinced from the sacred Scriptures. They assure us that man was created in the *image* of God:—that between him and his Maker there is a certain analogy or likeness; so that he who has learned to know man, has seen an impress of the invisible image of the Godhead with its infinite perfections. And what is the language of the Bible in regard to Christ? It assures us that He is "the brightness of the Father's glory and the express image of his person"—that he "is God manifest in the flesh"—and hence in Him the bright image of Jehovah's infinite perfections has shone upon the world in the clearest manner. He, therefore, who contemplates the exalted and lovely attributes of the Son, will also see in him the perfections of the Father. "Philip, he that hath seen me, hath seen the Father!"

Accordingly, the Scriptures, in speaking of God, use the same language as in describing a human spirit, and lead us to conclude, with the utmost confidence, that we do not err, when in the eternal and incomprehensible God, we seek something which resembles what in man we call reason, free-will, wisdom, and love.

My design does not permit me at present to enter into a more extended examination of this philosophy of the knowledge of God; but from what has now been briefly stated, it will appear, that upon this foundation of our comprehension

of the Most High, imperfect as our knowledge of Him is, we may, nevertheless, safely build the superstructure of a rational religion. For, although we cannot possibly attain to any direct knowledge of God, we nevertheless know this: there is a God; we have derived our existence from Him; our destiny is in His hands; He so governs the world as to promote our welfare; with virtuous actions he has connected good, and with vicious, evil consequences; He is perfectly independent of us; He grants us every blessing out of free grace; we must therefore obey his commands — act according to those laws which he has stamped upon the works of nature, and given us the ability to comprehend; and we may also confidently hope that in the future it will be well with us, if we remain faithful to these laws and teachings. For in the great works of nature He has already revealed himself as the wisest, best, and most benevolent of beings; but in his word he has made himself known in a still more glorious manner as the great and adorable Benefactor of all his creatures; in Him, therefore, we will put out trust — Him will we love, obey and praise; and this is religion, and the true religion; so that however circumscribed and imperfect our knowledge of Him may be, it is still enough for this purpose,

The objection of the Deists to christianity that it is irrational, because it transforms God into a human being, has in reality grown out of their ignorance of the true philosophy, which leads us to the *sources* of human knowledge. They have not risen up to this fountain. They wish to maintain that we can affirm nothing positively of the Divine Being but this: *He is, and he is incomprehensible.* For this reason they deny that we can worship God after the manner of christians, or in reality speak of him in the language of men. But they forget this sublime axiom, that every atom in the creation is a mirror of the Deity; that between cause and effect there must be a necessary harmony, and that from the effects we may reason with certainty concerning the cause, and that therefore, when in the works of nature, we see such effects as can only be produced by a being possessing the attributes of wisdom, goodness, etc., we properly affirm that the Creator possesses those attributes. They scoff at the Scriptures because in so many passages they speak of the Deity so fully in the language of the senses, clothing him not only with the pure attributes of a spirit, but even ascribing to him human passions and members of the body: but they are ignorant of the philosophy of the Bible, which by the use of such images imparts to the common reader not only a well-grounded, but also a *living* and

*effective* knowledge of the Deity. For although I readily admit, that the language of the metaphysician, by which he expresses his abstractions of the Being of all being, pure and far removed from images as it is, is very refined and elevated; yet it is, on this very account, altogether unintelligible to the great majority of mankind. Nor has it the power, which symbolical or figurative language has, to give body and shape to invisible objects, and present them in a visible form before the eye of the mind. It may sound very philosophical to say: the self-existent Being has the most accurate knowledge of all real and possible things: — he employs the best means and is governed by the best motives in all his acts: — he is inclined to endow every creature with such attributes as it can best employ, but is also accustomed to suffer evil consequences to follow evil actions. I say, all this may be speaking very philosophically of God; but will such representations be clear to the common mind, and will they have power to restrain from vice and to influence and move the human heart to that which is good? On the contrary, what clearness and power there is in the language which the Bible uses to express such truths? "Lord, thou hast searched me and known me"! "In Him we live and move and have our being"! "There is not a word in my tongue, but thou knowest it altogether"! "The Lord by wisdom hath founded the earth; by understanding he hath prepared the heavens." It teaches me that God is round about me to defend me, that he hears my prayer and that of the poor and needy; that he hears the young ravens when they cry, and that he openeth his hand and satisfieth the wants of all living creatures. I am permitted to call him my Father, Friend, and gracious Benefactor, who loves me, provides for me, and is able with a mighty hand to deliver me from every affliction and danger. "Thou speakest, and it is done; thou commandest, and it stands fast"! What powerful emotions such representations produce in the soul! How the heart is roused and moved to honor, love, and obey God! The figurative language of the Scriptures is the very best means for the improvement of mankind: it does not contain any thing that is untrue: it is founded entirely on the *resemblance* which must exist between the Creator and his creatures: and it is therefore perfectly consonant with the highest philosophy. But it speaks more impressively; gives more life and emotion to the soul; and is, for the great majority of mankind, much more useful than the language of philosophers.

Having now shown briefly, that the knowledge which we obtain of God by comparison, is not only *real* and *true*, but

that it also forms a safe ground of a rational religion; I must, in accordance with my object, say a few words more of its weakness and imperfection.

It is, of course, very *imperfect.* For the attributes of the Deity are quite of a different nature from those of our own spirits, and yet we can conceive of them only from what we know of our own. To illustrate: We possess the gift of reason. How is this power developed in the soul? Soon after our birth a multitude of the images of surrounding objects fall upon the eye; the surrounding bodies — our food, drink, the tones of voice and the rays of light act upon our senses and make an impression upon us. By this means the soul is, as it were, awakened out of its sleep — it begins to feel a consciousness of its own existence — gradually it is enabled to distinguish the images and external objects which appear to it, from each other; it learns the language by which these images are expressed — it arranges them into different combinations — it compares them, judges of their character, and draws conclusions. All this it does by the aid of those images which it has obtained through the senses. Without images, signs, and words, it cannot think. Hence reason in man is a *product* resulting from the combined operation of body and soul. It embraces in it a thousand variations — it rests upon appearances — does not see the essence of things — and has not a perfect knowledge of either matter or mind. This is what in man we call the faculty of reason or the understanding. But when we, now, ascribe to God an infinite reason or understanding, how weak the comparison! How little do we yet know of the *inner nature* of the great Eternal! How infinitely must His knowledge differ from and surpass ours! With Him there is no image — no mere appearance — but He penetrates into the very essence of being. With Him there is no comparison of ideas, no judging, no conclusions drawn from premises, no variations or changes of opinion; and yet it is still speaking very humanly (menschlich) of God, to say, He knows all real and possible things at once, or intuitively.

We rightly ascribe freedom to the Deity; but how infinitely must it differ from ours! *In him all things are of necessity;* even his decrees are grounded upon a necessity; namely, that he cannot decree any thing that is not, in the highest sense, the *best.* To speak properly, there cannot be in God any such resolutions or decrees as men make; for this act of the human soul is always connected with change. But in God "there is no variableness, neither shadow of turning." In Him there is one eternal, unchangeable judgment, according to which

*he, without constraint and freely, does or permits all things that are the best for all time and for the entire universe of both matter and mind.* This is an imperfect shadowing forth, in weak images, of the freedom, or free agency of God. So it is with all the other human attributes, which, from the analogy of their nature and operations, we ascribe to the Deity. Each of our attributes is the product of a nature that is not all *spirit*, but that is composed of matter and mind united; but God is a pure spirit; consequently his perfections must be entirely different, not only in greatness and degree, but also as regards their nature or kind. This subject can be made plainer by an example. Between the spirit of the beast and soul of man there is a certain analogy or resemblance more or less strong. Beasts have not the power to think, reason, or to judge of the present and future from the past: still, they possess something which resembles these powers of the human soul. Hence the horse will return to his old home, as if he possessed the faculty of memory and reason. The stork teaches his young to fly, as if he foresaw their future necessities. Certain acts of the beast, therefore, resemble those which man's reason leads him to perform; and hence we justly conclude that some animals possess a power or faculty, which resembles what in man we call reason or understanding. Nevertheless it is certain, as the acute REIMAR[1] has most clearly shown, that the powers and attributes of the beast are altogether different from those of the human soul, not only in degree, but also in regard to their very nature; that whilst it is true that there is a certain analogy or likeness discoverable between them, it is also clear, that the spirit of the beast, as long as it remains a beastly spirit, never can have the *same kind* of attributes that the human soul possesses. Thus it is in regard to the Deity and his creature man. No matter how much the human soul may be elevated in its attributes and powers, it remains a finite and changeable spirit; it can still only think by degrees—one subject occupying its powers at a time—and does not comprehend all things real and possible at once—yea, not at all. In short, it does not become a God; but remains a finite being, infinitely distinguished from the Deity. The soul *resembles* God, but *like* Him it can never become. This, it is hoped, is sufficient to show, that we do not know any thing in God as it really is; but that all that we can understand of the incomprehensible Jehovah rests upon weak comparisons. Hence if God would reveal himself to us more fully

[1] "Reimarus über die Triebe der Thiere."

than he has done in nature, He must bring to his assistance similar comparisons, inasmuch as beyond these we have no conceptions of his nature, and there are no words in human language to express the attributes of the Deity as they are in themselves.

What has now been said is not only clear from the nature of the case; but it is also the doctrine of the sacred Scriptures. When Moses would know the real name of the Most High, and desired to become better acquainted with his inner nature, he received this answer: "I AM THAT I AM" — "Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you." Ex. 3: 14. Not satisfied with this, but becoming still more desirous to have a deeper insight into the nature of that Being who had spoken to him, and who had thus far revealed himself to him only in words and appearances, God replied to him in this language: "Thou canst not see my face: for there shall no man see me, and live." Ex. 33: 20. I am aware that some commentators understand this of the glory of God, which the redeemed in heaven behold, but which no mortal can be permitted to see, in this life; (and even if this interpretation be admitted, it is sufficient to establish the foregoing conclusions) — but it appears to me that it was something more that Moses wished. He had already, with the elders of Israel, seen the glory of God displayed upon Mount Sinai in the most extraordinary and wonderful manner. Now he desired to make a further advance — to go behind the curtain — and become acquainted with the attributes and perfecfections of the Deity in a more direct and immediate way. He would *see* the Invisible! But this was an impossibility. It is true that God can reveal himself in a manner still more agreeable to man's imagination; but this is not the being or essence of the Deity which he now perceives — it is only a dark and inexpressible conception. If we are to have a clear and distinct idea of God, it must be expressed in human language, or be obtained by comparison with human attributes. Hence it is not enough that Moses should in vision look upon the brightness of God's glory; he, at the same time, also instructed him in regard to his nature in the following language: "And the Lord passed by before him, and proclaimed, The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth," etc. Ex. 34: 6.; which represents the Divine nature as chiefly made up of benevolence, or an inclination to do good. This is doubtless one of the principal reasons why the Israelites were utterly prohibited from making any image or representation of the Deity; be-

cause there is nothing in heaven or earth that can truly and accurately represent his inexpressible nature. Hence Paul expressly affirms, (1 Tim. 1: 17. and 6: 16.), that God is altogether invisible: in other words that finite beings can have no direct or immediate knowledge of him.

The truth thus far set forth in this Article has not been presented without proper consideration from various points, and an effort to confirm it both from reason and Scripture. For, however common this view of the subject may have formerly been among our older theologians, it appears to me to be sadly overlooked and neglected by many at the present day. And yet it is certainly of varied and important use. For, to give but a single example, I may remark, that when the opponents of the christian doctrine of the Trinity affirm, with certain naturalists, that it is weak and irrational to believe a doctrine, or as it is termed a mystery, which we cannot fully understand, we have a ready answer. It is this—we have not a perfect conception of a single attribute of the Deity. They are all equally mysterious to us. That God exists, we know; but not *how*. We are certain that he knows all real and possible things, but not *how*. We believe that God foreknew the voluntary actions of all his creatures from eternity; but do we understand how he has this knowledge? We are convinced that the Creator who made all things also governs them—that He is every where present and exerts an immediate influence upon all his works — but who can tell how this takes place? The naturalist has, therefore, to believe a great many mysteries in reference to the Deity. How absurd, then, is it to reject the doctrine of the Trinity, because we cannot fully explain how Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are so united as to constitute but one Divine Essence? What, if a man were to deny that there is a God, or that the sun shines, and that its rays, reflected from surrounding objects upon the eye, produce sight, and cause the ideas in our minds which we have of those objects, simply because there is so much in all this that we cannot explain? But we are told that we have the evidence of our senses that these things are so. Very good, and I reply that we have the testimony of God in the Scriptures that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost constitute One Eternal Substance. Philosophy cannot, dare not deny the doctrine of the Trinity. It knows nothing about the mode or manner of the Divine existence. It is wholly a Scriptural question. On what a slender foundation, therefore, does Socinianism rest? The objection here exploded is the strong hold of this error! "We can believe nothing that we do not fully understand," it is

said! What! believe nothing that you do not understand! Meager faith, indeed! But it would be easy to show that you do believe a thousand things that you do not understand. For instance: do you not believe that the electric spark can be elicited from certain bodies? — that the magnet attracts iron? — that the images of visible objects formed upon the eye produce the ideas or conceptions we have of them in the soul? But do you fully comprehend *how* all this takes place? If the truth of these things rests upon the testimony of our senses, so the doctrine of the Trinity rests upon the testimony of God, who alone *can know* the mode of his existence. Where, now, is true philosophy? — with us, or with the ancient or modern Socinians?

I must now come to the other thought which I have yet to consider, namely, that our knowledge of God is necessarily very imperfect. What I mean is this: that in addition to those attributes which, from analogy, we ascribe to the Infinite Jehovah, he must possess many other wonderful and glorious perfections of which we have no conception whatever. We have knowledge enough of God for the attainment of eternal salvation: but just as much as was necessary for this purpose, and as, according to our limited capacities, could be imparted to us. Between us and the Deity there must still ever remain an infinite distance. We are a species of God's creatures, who, in our present state, are not overburdened with mental endowments. Our intellectual powers and attainments are greatly limited. We live in a little corner of the universe, and are acquainted with only a small number of the works of God. We ascribe to the Deity, as we have shown, only such attributes as we either find in ourselves, or perceive from their operations in the works of nature. But are these all possible Divine perfections or realities? How many thousand species of intelligences, each surpassing the other in the number and greatness of their endowments, may there be between us and the Deity, until the immense ladder reaches his glorious throne? What an infinite distance! and we are but one link in the mighty chain! What millions of spirits may there be between the soul of man and the highest intellect, even, at God's throne, and then there must still be an infinity between the creature and the Eternal Creator! Now to every species of these intelligences, forming the different links of this wonderous chain, God must have given powers and attributes peculiar to their nature — they were all created "in his likeness" — and there must therefore be in him similar perfections. —

And inasmuch as, with the exception of the angels, we have no knowledge at all, nor even any conception of the character of these different orders of intellectual beings, there must be perfections in the Deity which are entirely concealed from us. It is an evidence of great weakness to imagine, that, with our little soul, we have fully comprehended God and thoroughly studied all his attributes, when we have mastered all that has been written on the subject by philosophers and theologians. Perhaps we have then scarcely become acquainted with the thousandth part of what is in the Deity. We have then only learned to contemplate him from that point of view from which *human beings* are able to lok upon him. Will not an angel know more of Him than we? — gaze upon perfections concealed from us, and in clearer light? And now what unnumbered species of spirits have existence in God's universe! —inhabit those millions of worlds of which Astronomy speaks, and those millions more of which it has never yet dreamed! — and they must all conceive of God according to what they find in themselves. They must look upon Him from *their* point of observation — must learn to know Him from what they see of his acts or operations in themselves and others. And the nearer they come to the highest image of the Godhead, the more of his glorious perfections will they perceive. But can any of these exalted intellects exhaust this unfathomable ocean? Will there not still remain infinite depths of the Divinity concealed from all finite creatures? — immense perfections of which man, especially in his present state, can form no idea whatever?

From the facts now established it follows, that the attributes of the Deity may be conveniently divided into two classes. Some are of such a nature that we find something very analogous in the soul of man. God possesses understanding, will, freedom; He is wise, good, merciful, etc. Others are of such a nature that nothing analogous is found in the human spirit. But would not that man reveal his ignorance who should now argue that because this attribute, that reality, or this particular mode of existence is not found in the human soul, therefore neither can it be found in God? And this is precisely the position which those occupy who deny the doctrine of the Trinity. They conclude that that mode of existence which is not found in the human soul is also not found in God! But how contracted is such an idea! Human intellects are so constituted that each has its own powers. In the little circle which we survey we know of no substance in which several subjects are so united, and so act together as to constitute but

one substance or essence. But is it therefore rational to say, that because we do not find this mode of existence among ourselves, therefore there can be nothing of the kind in the Deity? What if I should reason thus in other matters? No man can create the smallest atom out of nothing; can, therefore, God not do it? No human being can be and act in heaven and earth at the same time; is this, hence, also impossible for the Deity? On the contrary, does it not much rather follow as a matter of course, that as the nature of the Deity is entirely different from that of man, and as he is infinitely exalted above him, there must be much in him, the like of which is not found in man? And if now God himself declares in the most explicit manner that his nature is *triune*, do we need more to establish the fact? Accordingly, every thing depends upon this, that we show that those passages of Scripture, upon which the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ rests, are to be understood as Trinitarians explain them — that they correctly interpret them. For it is wholly a *Biblical* question. I will, therefore, without delaying to give a systematic exposition of the doctrine concerning the person of the Redeemer, begin at once impartially to examine what we are to believe on the subject according to the plain teachings of the Sacred Volume.

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## ARTICLE III.

### THE CONSISTENCY OF THE DISCOVERIES OF GEOLOGY WITH THE TEACHINGS OF REVELATION.

By Rev. M. Jacobs, A. M., Prof. of Natural Science and Mathematics in Penn. College.

It would not be difficult to offer many reasons why the subject of Geology, among others, claims attention from the readers of the Evangelical Review. The study of the natural history of the earth is second only to Astronomy in its practical results, and in the enquiries of deep and sublime interest to which it gives rise. As a practical science it has received no inconsiderable share of public attention since the commencement of the century in which we live, and the number of its successful cultivators has been rapidly increasing. The facts, which have been elicited during the progress of discovery, have been extensively spread abroad through the reading community by the secular and religious press, so that almost every one, who can lay claim to an ordinary share of intelligence

has had his attention drawn more or less in that direction; and in an economical point of view they have proved of great value to mankind, so that science has thus repaid more than a hundred fold all the expenditure of time, money, and toil bestowed upon this branch of study. As a theoretic science it connects itself with the past, the present, and the future. It points us to the earth's solid frame-work, that we may there read its past history in its broken and comminuted rocks, and in the skeleton forms of its former inhabitants. We have there the unmistakable evidence of a long series of convulsions and changes, whose record stretches far back into the past eternity, and assures us that man and his cotemporary races of animals and plants have but recently begun their existence upon its surface, and that other plants bloomed, and beautified the landscape, and other animals saw the light of the sun, breathed the fresh air of the sky, bounded over the hills and plains, and sported in the ruffled waters long before the Mosaic chaos. It is such conclusions, forced upon us by the developments of Geology, which rash minds, betraying an extreme eagerness to use each new physical fact, which seemingly contradicts the commonly received opinions touching the Bible, as an argument against the truth of revelation, have laid hold of for the purpose of undermining our confidence in it, and supporting the cause of infidelity. It is for this reason, as well as for the love of the truth itself, that we should examine the evidence upon which these conclusions are based, and, if we should find them to be well founded, we ought then to review the common interpretation of the sacred text, to see whether, in part at least, it has not been erroneous, and whether, an other may not be given which is neither farfetched nor violent, which sacrifices no fundamental truth, and which reconciles the apparent discrepancies which have arisen in the study of the books of Nature and of Revelation. If both are properly understood or interpreted they must agree. Emanating from the same infallible and unchangeable Author, they cannot be inconsistent with each other. Hence the various branches of natural science, as far as they are a correct expression of facts and their laws, must all ultimately illustrate the truth of Revelation and aid in the discovery of its meaning, or in the correct interpretation of its language. It was so with the science of Astronomy; it must be so too with that of Geology.

There are three points to which Geology and Revelation, in common, direct attention. These have reference, 1.) to the age of the earth, 2.) to the introduction of death into the world, and 3.) to the occurrence of the deluge of Noah. Upon the

first two of these points, the conclusions derived from a careful examination of the earth itself conflict, in a decided manner, with the opinions commonly received and regarded as the plain teachings of the Bible. In reference to the third, it must be acknowledged that, as far as Geology is concerned, its occurrence is yet an open question. It is believed that the examination of the earth's surface has not yet revealed any decided traces of such a catastrophe, and therefore we must receive it mainly as a matter of faith.

The design of the following Article is to show, that whilst Geology most decidedly leads to conclusions different from those ordinarily entertained upon these subjects, they are nevertheless not inconsistent with those derived from a correct interpretation of the inspired word. It is an attempt to select from the numerous materials, which have, in the last few years, been gathered around us as the results of observation and study, such facts as shall exhibit the present state of the question upon these several points.

### *I. Evidences of the great antiquity of the Earth.*

The general opinion, derived from a cursory perusal of the Mosaic narrative of the Creation, is that the earth is about six thousand years old. An examination into the condition of its surface unavoidably leads to the conclusion that it is much older. Into the evidences of this conclusion we now propose entering.

In every country, whithersoever we go, we find the most indubitable evidences that the crust of the globe has been frequently convulsed and subjected to the action of various violent disturbing causes. Thus we see rocks curved, heaved up, and broken into fragments; mountains alternately raised up, sunk beneath the surface of the ocean, and then raised up again to the height of many thousands of feet; and valleys excavated, filled up, and then in part laid bare again. The sands of the sea shore, and the soil which sustains us by its productions are but the results of the long continued wearing action of the agitated waters. These effects have evidently been the successive links in a long series of changes.

Further examination discloses the remarkable fact, that, however much the rocks and soils may have been disturbed, they preserve towards each other the closest relationship. They are not thrown together in wild confusion, but always, in all places retain their relative position. Some rocks we invariably find below others; the upper lying not parallel or conformably

to the lower, but over their broken and sometimes highly inclined edges. The upper were therefore deposited after the lower had been curved, and heaved up, and worn away. They were thrown down upon the irregular surfaces of the latter. This is sufficient proof of succession.

The upper rocks also contain fragments, angular and rounded, of those which lie beneath them, showing that they were not only formed subsequently to the disruption of the latter, but after their fragments had been rounded by the rolling action of moving water. This, for the harder silicious rocks, would have required a long time. But not only do the upper rocks contain fragments of the lower, but they are actually made up altogether of the comminuted materials of those which previously existed. It is difficult to calculate the long series of years necessary to grind down the silicious particles which make up the mountain masses of sandstone rock, and to wear to almost impalpable minuteness the particles of clay which form the immense beds of slates. And yet all this must have been accomplished in each case before the superior strata could be deposited.

The stratified rocks, or those which have been deposited in beds by the action of water, though not all found in every place, are yet very extensively distributed, and in some countries form an aggregate of from ten to twenty miles in thickness. In some places the nonstratified or igneous rocks have protruded up to the surface; in others the stratified have been swept away by water currents which have laid bare the igneous, and in others the process of deposition did not go on cotemporaneously as elsewhere, because they then constituted dry land. But, every where, the process of deposition was temporarily arrested, and then facilitated, as shown by the differences between the thousands of beds which form the immense thickness of sedimentary rocks, and by their constituting, in numerous cases, alternately the bed of the ocean and the surface of the dry land. Each separate bed, like each of the annual layers of wood in the growing tree, marks some temporary change at least in the physical condition of our planet. Thus time begins to lengthen as we proceed with our investigation.

All those beds which, taken together differ but little, partly in their mineral character, but especially in their imbedded fossils, and which may therefore have been deposited, whilst the physical condition of the globe remained nearly the same, are called a *Formation*. Of these larger groups, distinguished from each other, in part, by their relative position in reference

to each other and their lithological character, but mainly by their organic remains, geologists reckon ten, which are entirely distinct. During the period of their deposition, in many cases, great changes did, indeed, occur, as indicated by the changes in the subordinate groups of rocks composing them, but yet the general condition of our planet did not so change as to render it incompatible with the continuance of its then existing races of animals and plants. The convulsive movements, by which these systems of strata were elevated and which terminated each geological period, were probably short, and followed by long periods of repose, during which the next formation and its imbedded animals and plants were deposited.

These formations, then, are distinguished from each other by a difference in their fossil animals and plants. The upper, or that which is now in a state of formation, alone contains any human remains, except where they have been artificially introduced into the lower. As we descend, in the scale of formations, into the older rocks, the more do the organic remains differ from the now existing Fauna and Flora. "Not only did different species, genera, and families" begin their existence at different times, "but some soon became extinct, and others continued longer." *Species* rarely extend from one formation into another; but *some genera* extend from the earliest evidence we have of organized life until the present period. "Not one species of fossil fish has been found common to any two of the great geological formations, or is now living in the ocean." Below the chalk, or the third from the uppermost, not even a genus is found that embraces any living species of fish.

That these formations were successively deposited, beginning with the lower and progressing upward, is evident; for otherwise the animal and vegetable species would have been all mingled together, and species of animals and plants now living would be found entombed with others which it is demonstrable could not have lived under the same conditions of climate and surface. The earth must, therefore, have changed its inhabitants, more or less entirely, probably seven times, certainly five times before the creation of man and his cotemporary races. "Deshayes has announced that he has discovered, in surveying the entire series of fossil animal remains, *five great* groups, so completely independent, that no species whatever is found in more than one of them." In each case new species were created to suit the altered condition of the earth, for the earth itself has no power of producing any new species of animals or plants. This may seem strange to those, who think that the Scriptures teach, that all the animals and

plants that have ever lived on the earth, had their origin in the six days of the Mosaic cosmogony. But there is scarcely any fact in physical science better established, than this, and it is only calculated to show, that God has never left himself destitute of a witness of his creative power, infinite wisdom, and overflowing goodness.

That an immense period of time was consumed in the completion of each of these formations, is clear from the perfection with which their organic remains are preserved, and from the countless millions of some species which existed and were thus entombed. Some instances indeed there are, in which, judging from the broken and worn state of their remains, they appear to have perished violently; but generally they must have died where they lived, or been carried but a short distance thence, and quietly covered by the sand and mud of the bottom on which they rested. Frequently all the shells in a layer of rock are found in a position precisely corresponding to that which similar shells occupy at the bottom of the waters of the present day. And the parts preserved are so delicate, that in many cases they would have been destroyed, or very much injured, had they been transported to a distance. Besides, the immense numbers, occurring in some localities and over extensive districts, render it certain that generation after generation lived and died on the same spot. Thus we have immense lime stone beds, constituting a great portion of large mountain-chains, consisting almost entirely of the calcarious coverings of shell-fish. Deposits of the shields of microscopic animals, so small that 41,000,000,000 of them would be contained in the space of one cubic inch, occur, of from 12- to 25 feet in thickness, and extending over large areas. "Two thirds of the surface of existing continents are composed of fossiliferous rocks," and these are said to be frequently several thousand feet in thickness. There were also, in many instances, alternations in the process by which the separate layers, constituting the several formations, were deposited. Thus limestones, slates and sandstones are found interstratified with each other; and the coal-beds, of which there are in some localities twenty to thirty in number, are interstratified in a similar manner with sandstones, shales and limestones.

The coal formation alone contains volumes of information upon our subject. That fossil-coal is almost entirely confined to a single formation, small quantities only being found in the next adjacent below and above, is certainly remarkable. It proves that there was something peculiar in the condition of the planet at the time of its production. There was something

peculiarly favorable to an abundant and luxuriant vegetation, such as did not exist either before or since; for it is demonstrable that all fossil-coal is of vegetable and not of mineral origin, as once supposed. Not only are the leaves and branches and stems of plants found to be abundantly impressed upon the floors and roofs of the coal-beds, but, by aid of the microscope, the great body of the coal itself can be shown to be almost wholly made up of plants, whose vegetable structure yet remains, so that the natural botanical orders and even genera to which they belonged can be still identified. The plants, which thus constitute the material of the coal, are all found to be of a tropical character, or such as are now found to be growing only in hot climates, and mostly in moist insular situations. But yet beds of coal are found in high northern and southern latitudes, even within the borders of the frigid zone, as far north as Melville island, in 75° N. latitude, where none but a scanty vegetation is now to be found. That the plants were transported thither from tropical latitudes, where they may have grown, is contradicted by all attainable evidences, and is no longer maintained by any one who is even moderately acquainted with the subject. The whole surface of the earth must, then, at that period, have enjoyed a tropical climate, which, accompanied probably with a moist atmosphere surcharged with carbonic acid, favored such a vegetation as indicated. But even with an abundant and luxuriant vegetation, a long series of years must have contributed their products to the formation of a single bed, of which some are from twenty to one hundred feet in thickness; and consequently, a vast period of time must have been consumed in the production of the whole series of coal-beds and their interstratified rocks.

It is clear, from but a cursory examination, that the dry land and ocean several times interchanged places, so that the bed of the latter was laid bare and became the seat of vegetable, and of certain kinds of animal life, and that the former became the ocean bed and the seat of appropriate species of marine animals and plants. This state, though in confined localities it may have been disturbed, remained, as a whole, the same during all the time of one geological period; and when it was broken up, it left its peculiar remains in the place they occupied. The time required to form soils, and to permit gigantic trees to grow and decay and give room to others, was, manifestly, more than a few years: it may have been many centuries. But at length, in each case, the scheme of Providence required a change; the old state of things was broken up, and a new

produced. Old mountains sunk beneath their former foundations, and new ones arose in other places. The earth was renovated and peopled with new inhabitants. It is the opinion of Prof. Agassiz, that each geological epoch was closed by a fall of temperature, so that the climate became incompatible with the kinds of life then prevalent. That there was a very great reduction of temperature during the deposit of the Drift or Diluvium, which immediately underlies the Alluvium, or those rocks and soils which are now in a process of formation, or which have resulted from causes now in operation, is evident. Over a large part of the northern hemisphere there are deposited trains of rock varying in size, from those which would weigh tons, down to fine gravel and sand. The larger have been carried a considerable distance from their parent rock, and the smaller still farther, in some instances as far south as 40° N. latitude. At the same time the surface rock is scratched and grooved, and sometimes polished in lines following the same direction with the deposits of rock and drift; viz. nearly from N. N. W. to S. S. E. Now, no agency could carry these blocks over hills and mountains, scoring and grinding the northern sides only, except currents of water aided by the buoyant power of ice. The climate must then have been cold—colder all over the globe than consistent with the existence of the present races of animals and plants.

From such facts and statements as the preceding, which have been selected out of an immense mass of materials of the same kind, the conclusion is irresistible, that man is but a recent inhabitant of the earth, and that it existed through periods, each of which was, probably, much longer, than that in which we and our cotemporary races have been living, and which was introduced and closed by some great changes in surface and climate, of which we have the ever-enduring records in the crust of the globe itself. In the whole history of the earth, therefore, that of man occupies but a point. Before him it long existed, and was alternately the scene of teeming life and of violent convulsion. During its seasons of repose it became the theatre of creative power, which produced in each case the progenitors of the new races of animals and plants, which were, for a period, to beautify and enliven continents, islands, and oceans. We see no approximation of the species of one geological period towards those of the succeeding, such as to justify the supposition that the one arose from the other by some natural law; by some process of development, according to the theory of Lamark, by which a more perfect being may be produced from a less perfect.

Admitting, then, these conclusions, as we are compelled to do, if in any case we can be swayed by the force of evidence, how are we to understand the Mosaic cosmogony, or the account which Moses gives of the creation of the world? If the commonly received opinion as to the meaning of the Mosaic account be correct, then Geology and Revelation are at variance with each other. But as this cannot be at all admitted, we must see whether, notwithstanding, they may not be shown to agree. Several modes of reconciling them have been resorted to.

*First method.* When, from such facts as above detailed, and derived from a careful study of the crust of the earth, it was first clearly seen that Geology and the Bible were apparently at variance, and when, further, it was as clearly seen that the facts were too well established to admit of being overthrown, it was thought, by many, that the two could be reconciled by giving a new interpretation to the sacred narrative. They made the assumption, that the demiurgic days, or days of creation, spoken of by Moses, represented long periods of time and corresponded to the great geological periods of which the earth itself gave the most decided evidence. This interpretation was thought to be justified by the similar use of the word *day* in other places in the Bible, and it was supposed to derive strong confirmation from an apparent correspondence between the fossils, from the lowest rocks up to the highest, and the order of creation described in the 1st Chap. of Genesis.

But as to this use of the term *day*, it may be remarked, that it is not in accordance with the *evident and natural* meaning of the whole narrative, and with the references to it found in the decalogue and elsewhere, in which the duty of observing the seventh day as the Sabbath was enjoined, and the fact, that God created the heavens and the earth in six days, added as a reason why the day should be observed. And where the word is used in the sense of a long period of time, the context always, evidently, so extends its meaning.

Equally unsatisfactory is the support which this mode of explanation derives from a supposed correspondence between the fossils, and the order in which the different animal and vegetable races were created according to the Mosaic history. Moses speaks of vegetation as taking its origin on the third day; the inhabitants of the air and the waters on the fifth day; those of the land together with man, on the sixth day. We ought therefore to find, that the lowest fossiliferous rocks contained no organic remains but those of plants; the next, these mixed with those of marine and aerial animals and plants;

and the last, those mixed with terrestrial products. But the discoveries of Geology show, that not only did representatives, from both the vegetable and animal kingdom, exist cotemporaneously, when the lowest fossiliferous rocks were deposited; but that from the first, all the most important classes of animals and plants coexisted together. Vegetable life must be presupposed as the basis of animal support, for, according to the present constitution of things, the animal cannot live without the vegetable kingdom, in which matter first takes its organic form. The lowest rocks, however, contain but few vegetable remains, and these mostly marine. This may have arisen from the fact, that as the sedimentary rocks were formed under water, vegetable matter was peculiarly liable to disorganization in that element before its outlines became imprinted on the forming rock. There is, however, one point of agreement between this theory and the sacred narrative, which is, that man was the last act of creation, according to both, and this is fully sustained by Geological investigations.

This theory, moreover, presupposes the continued existence of the different races from the time of the creation of their progenitors, throughout the several successive and long periods down to the present time; but we have seen that each geological period had its characteristic living species, which, in the next, gave place to others, showing that there were successive creations to suit the altered condition of the planet. This is fatal to the theory, which, trying to account for all geological phenomena by one creation, converts twenty-four hours into indefinitely long periods of time. But we do not deem it necessary to follow it any farther, and therefore proceed to the next.

*Second method.* In this it is taken for granted, that the Mosaic narrative is to be understood, in general, according to its most obvious meaning. His demiurgic days are days of twenty-four hours in length; and the steps of reducing the chaos into order, and of originating the present state of things, all took place in six such days. But he is not believed to be describing the whole past history of our globe, with all that ever lived and with every thing that had transpired on its surface. He does not describe the creation of the fossil, but only of the existing races of animals and plants. The task committed to him, and for which he was divinely inspired, was to show how the present order of things, which connects itself with our probationary state, and therefore, also, naturally with the subject of religion, took its rise. In communicating the will of God to mankind, it was not necessary that they should be

made acquainted with all that ever transpired here. It could not have been of any advantage in explaining that will, or in performing the requirements of religion.

The first verse we must, therefore, regard as introducing the revelation, and asserting that He, who is communicating with man, is the Creator of the heavens and the earth—the Uncreated Cause of all that exists. With our minds thus prepared to hear his communications, we are, without further notice, suddenly carried over the vast gulf of time, during which the fossil races were successively created and permitted to pass away to give room to others, and are set down at a point, when the earth, having been broken up by one of those revolutions, which brought a previous order of things to a close, and rendered it desolate, was without inhabitants, without form and void; and when, by the subsiding of the dry land it was all submerged, and the ocean covered the whole earth, and "darkness was upon the face of the deep." That all the dry land could be thus submerged by the waters of the present ocean, if the now buoyant continents and islands were to sink, is demonstrable; and that the vapors raised into the atmosphere, by the nearer proximity, at numerous points, of the waters of the universal ocean to the internal fires, caused by the breaking of the crust, would be of such quantity and density as to produce an impenetrable darkness, is altogether probable. We need but bear in mind, that even now a dense cloud often produces the duskiness of twilight at mid-day, and almost deludes us with the impression of night suddenly coming on, when we know that the sun is yet high in the heavens and shining as brightly as ever above the thick vapors. If, therefore, the earth is now, for days together, sometimes, thus enveloped in a shroud of clouds, so that the only evidence we have of the existence of the sun, is the faint light, which, for several hours, pierces through the covering, we have only to imagine the quantity of vapor to be increased by an internal cause, and the night supposed would be produced.

On the first day "God said, let there be light, and there was light." The cooling vapors, by slow condensation, and sinking down upon the ocean, now permitted some light to pass, so as to give notice of the difference of day and night. This marked the first stage of the progress of that process, by which the chaos was reduced to order.

On the second day the vapors were further reduced in quantity, so that they remained as cloud only at some elevation above the ocean, where the air was colder than below, and thus there was a firmament in the midst of the waters, which

divided the waters of the ocean from the waters of the clouds. The term firmament is understood to have meant, among the Hebrews and other ancient people, the clear space above, in which the sun, moon and stars were fixed, as it were in a solid concave, and also that clear space below the clouds, as though they were supported by something solid, which prevented them from falling bodily to the earth. The latter is probably its meaning in the passage before us, although it is there called *heaven.*

The third day was that on which the vegetable kingdom took its rise. The surface of the earth, having been made to rise in some places and to sink in others, the dry land and seas were formed; and the different species of vegetation were made to spring up by creative power, each in such situations as to suit its peculiar constitution. The diffused light, which on this day penetrated through the attenuating clouds, was sufficient to favor vegetation, although, in general, the full light and heat of the sun are necessary to the rapid and healthy growth of plants, and to the perfection of their seeds and fruits.

On the fourth day, the sun, moon and stars first became visible, or rather began to shine in an unclouded sky. They were not then *created*, according to the ordinary opinion, but first made to appear. The light of the first day, as well as all the phenomena of fossils, show the previous existence of the sun. But obscured for a while, the heavenly bodies were, on this day, made to burst forth in their full splendor upon a renovated world, and constituted to perform their several offices; the sun to shine by day, and the moon and stars to give their light by night. All competent critics agree in the opinion, that the term translated *made* does not mean the same as *created*, but arranged or constituted. It is plain that Moses is but describing the phenomena as they would have presented themselves, from day to day, to a beholder.

On the fifth and sixth days, God created the animal kingdom, with man, as his last and chief workmanship. Him he constituted lord of creation, giving him "dominion over the fish of the sea, over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth."

"If it be said, that, in the fourth commandment, Moses does declare the creation of the world out of nothing to have been contemporaneous with the first demiurgic day, it may be replied, that when a writer describes an event more than once his briefer description is to be explained by his more extended account." (Hitchcock's Geol. p. 296.) This view of the subject has been entertained by quite a number of theological wri-

ters, on grounds quite independent of Geological discoveries. Among them may be enumerated "Augustine and Theodoret in ancient times; and Rosenmiller and Bishop Patrick, &c. among moderns."

If this view be correct, there does not appear to be any conflict between Geology and Revelation; but the view, which regards the 1st verse of the Mosaic account as a part of a continuous history with the remainder, must be incorrect. Science and Revelation can never be at variance with each other. The former, when well established, must only afford new and splendid illustrations of the latter correctly interpreted. It is the tendency of science, if pursued with a right disposition, to lead the mind from a contemplation of the visible world up to the Great Creator of all things. Thus Astronomy, though contradicting the literal meaning of some passages of Scripture, is no longer regarded as hostile to Revelation. It has led us to look with heightened wonder and admiration upon the "heavens which declare God's glory, and the earth which showeth forth his handiwork."

The preceding two views, are those which are most favorably received amongst those who have considered the relations of Geology to Revelation, and the latter is now thought to be the more correct by the large majority. It would, however, be improper not here to state a very ingenious, and, it may be said, not improbable view given by Dr. J. Pye Smith, an eminent English theologian, in his work "*On the Relation between the Holy Scriptures and some parts of Geological Science.*"

He supposes that the phenomena, which Moses describes as having transpired during the six demiurgic days, were not coextensive even with the whole earth; but extended only to a limited portion of its surface, the original seat of the human race. The remainder of the surface of the earth was perhaps not disturbed, and animals and vegetables continued there to live and flourish as usual. Only where *man* was to be created, was it deemed necessary, that by geological and meteorological causes the old state of things should be broken up. There, from a state of chaos was the earth, by omnipotent power, again brought to a state of order and fertility in six days, and animated with new races of animals and plants. In favor of this view, is the frequent use of the term *earth*, and *whole earth* in a limited sense, meaning that portion of it then known to the Israelites. Their knowledge was principally confined to Western Asia and adjacent parts; and to this alone, he thinks, the Mosaic history applies. And this view is fur-

ther favored, by the abundant evidence furnished by Geology, that there have been, not only many successive creations, but also many centres of simultaneous creations.

### *II. The introduction of Death into the world.*

Did death exist in the world before Adam's sin? is a question upon which Revelation does not furnish a direct answer. The common opinion is, that it did not, but that its introduction and its passage upon the whole animal creation was the direct result of God's displeasure upon Adam's sin.

It may, however, be remarked that, as far as the testimony of the Bible is concerned, such an opinion is entirely unsupported. When (Rom. 5: 12.) it is said: "As by one man sin entered into the world, and *death* by *sin*;" it is further added, "and so death passed upon *all men*, for that *all have sinned.*" From this it appears clearly, as also according to the original warning against eating the forbidden fruit, that death is a penalty for sin, and is limited, as to its subjects, by its cause. *Men only* have sinned, and therefore, as a penalty, it is limited to them. The lower orders of creation die too, not because of demerit, but as a timely relief to them, or for the purpose of securing a greater good in the economy of the world. If any of the human family were entirely free from sin, they, doubtless, would not suffer the penalty, unless as in the case of infants, to drop for a season this material body adapted only to this life, to receive it again when transformed into a spiritual body. Those most holy of men, Enoch and Elijah, did actually escape the pains of death, for they were translated at once to heaven. Only one, though not a mere man, died, who was free from sin, but he was our substitute.

It has, however, been supposed by some, that it can be fairly inferred from the language of Paul (Romans 7: 19–23.), that the inferior creation is involved in suffering and death *because* of man's sin. But though it it is said "the whole creation groaneth, and travaileth in pain together until now," we have no right to infer that this language is intended to be applied to the lower orders of creatures, but we must suppose it to have exclusive reference to the human race. The subject under consideration is, the freedom from pain and suffering and the high enjoyments promised by the Gospel to those who had become its subjects, and must necessarily be limited to men, who have sinned, and thereby subjected themselves to suffering. It is said that "the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God." But the vegetable and inferior animal world cannot become partakers

in the triumphs of redemption, and therefore they cannot have been meant to be included in the language of the Apostle, which he applied to suffering humanity. By the word *creature* is probably meant man's *animal nature*, which has been made subject to suffering because of the sin of his soul, and which shall not only be freed from all suffering, but shall be glorified with the redeemed soul, when it shall be acknowledged and received into the full privileges of the sons of God. And when it is said that "the whole creation groaneth" &c., the whole human race may be meant, bad as well as good; for *all* finding much suffering here, and desiring to be delivered, entertain a hope, or at least a longing that they may yet reach a better state, and that that state may in some way or other be conferred upon them, when God's children shall enter upon the enjoyments of their redemption. The utmost that can, with any show of reason, be said, is that, by a figure of speech, the apostle is representing the whole creation as sympathizing with the race of man in his afflictions and in the hopes of his redemption, just as the angelic and lower orders of creation are often, in the Psalms, represented as joining the servants of the Lord in praising and glorifying Him. But if these passages have a more direct reference to inferior creatures, it only goes to confirm the opinion, that death as a penalty extended no farther than to man. It must mean that the earth, whose condition was improved by every successive general change, which took place in its surface previous to the present, but was now cursed for man's sake, did not fully become what it was designed to be in its new form, but that the old state — the reign of suffering and death was continued, so as to suit the condition and to be a fit probationary school of a fallen race. The inferior creation could not, therefore, be relieved of many of its disadvantages and sufferings, until the time of man's redemption should come, and this globe should become the home of peace and happiness, and the new heavens and the new earth should appear, wherein the righteous shall dwell.

But we have furnished, from Geology, the most abundant and conclusive evidences, that the antiquity of the world is very great, extending far back into the past eternity — beyond the commencement of its present Fauna and Flora. We have seen that the great laws of nature, the laws of light and heat, of nutrition, locomotion, &c., were the same in the pre-Adamite world as at present, and that, at each successive general change, which its surface underwent, it became the supporter

of new races of plants and animals to suit its new condition. Throughout its whole range of rocky strata it gives the most positive evidence, in the myriads of the fossil organic remains which are there to be found, not only that it at various periods teemed with life, but that it has also been the scene of death, and become the great charnel-house of the existences which it nourished upon its bosom. The penalty threatened and afterwards inflicted upon Adam, therefore, evidently had reference to a thing *passing before his eyes*, or to an event of which he had sufficient evidence immediately around him. He must have been impressed with the fact that the brute, insect, and vegetable creation was liable to perish, and he was warned that thus it would also be with him if he sinned. And so it was. He and his posterity, though endowed with superior corporeal and mental natures, and not *originally designed to die* like the inferior world, became subject to death. He, too, like every thing else that he saw springing from and supported by the earth, became subject to the law, "Dust thou art and unto dust thou shalt return."

But it is plainly impossible that, under the present order of things, any of the higher classes of animals could exist, without the destruction of myriads of the lower. As God has peopled air, earth, and sea, with inhabitants; as every sprig of grass sustains its insect population, and everp drop of water its thousands of infusoria, and the soil is covered with its tenants, we cannot walk, or breathe, or drink, or eat without destroying animal life; and there, then, is death, though it destroy but the lowest form of life. Man could not, therefore, have existed without destroying life, and even if he had not sinned and thus become subject to death, death must still have existed. How, then, can it be maintained that death was visited upon the rest of the animal kingdom for man's sake? Besides, whilst a large class of animals may and do subsist upon vegetable food, and are therefore called the *graminivora*; there is another large class, whose organs of mastication, digestion and assimilation are incompatible with the use of any but animal food. These, constituting the *carnivora*, could not exist without the destruction of life in other animals. Death is, thus, a necessary event in a world constituted as this now is, and as it has been during each geological epoch of its past existence, when also there existed carnivorous races. If it be said, on the other hand, that even if man had not sinned, it would have been almost impossible for the whole race to be exempt from death, from earthquake, fire, flood, or storm, and other violent natural phenomena; it may be answered, that

it by no means follows, that what God now, in many cases, allows to be a means or instrument of producing the threatened penalty, would have resulted in the same manner, if our moral condition had been different, for his Providence, extending to each individual, would have been able to keep him safe. That each human being would have been successively removed from this world after such stay as would have been allotted him by his Creator, is not only highly probable, but absolutely certain, for otherwise it would soon have become too much crowded with human beings to admit of their comfortable support. The human race would have been transferred to some other part of God's dominions, better suited to their developed mental and moral natures, and hence, in view of this necessity, some christian writers, among whom Jeremy Taylor may be named, have been of the opinion, "That *death* which God threatened to Adam, and which passed upon his posterity, is not the going out of the world, but the manner of going. If he had stayed in innocence, he should have gone hence placidly and fairly, without vexations and afflictive circumstances: he should not have died by sickness, misfortune, defect, or unwillingness; but when he fell, he began to die." *(Holy Dying, p. 295.)* The same necessity exists among the lower animals; they, too, would soon be too crowed all to live together. They must then be exposed to hunger, and drag out a miserable and painful life, if it were possible thus to exist without starvation, or they must die. Death would be to them a greater blessing than a protracted and painful existence; and death must, therefore, be regarded as having been a constant fact in this world since the commencement of organic life, and must have always been a good, instead of an evil, to all the animal world except man. Even to him it has been turned into a blessing by the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which is calculated to take away the dread of it during the progress of life, gives us the victory over it in the midst of its last fearful struggles, and enables us triumphing to enter into a new and better state of existence.

But there is a point closely connected with the preceding subject, which demands our further attention. It is often stated, *that the earth itself bears external marks that it is sustaining a world in a fallen condition.* The existence of volcanos, earthquakes, whirlwids, tempests, floods, and other powerful physical phenomena, is appealed to as a proof that mankind are sinners, and that the present condition of the globe is a marked evidence of God's displeasure against sin. If this opinion were entertained merely by the ignorant, whose

limited information is insufficient to enable them to form a correct judgment upon such a point, it might not be deemed worthy of any particular notice here. But when it is endorsed by such men as Thomas Dick, L. L. D., and others, and frequently given as sound argument from the pulpit, designed incidentally to prove the depravity of man, it is well to show how slight a foundation it has. There are evidences the most abundant and painful, of a different nature, sufficient to show the reality of man's corruption without resorting to such arguments as this. The cause of truth is always injured, instead of benefitted, by a resort to arguments which are not reliable.

The Scriptures do indeed teach that the earth was cursed for man's sake; but what the precise nature, or form, or immediate effect of that curse upon physical nature was, we are at a loss to determine. God may, without altering the general condition of the earth, have easily impressed some slight change upon its atmosphere, or soil, sufficient to influence its meteorology, and consequently its productiveness, and render toil more necessary and disease more frequent; or no change whatever may have taken place in the atmosphere, or sea, or land, but only in man's corporeal nature, which, becoming diseased and the slave of a depraved soul whose tendencies were downward and affections cleaving to the dust, made the procuring of food and other necessaries a wearisome effort and a subject of constant and anxious care. A part, however, of the curse which the earth has endured for man's sake, consists in the fact, that it has been the theatre of his sinfulness, and also, in part, of its punishment, (Gen. 8: 21.). Once, in order to wash away the evidences of his guilt, it was overflowed with the waters of the flood; and a time is coming, when, prophecy assures us, it will be purified by fire. There is, however, scarcely a doubt that the physical condition of the earth remains essentially the same now that it was before Adam's fall.

But that the violence of the elements to which the earth is subject, and from which, in the providence of God who uses second causes as his instruments of mercy and of wrath, human suffering and death have resulted, is an evidence of man's guilt and God's curse, is not sustained by either Geology or the Bible. Geology proves that the laws and operations of physical nature have always been essentially the same; and that the earth has been convulsed and rent again and again by volcanic forces, and its surface worn and altered by floods and storms long before man saw the light of its sky. Unless, therefore, we maintain, as some have done without the least

evidence of the fact, that other fallen beings peopled this earth before the race of man was placed upon it, we must see that there is not the slightest foundation for the opinion referred to; for if these phenomena are evidences of guilt now, they were equally so during all the world's past history. Besides, the moon's surface gives the most decided evidence of having been convulsed and rent by similar forces in a still more remarkable manner than our planet, but no one will maintatn that the condition of that luminary has had any connection with man's defection. As far, however, as our knowledge extends, it is the law of the condition of the earth and moon and perhaps of all the planets belonging to our system, to be subject to agencies of the kind referred to, which are constantly modifying their surface, and preparing them for some new functions. If man had not sinned, being in the hands of Him without whom not a sparrow falleth to the ground, and whom the elements obey, nothing would have caused him harm.

It would, perhaps, even be admitting too much to say, with Prof. Hitchcock (Geol. p. 288.), "that this condition (of man) was seen and provided for, long before his existence, so that he might find it a world well adapted to a state of probation," and that "it has never been such a world as perfect benevolence would have prepared for perfectly holy and happy beings;" for then it must be said that the moon, and perhaps all the planets of our system have a similar adaptation at least, and either have been, or are, or may yet be the unfortunate homes of imperfect, fallen beings, who need a similar state of probation; of all of which we have not the slightest grounds to form a conjecture. Foreseeing man's fall, God did indeed place him in a world suited to his condition, but it was whilst he was yet innocent; and what reason have we to assume that this world would not have suited his condition, if he had continued in a state of innocency, or that it is not now such a world as to suit perfectly holy and happy beings? If our spiritual and physical functions were not impaired, what should hinder us from being perfectly happy here, as long as it pleased God to continue our stay? (For this earth could but have been designed as a place of pupilage to Adam's posterity, if he had remained innocent.) With a body full of vigor, and free from disease and infirmities, and a mind cheerful under a sense of the favor of a constantly present God, with whom communion is sweet, what should prevent any one from being happy? The effort, which might be necessary to procure food and other comforts, would be pleasant exercise, and there would be no accident or suffering resulting from physical agencies

always under the control of a complacent Protector, and no source of sorrow whatever. It must be acknowledged that the world in which we live is a most beautiful and glorious world, showing forth the goodness, wisdom, and "handiwork" of its Maker, and were it not for the disordered condition of our physical and moral nature, it would be a most delightful abode. A change in us is consequently necessary, if we are to be perfectly happy, and we have this delightful assurance, that if we continue to be his faithful servants here, he will soon take us to a world far better than this.

### *III. The Deluge of Noah.*

Having endeavored to present, in as narrow a compass as possible, the leading facts upon the first two great questions, to which Geology and Revelation in common direct attention, we have yet a few observations to offer upon the third.

If now it be asked, "Are there not any traces upon the earth of the deluge of the Inspired writings?" We reply in the language of Prof. Sedgwick, "that none have *yet been found*, and that perhaps it was never intended that they ever should be." We without hesitation believe in the existence of such an event, not because science, the inferior light, reveals it, but because the Bible, whose statements are always reliable, distinctly and unequivocally teaches, that by such an event the whole human race was destroyed, except one family, which had found favor with God. The Bible history is further corroborated by the fact, that such a catastrophe is indelibly impressed upon the memory of our race, as is amply proved by the histories and traditions of all nations, both ancient and modern, of the western continent as well as of the eastern. There was, indeed, a time, when it was thought, that the evidences of the deluge of Noah were every where to be found in the earth itself and all over its surface; now they are found no where. How has it, then, come to pass, that opinion has so much changed upon a subject forming so important a part in the scriptural history of the human race? The answer will be found in the statements which follow.

1. When, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, fossil geology first began to arrest attention, it became a question whether the organic forms found in the soils and rocks of the earth ever belonged to living animals and plants. Some there were, who maintained that they were the "sports of Nature," or that "they were the result of a fatty matter fermented by heat," or that "they acquired their forms by the tumultuous movements of terrestrial exhalations," or that they resulted

"from the influence of the heavenly bodies." Others, a little more rational than these, contended that God formed the earth at first substantially as it now is, with its rocky strata curved and broken, and containing the organic forms and beds of mineral coal in the position in which they are severally found at present. But whilst it is possible that God could have put these imitative forms into their respective places, no one, who at all reflects upon the character of God, and pays regard to the uniform testimony of the physical and moral world, which shows that he produces every thing which does not involve creation by the operation of second causes, will maintain that it is probable. Those, however, who, yielding to the powerful evidences of their senses, believed these forms to have belonged to living animals and plants, regarded them as so many proofs of the Universal Deluge, which, covering the highest hills and mountains, and filling every valley and plain, scattered all over the earth's surface the remains of its former inhabitants. These remains, it was supposed, were imbedded in the rocks formed from the vast deposites of clay and sand left in many places by the retiring waters. This was especially supposed to be the case with the inhabitants of the waters, whose solid coverings were easily preserved, and gradually converted into petrifactions; and hence the immense quantities of such fossils to be found in almost every country.

2. But the propriety of ascribing them to such an origin grew more doubtful just in proportion as careful examinations into the earth's strata were multiplied, until, at length, it has been wholly relinquished. We have already adduced the principal evidences that they were deposited long before the Deluge, and many of them at immeasurable periods of time before the creation of man and his cotemporary races of animals and plants. Of these proofs we may be permitted here to repeat several again: such as, the entire absence of the remains of man and of his works; the dissimilarity of the fossil flora and fauna from those of the present order of things, so that below the tertiary formation "there are five great groups of animal fossil remains, so completely independent, that no species whatever is found in more than one of them." But this could not have been the case if, according to Dr. Woodward and others, the whole exterior mass of the earth had been dissolved by the deluge, and the existing strata of rocks formed from the mingled mass, for then should we discover an indiscriminate mixture of the remains of all the animal and vegetable races. The time also necessary to produce the numerous alternations of land and sea, with their several pro-

ductions evidently entombed where they grew, must have been immensely long; and the climate, as proved by the fossils, was several times, during those geological periods, incompatible with the animal and vegetable races existing, immediately before and after, and with those cotemporary with man.

3. After it was reluctantly admitted that the fossils of the stratified rocks afforded no evidence of the deluge of Noah, this great catastrophe was next connected with the numerous indications found of the passage of large bodies of water, at a recent epoch, over a great part, not only of Europe, but of the Northern hemisphere, carrying large blocks of granite and other rocks and gravel to situations far southward of their parent beds. This hypothesis, first proposed by De Luc, and endorsed by such men as Cuvier, Dr. Buckland, and Professor Sedgwick, soon became popular among geologists. Dr. Buckland made a collection of all the facts he could gather upon this subject, and published them in 1823, under the title, *Reliquiae Diluvianae*. His name and his work have long been referred to as of the highest authority, and as settling the question beyond dispute, that the earth did afford the most decided evidences of the Noachian Deluge. But further investigation led to the discovery, that the effects, which were thus attributed to a single overwhelming inundation, were undoubtedly due to several such catastrophes, happening at periods we know not how distant from each other. That none of them has occurred as recently as the historic deluge is proved by the admissions of Dr. Buckland and others, who have within a few years abandoned their hypothesis, when they say: "As the rise of the waters of the Mosaic deluge is represented to have been gradual, and of short duration, they would have produced comparatively little change on the surface of the country overflowed," (and such we are led to infer to have been the case from the Mosaic record,) and: "The large preponderance of *extinct species* among the animals we find in caves, and in superficial deposits of diluvium, and the *non-discovery of human bones* among them afford other strong reasons for referring these species to a period anterior to the creation of man." The currents, moreover, which deposited the trains of granite blocks and superficial gravel alluded to, and which scratched and grooved, and in some instances polished the then upper rocks were long continued, whereas the deluge currents lasted only about one hundred and fifty days. And as simple water currents could not have transported such huge blocks, as some of them are, and to so great a distance, they

must have carried immense masses of ice, whose buoyant power would give the requisite support, and thus score, as with a diamond, the surface over which they were borne, by the pointed rocks projecting from beneath. The climate was consequently cold — too cold to be compatible with the present terrestrial races, and as the climate has not sensibly changed since the creation of the human race, these effects were produced anterior to Adam. Abandoning these, therefore, as evidences of the historic deluge, we are compelled to say, that as far as our knowledge at present extends, we see no traces on the earth of such an event. Whether any ever will be found we leave to futurity to tell. Here we might stop, but the importance of the subject compels us to add a few further observations.

4. It has become a question, not only with those who desire to discredit the sacred narrative altogether, but also with many who firmly believe in its truth, whether the deluge of Noah was, in a strict sense, universal or not. If, interpreting the language of the narrative in connection with, and in the light of all the circumstances of the event itself, as we do not hesitate to do in many other cases, we are compelled to come to the conclusion, that an absolute Universality is there plainly and properly meant, we will bow with submission, though at present all physical evidences of the catastrophe be wanting, or every trace of it obliterated, as we believe that the Bible record is always accordant with truth. But if the narrative, viewed in its proper connections, admits of an interpretation different from that commonly received, and which in a more satisfactory manner explains the facts, and removes the physical difficulties, we must yield our assent to that, as most likely to be the true meaning of the historical record.

In the way of the belief of the strict universality of the deluge, there are, besides the absence of all discoverable traces of it on the earth, several very serious difficulties.

The *first* is, that to raise the waters, all over the globe, so as to extend fifteen cubits above the highest mountains, would have required an ocean five miles in depth to be superposed upon the present; which would have rendered it necessary, that there should be added about eight times as much water as is found at present in all the oceans, lakes, and rivers. Such a vast quantity could not have been derived from the atmosphere, for all the moisture therein contained, if precipitated at once, would make but several inches; nor could it have been contained in the caverns and interior of the earth, for it has

been demonstrated, by researches made in many different places, that, at the depth of about a mile, water would boil, and, therefore, it could not exist there as such, except under great pressure, and that farther down still, there is a temperature which would keep all substances at a red heat. If it be said, that God miraculously created and afterwards annihilated the additional quantity of water necessary, it is answered, that that is taking for granted what the narrative does not even hint at. That informs us that God made use of the materials already in existence; for "the fountains of the great deep were broken up," and the rain descended from heaven. After the waters were made to subside, they in part flowed back again into the "great deep," and, in part, dried up by evaporation, by means of the "wind" which "God made to pass over the earth." God, as he usually does, used means at hand, in an extraordinary manner, to accomplish his purposes. The flood, though accomplished by natural means, was a stupendous miracle, for nothing, which we know of physical nature, would lead us to suppose that it would have happened in the ordinary course of events. This difficulty, however, at once disappears when we suppose that the flood was universal only as to that portion of the earth occupied by the human race.

That the whole earth was peopled, as at present, at the time of the flood, is not at all probable. Not only did the race of man not extend itself to the western continent, but, probably, it was confined, as Dr. J. Pye Smith supposes, to Central and Western Asia, and perhaps the Eastern portions of Africa and Europe. The idea entertained by some, that the population of the earth, immediately preceding the deluge, was very numerous and wide-spread, has no fact to favor it. Although it is true that men lived to a very old age, the posterity of each was not proportionally more numerous than at present. Men became old, some nearly a century, and Noah five hundred years, before they begat children. And further, the state of society was so corrupt, as the historian informs us, that we may well suppose that comparatively few children would be born, and many die of neglect, or mal-treatment, or of constitutional weakness. If, however, we suppose that the average increase of each family was three times as great as at present, and as the latter is generally estimated at five, the former would have been fifteen. Making allowance of one death for every fifteen births, there would have remained fourteen as the net increase of each family, or seven for each parent. Now as there were ten generations from Adam to Noah, this sevenfold ratio would have resulted in an aggregate population, at

the time of the flood, of ninety-four millions, or about one-fourth the present population of China, estimating its population at three hundred and sixty millions, which is regarded as not exceeding the truth by christian missionaries and others, who have the best opportunity of forming a correct opinion; and as this Empire occupies but one-third of the superficial area of Asia, it is not at all improbable, that the whole antediluvian population may have found convenient room to live together, within the portion of territory indicated. It is highly probable that, given to pleasure, as they were, they had but little disposition to roam abroad, but lived in a compact society, and had consequently no commerce to tempt them away. This view is corroborated by the resolution they formed to dwell closely together, after the flood, on the plains of Shinar, to secure which they attempted to build the tower of Babel, and a city, which God frustrated by confounding their language. They perhaps intended to model their new society after that which existed before the flood; but being prevented from doing this, they dispersed themselves over the face of the earth, and covered it with an immense population. Another circumstantial evidence is afforded by the preaching of Noah, who warned his cotemporaries and built the ark in their sight, which he could not have done, if the whole earth had been occupied by them; for then communication between distant countries must have been exceedingly slow and difficult.

If now we regard the antediluvian population as occupying only that region of the earth indicated above, which is altogether probable, and reflect that considerable portions of it, "even in the present day, lie considerably below the level of the sea," we need no longer have any difficulty in understanding how it might all have been submerged, by the Divine ordering, to the depth of fifteen cubits above its highest mountains, without any more waters than were at hand. "The fountains of the great deep were broken up," by which the Hebrews understood the sea, and not subterranean reservoirs, as some wish to have it. This was the first of the events of that catastrophe, which was probably effected partly by the subsidence of the land, and partly by the elevation of the beds of the Indian Ocean and Mediterranean sea. This two-fold motion was sufficiently slow to cause a gradual rise of waters, and to bear up the ark upon their bosom, without the shock of a violent current. As the agent, by which God produced this breaking up of the fountains of the great deep, was, as we may suppose, internal heat, the same as that which now produces the phenomena of volcanos, and earthquakes, and upheavals of

extensive districts of country, and by which He, before the age of man, again and again changed the face of the earth, increased evaporation and heavy and uninterrupted rains followed for forty days. The reverse order of agency was no doubt employed to remove the waters; the rains ceased, and, after one hundred and fifty days, the land began to rise, the ocean bed to sink, and the waters to return to their accustomed place, and a current of wind bore away the vapors as they were formed.

A *second* great difficulty in the way of the belief of the universality of the deluge is found, in the utter inadequacy of accommodation, in the ark, for a pair of every species of the animal kingdom incapable of living in water, and of seven of each clean beast. Unless we suppose that many new species have been created since the flood, we encounter the difficulty of making provision of room and food, for one whole year, for more than one hundred thousand species of animals, reptiles, and insects, in a structure, whose utmost capacity would not have admitted of more than three or four hundred pairs. As far as the flood extended, "every living substance was destroyed, which was upon the face of the ground, both man, and cattle, and the creeping things, and the fowl of the heaven." If the flood was universal, it must have involved the total destruction of the vast majority of the species of the animal kingdom; but they at present exist, and must either have been created since, or escaped destruction by living in regions not visited by the flood. This difficulty we regard as perfectly unanswerable upon the ordinary supposition. But as that awful visitation had a specific object in view, which was the punishment of sinful man, and the obliteration of his works; the destruction of the inferior races, which partook not in his crimes, must have been incidental. If the flood reached every part of the earth inhabited by man, its end was accomplished; and the animals of other regions might escape injury, without any interference with the great design in view. The inhabitants of the waters did actually escape, showing clearly that those of the land perished because the means of man's destruction necessarily became the means of theirs. It follows, therefore, that all that was necessary, was to make provision for the preservation of the air-breathing species, which occupied the geographical district together with man. A pair of each of these might readily be accommodated in the ark; for no geographical district contains all, or even a majority of all the species inhabiting the whole earth. Each continent has its own Fauna and Flora, suited to its climate and other pecu-

liarities; and each district has only a portion of these. Accordingly, the supposition, that the deluge was limited to a portion of the earth, best explains all the known facts, and presents the fewest difficulties.

But it may be said, that the scriptural narrative expressly states that the flood was universal; for its language is, "all the high hills that were under the whole heavens were covered." To this we reply, that every reader of the Bible knows, that general terms are there, in numerous instances, employed to express limited ideas, and in almost every case, they are understood according to their true meaning. When it is said, that "all countries came into Egypt to Joseph to buy corn," every one will understand the meaning to be, all the countries adjacent to Egypt. When it is stated that Satan, from the top of a high mountain, showed our Savior "all the kingdoms of the world," it is not difficult to see, that the four tetrarchies of *that country* were meant. So, on the day of Pentecost it is said, "There were dwellers at Jerusalem, Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven," and this is explained, by the subsequent enumeration, to mean the countries around Jerusalem, the most distant of which was Rome.[1] From these and numerous other passages it is plain, that "*the earth*," "*the world*," "*the whole heaven*," &c., were used to express the whole extent of the globe that was known to the Jews. In that sense they understood them and in no other. To have used them in the modern sense, would have been misleading them, and contrary to the great design of Scripture teaching. We have but to turn to any of the ancient authors, to see how exceedingly limited their notions of the earth were. They thought it was a narrow plane, extending several hundred miles east and west of Asia Minor, and a much shorter distance north and south; and bounded on the east and west by two great oceans, on the north by a zone of eternal frost, and on the south by one of burning heat. Their whole world was but a small portion of what we know it to be. All their ideas of the world, or the whole earth, were confined to a limited region known to be inhabited; and that is the sense in which we should understand the language used in reference to the deluge.

There are yet other difficulties, which might be stated in opposition to the ordinarily received opinions upon these topics, but these must suffice. We must yet be permitted to add, that if we wish to arrive at the true meaning of any portion

[1] See "Scripture and Geology," by Dr. J. Pye Smith, p. 247. ff.

of the Bible, we should endeavor to place ourselves in the situation of those to whom it was first addressed, and who were expected to understand it, and to discover the design of the writer or speaker in what he wrote or spoke. Interpreting the sacred Scriptures in this manner, we see no discrepancy between their teachings and those of Geology, but, on the contrary, the most beautiful harmony.

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## ARTICLE IV.

### JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE FROM PHILADELPHIA TO EBENEZER, IN GEORGIA, &c., IN THE YEARS 1774 AND 1775, BY HENRY MELCHIOR MÜHLENBERG, D. D.

Translated from an unpublished German manuscript, by Rev. J. W. Richards, Pastor of St. John's Church, and Prof. of German in Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

[We doubt not that the following Journal of the venerable Dr. H. M. Mühlenberg will be welcome not only to the readers of the Ev. Review, but likewise to the American public generally. It was written at one of the most momentous periods of our national history, and although it has no direct connection with the political movements of the day, it yet incidentally throws a very interesting light upon them, as well as upon the manners and customs and spirit of the times, generally. To the Lutheran church in this country it has a special interest, not only as coming from one who exerted so great an influence in its establishment and organization, and in the determination of its character for all succeeding time, but likewise as giving materials to supply the gap which was made in the "*Hallische Nachrichten*" by the breaking out of our Revolutionary war, during which our intercourse with Germany was, in a great measure, suspended, so that from A. D. 1775 to A. D. 1785, when those Reports ceased to be published, we have but a few pages relative to the progress of the church in this country. But to our church in the South, especially at Charleston and Ebenezer, this Journal will, we doubt not, be a most interesting document, showing the interest that they, too, possess in him who may well be styled "the Apostle of Lutheranism in America," his labors having taken in the church in its whole extent from New York to Georgia, without distinction of race or language. —The preceding remarks are predicated upon the perusal of only so much of the Journal as is published in this No. of the Review, and a general statement of the contents of the whole, given us by its Translator, upon whom, as a grandson of Dr. Henry M. Mühlenberg, this labor of love has, with great propriety, devolved, and to whom this as well as various other papers of his grandfather belong. In a note accompanying the following sheets he observes: "I enclose a part of the translation of the unpublished manuscript of my grandfather Mühlenberg's Journal, which I commenced at your request. It presents him anew in the light of a cheerful christian, possessing ardent zeal for his Master's cause, warm attachment to the church, strong personal piety, and, withal, considerable dry humor. The sheets translated constitute about one-fourth of the whole Journal, and leave him departing from Charleston to Ebenezer. The remainder relates more particularly to the congregational matters of the latter place. ..... I fear the translation may be somewhat close, but I endeavored to give the very shade of the

thought expressed, even at the expense of freedom of style, because I think that in a *Journal*, a man should be made to speak as nearly as possible in his own language, and not merely as we understand him. There are many minutiae, but these make it especially interesting, to me at least." — We shall publish the whole of this Journal as rapidly as the limits of the Review admit.—Ed.]

Memorandum. A. D. 1774. Monday, Aug. 15. I laid the Corner-stone in Pikeland, Pa.

Sunday, Aug. 21. I bade farewell in Zion, text: "Whom do men say that the Son of man is? thou art Christ, the son of the living God."

Monday, Aug. 22. Church council in Zion, from 10 A. M. to 1 P. M.

Aug. 23 to 26, viz.: Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, bade farewell as far as I was able — also received many visits — completed many accounts — also the Protocol of the congregation — also materials for the next meeting of Synod. Wrote my last will—wrote to Revv. Helmuth, Kurtz, Sen., and Schultze, and answered the letter of the Reading Elders, &c. Aug. 25, and 26, my wife's feet commenced swelling very much. She would not be persuaded by any arguments to remain at home: she appealed to the marriage formula. We engaged three berths in Capt. Samuel Wright's brigantine, for each person £5, 8 s., currency, without provisions, which we must procure ourselves. Received from treasurer Kuhl my last half yearly salary to June 12th, when my son Henry commenced his service, namely £45 currency, with which I paid the debts contracted for the support of myself and family during the last half year. The expenses of the journey I took from the interest of the fund of S. K. Friday, Aug. 26th, our baggage was conveyed to the ship. Saturday morning, Aug. 27th, a faithful friend, Mrs. Gr. took my sick wife in a chaise to the vessel, and I bade farewell to several more persons; some good friends sent us provisions for our comfort on the journey. Before the vessel sailed many friends came and took leave, and some fastened three boats to the ship and accompanied us five or seven miles on the Delaware, viz. Rev. Kunze, Peter and Henry Mühlenberg, Messrs. Keppele, Hahl, Kester, Kz., Bact., Dk., Web., Hag., Ztz., Frank, &c. In the afternoon these friends bade us another farewell and returned. The ship's company consists: *a*) of passengers, 1. Mr. Williams, a gentleman of Wales, acquainted with the Latin, French and English languages, proprietor of a plantation in West Florida, towards the Mississippi, a member of the Episcopal church, refined and moral. 2. Esqr. Flower, M. D., owner of good estates in Pennsylvania

and West Florida, whither he is going. 3d. Mr. Simonson, a merchant of New York; converses in English, Low Dutch, and French, not without religion. 4th. Mr. Deamer, a merchant of German extraction, sensible, economical, charitable and pious. 5th. Mr. Morgan, a planter of South Carolina, twelve miles from Savannah, whose grandfather was born in Wales, and grandmother descended from the Low Dutch, was born in Graevel; he himself honest and upright. 6th. An old Englishwoman from Philadelphia, who is seeking her husband in Charleston, and says she is descended from respectable parents, and was engaged for many years in a land suit with respectable persons in Philadelphia and finally overcame the unjust Judge, *uti ipsa dicit.* 7th. A young, well behaved, English, married lady, who, with her child of eight weeks old, is following her husband to Charleston, whither he has lately moved. 8th. A German wife, whose English husband has gone to Charleston for a livelihood; she can sing well and laugh loud. 9th. A quiet man who came lately from Ireland to receive an inheritance bequeathed by a deceased friend in South Carolina. 10th. A butcher returning home to Charleston. 11th. An old, superannuated, German Lutheran minister; 12th. his lame and sick wife, and 13th. his daughter. *b.*) the ship's crew. 1. A very experienced, prudent and hitherto successful Captain; by confession, a sensible and public spirited Quaker. 2. An Irish steersman, whose German wife belongs to our church. 3d. A number of sailors who formerly served on vessels of war, are well acquainted with their duties, can swear, and are very respectful to me and the rest of the passengers. 4th. A dog, who through his powerful scent can discover land which a person can not see. 5th. A cat who is ever on the watch for mice venturing to make sallies. Consequently, this little republic consisted of all manner of people, tongues and temperaments, chiefly descended from Adam.

Aug. 27th. To-day we reached about eighteen miles from Philadelphia. I could not collect my thoughts properly from the many events and of our parting. My wife complained of increased swelling and pain in her feet, and her *hysterici paroxismi* also appeared, which distressed me greatly, as there are no comforts and remedies for the sick on shipboard.

Aug. 28th, Sunday. In the morning we arrived, with the ebbing tide opposite New Castle, and the majority of the passengers went on shore. A member of our Philadelphia congregation, Mr. John Heist, afforded us agreeable company, and procured me, through his people, some elder bushes from the shore, to be used for the inflamed swelling of my wife's feet—

the application gradually relieved the inflammation and pain. I held no public worship, partly on account of my weakness and unsettled mind, and partly because I was unacquainted with the religious sentiments of the passengers, the most of whom were also absent, and, moreover, I did not wish to obtrude myself.

In the evening general conversation was held in the cabin. We commenced with the English national vice of cursing and swearing. It was conceded that it was too despicable for a rational being, and highly criminal for a christian, and all resolved that the like should not occur amongst our company. Further, some gentlemen contended that duelling was unavoidable, because a person might as well lose his life after having lost his character. It was answered, that real, substantial character, especially if a christian one, could not be lost or taken away. As little as the baying of a dog could affect the rising moon, so little could baying and slandering injure a genuine character.

Monday, Aug. 29, we arrived at Cape May. I had an opportunity of writing a few lines, and sending them, with a vessel passing us on its return from Jamaica, to my children in Philadelphia. During the night, we arrived, at last, on the ocean, but had contrary wind which continued till the evening of September the 5th. During this time my daughter and I were so sea-sick that I could scarcely rise and partake of any food. My wife was preserved from it. The captain used every possible exertion to proceed, and gained about twenty miles in twenty-four hours, which, however, increased the sea sickness of myself and most of the passengers, the vessel continually rolling in the ocean.

Sunday, Sept. 4, A. M., the whole ship's company requested me to conduct English worship. I was very weak, but nevertheless, enabled by divine assistance to read prayers in English, sing a Psalm with the audience, pray for a favorable wind, and preach about three quarters of an hour. I was greatly pleased with the reverence and propriety of my hearers, and concluded with a verse from a German hymn. The passengers thanked me for my services, and the sailors, not knowing how to express their gratitude sufficiently, consulted each other privately, and thinking, perhaps, our cook was in fault of my prolonged sea-sickness, they prepared a dish of their own and sent it to me, with much importunity, to eat it; and although it was not according to the most refined taste, I took it with becoming politeness and thanks, and refreshed myself

with it, because it was sweetened with good will, salted with sincerity, and seasoned with faithfulness. During the night, the contrary wind diverted us somewhat out of our course, so that we entered the gulf-stream and were driven back about thirty miles. Monday, Sept. 5. The sailors exerted themselves greatly to leave the stream. In the evening, the Lord, to whom all things are subject, gave us the desired favorable wind, which continued till Wednesday evening, Sept. 7, and brought us within ten miles of Charleston. It being dark night, surrounded by sand banks, and without a pilot, we sailed to and fro the whole night, used the lead repeatedly, and were preserved, by the grace of God, from misfortune.

Thursday, Sept. 8, we continued our voyage, received a pilot, passed the Sand banks safely, and arrived at 10 a. m. at Charleston; in the same month of September in which, thirty-two years before, I arrived here in Capt. McClellan's brigantine from London. As soon as my unexpected arrival was known, many of the honorable members of the church council of the German Evangelical [Luth.] church and of the congregation came, and assisted us from the vessel and conducted us first to the house of Mr. Timrod, a worthy member, welcomed and refreshed us with bodily comforts, and began to communicate to me the situation of their congregation. Hence we were taken to lodge with another elder, Mr. Joseph Kimmel, who owns a roomy house and conducts a bakery, and who is wealthy, and loves to extend hospitality to ministers; for which may God bless him and his. Friday and Saturday, Sept. 9 and 10, I received many visits from Germans and English, viz.: Messrs. Kalteisen, Menzinger, Will, Rev. Martin, Dr. Hanebaum, Messrs. Mey, Deamer, Dr. Flower, Esq. Williams, Simonson, Madame Gillon, Mrs. Timrod, Kalteisen, Capt. Wright, &c., and because the elders expect me to preach to-morrow, I meditated somewhat; also sent, yesterday, by a vessel to New York, a letter to my son Frederick, in which I informed him how we fared in our voyage from Philadelphia to this place — also read an English newspaper of this town, in which, among other things, a minister here, of the High church, is accused of grievous excesses, and is severely censured by a Philo-clericus, who argues in a very conclusive and christian manner. Oh, that the Lord would, every where, call and send faithful laborers into his desolate vineyard!

Sunday, Sept. 11. I preached in the morning in the Lutheran church of Charleston, and in the afternoon I heard Rev. Mr. Martin preach. A false report, as though the new

Governor, Lord Campbell, had arrived. In the evening was visited by a gentleman from Switzerland, &c., who has located land in East Florida, but finds it too difficult to cultivate it. The people in Charleston look very pale, which appears singular to a stranger. Negroes and mulatoes.

Monday, Sept. 12. A visit from Rev. Daser, from Mr. Kalteisen, from Mr. Copia, on account of the power of attorney of his father, Copia, in Philadelphia, which was sent to Mr. Alexander Gillon. Wrote an English letter to Mr. Henry Keppele, Jun., in Philadelphia, because I could not bid farewell to him and his wife. In the afternoon I was indisposed, but, nevertheless, went with my wife to visit Mr. Kalteisen, with whom I had various conversation respecting the soul's salvation. Gellert. In the evening our Captain brought us distinguished visitors of his Quaker friends in the city, among whom I was enabled to introduce various subjects of practical Christianity. In the evening I also exercised the children of my kind host, in German and English reading and in the Catechism.

Tuesday, Sept. 13, commenced writing letters to my children and friends in Philadelphia, as Capt. Wright, the Lord willing, intends to sail for Philadelphia at the end of the week. In the afternoon I had a funeral, viz.: Anna Rosina, the wife of Mr. Harbort, born in Hohenloe, aged thirty-seven years. The funeral had to be brought about a mile, the walking being shoe deep in the sand, and the weather very sultry. Mr. K., an elder, and my host had me conveyed thither in a chaise that I might be better able to endure the accompanying funeral on foot.

In the evening we were visited again by English and Germans. In the day was visited also by the French minister, who has gathered and serves a Protestant church here. He is from Lyons, in France, preached seven years in Pensacola and now two years in Charleston. Being yet unacquainted with each other, the first visit was spent chiefly in bows, compliments, and general conversation about the universities of Halle, Göttingen, England, &c. He urged me and my family much to dine with him next Sunday. During the night my wife had a violent paroxism of her seated disease.

Wednesday, Sept. 14. Finished my letters to Rev. Kuntze, to Henry Mühlenberg, Jun., to Messrs. Keppele, Sen. & Jun., a few lines to Mr. Graeff, to Miss Elizabeth Keppele, to Rev. Mrs. Shultze, from my daughter here, and to my children from my wife; and Dr. Flower was so kind as to deliver them on board the vessel.

Thursday, Sept. 15. I had the symptoms of a severe sickness; violent spasms in the lungs, headache, weariness, jerking of the limbs, dislike to victuals and drink, and withal thirst. We were invited to dine with a respectable old German inhabitant, Mr. Philip Meyer, who has a sugar refinery, was born in Heidelberg, has lived twenty-five years here, and holds to the English Presbyterian church. I could not eat any thing. After dinner we sang several Evangelical hymns, translated into English, and accompanied them with the Clavicordium. Thundergusts. Mr. Hudson, a son of the former pastor of the Presbyterian church, who studied at the College in New Jersey, was present. In the morning I was visited by Rev. Wm. Tennent, pastor ordinarius of the Presbyterian church here, who besought me to preach in his church in this place. I had a restless night.

Friday, Sept. 16. The constriction of the lungs having increased, I had to resort to my ordinary remedy, viz. bleeding. The doctors differed in opinion, some thought it not advisable to empty the vessels, a nervous fever often following; some thought it advisable, because I was in the practice of being bled about the Equinox. After being bled I had a strong catarrhal fever. A visit from Rev. Lewis Hochheimer, one hundred and twenty miles from here, at Sandy Run, who related to me the events of his life, and offered to assist me in preaching next Sunday. Saturday, Sept. 17, chiefly confined to bed with fever—various company.

Sunday, Sept. 18. Forced myself out of bed, went to church, and preached from 1 Cor. 15: 26., "of death as the last enemy." 1. How far he is an enemy. 2. Why he is called the last enemy. 3. How he may be destroyed. My hoarseness of the breast and my debility caused me much difficulty. In the afternoon I went again to church, and heard Rev. Hochheimer preach. 1. Introduction. As it was in the days of the flood, &c. Matt. 24: 38. 39. 2. Text, Psalm 50: 21. "These things hast thou done and I kept silence," &c. Theme: Of security,—quite edifying and systematic. In the evening I was compelled to take an emetic;—a restless night.

Monday, Sept. 19. Rev. Hochheimer took leave, and promised to give me a correct description of some Lutheran congregations in this neighborhood. To-day Mr. Werley and his family returned again from Wirtemberg, via London — he is one of the wealthiest members of the congregation. He said, the death of Rev. Ziegenhagen was reported in London, which greatly distressed me.

Tuesday, Sept. 20. Chiefly spent in bed by me—feverish —aversion to food, and very sick. Troubled about my helpless wife in case I should die here.

Wednesday, Sept. 21. My host took me a few miles out of town to a co-elder, Mr. Schmeiser, who has now resided here thirty-five years, and is a substantial man. His daughter is married to an English Independent minister.

Thurday, Sept. 22. I visited a family and had a number of visits at home, among them, Rev. William Tennent, who has a large Presbyterian church, and congregation, composed of the most influential inhabitants in this place. He urged me again very much to preach for him next Sunday. I objected; my debility and soreness of breast, my inexperience in English preaching for so many years, and the offence and stumbling block which my harsh pronunciation would cause so refined a congregation, so that I would only become a bye word to them &c. But all was without avail, I had to promise to preach next Sunday afternoon. I was to marry a couple to-day which might have brought me into trouble.

Friday, Sept. 23. In the afternoon the vestry of the Lutheran church convened and consulted respecting a minister, but desired first to advise with the congregation and, therefore, appointed a congregational meeting for next Monday afternoon, at 2 o'clock, in the church. Afterwards I visited another family, Mr. Mentzinger's, a deacon. In the evening a visit from Dr. Flower, and Esqr. Williams who came with us from Philadelphia; they mentioned that Mr. Simonson, one of our fellow-travellers, was very sick with inflammatory fever, and delirious. My wife and daughter, also, had an attack of the prevailing fever here.

Saturday, Sept. 24. I received several visits, and meditated for to-morrow as much as my weakness permitted.

Sunday, Sept. 25. In the morning I preached in our German church. At the request of the vestry, I invited the male members of the congregation to meet to-morrow afternoon; published preparatory services and confession for next Friday, and the Lord's Supper for next Sunday, because many earnestly requested it. In the afternoon I preached in English in the Presbyterian church, which is said to be the oldest and finest church edifice here in Charleston, built in the old Gothic style, ninety-three feet long and forty broad, in which it is hard to preach and to hear. I had obtained the order of services yesterday, in accordance with which, I had to commence with an extemporaneous general prayer for all orders in christendom, afterwards to read a portion of Scripture selected by

myself, and a Psalm out of Dr. Watts' book to be sung. The sermon was next delivered, and was followed by the singing of a Psalm, and concluded by dismissing the congregation with the Apostolic benediction. The service was a hard one for me on account of my hoarseness and the darkness on the pulpit, which prevented me from seeing my skeleton clearly. I prefaced the prayer with the following words: "Being invited by the worthy and Rev'd pastor Tennent to deliver a word of exhortation before this christian society, so refined in language and experience, and to speak in a language not my native one; I must crave indulgence and a mild censure if my pronunciation and expressions should not answer my wishes and your expectation; though a broken language and a broken heart may agree in some respects."

Monday, Sept. 26. In the afternoon I went to the church where gradually a number of so-called members, (Crethi und Plethi), [i. e. Tom, Dick and Harry] assembled. I propounded to them the following question, on paper, viz.: whether the vestry should provide this vacant congregation with a regular minister and pastor, who could go before the congregation with pure doctrine and a christian life; and in the meanwhile should have the congregation supplied? This question they were to answer affirmatively or negatively on the paper. But scarcely had five or six voted affirmatively, when the others became noisy and began to dispute — "They wanted none to be called by the vestry, Rev. Daser was still here, whom the vestry had dismissed without cause; others said Rev. Martin, living in the country, could be their minister," &c. I took leake and went away. Some of the vestry remained and disputed loudly. Towards evening, Mr. Simonson, who came with us from Philadelphia, and was very kind to us, and died last evening, was buried. My wife had a violent attack *(paroxismum hystericum)* this evening.

Tuesday, Sept. 27. This morning my wife had another violent Paroxism. "O Lord! we pray thee shorten Our bitter trials here!" ("Mach Ende, O Herr, mach Ende An aller unser Noth.") I remained at home all day, wrote and also received some visits.

Wednesday, Sept. 28. We went early into the country. Our kind host had arranged that we should visit a christian German friend who lives thirteen miles off at his own country seat. The company consisted of my host, Mr. Kimmel and wife; Mr. Kalteisen and wife; Mr. Speidel, wife and son; Mr. Meyer; Mr. Mentzinger, who conveyed me; and myself, my sick wife, and my daughter, twelve in number, having four

chaises and four on horseback. The friend whom we visited was Mr. George Vielhauer, born in Neckar Garlach, at Heilbrunn, well instructed in his youth in our Evangelical doctrines, and about thirty years ago arrived, a single man, in Carolina, where he served the first few years for his passage, and afterwards married; he prayed faithfully, labored industriously, and acquired two plantations, upon the one of which his step-son resides, and upon the other he and his dear wife and only daughter dwell. He is well provided with instructive books, loves the word of God, and has religious services in his roomy house when clergymen travel the road. He has two sisters yet living, the one in Pennsylvania, at the Blue mountains, and the other in New Jersey, both of whom he visited last year out of brotherly regard. He corresponds with one of our elders in the Philadelphia congregation, Mr. Frederick Hagner, who sent his respects to him with me. We arrived at his plantation at 10 A. M., and he received us joyfully — and, like Abraham, let his servants bring the best he had, and his Sarah prepare a meal of the fatness of his house, of which we partook with the best appetite and with heartfelt thanks to the Giver of every good gift. It is agreeable to city folks occasionally to escape from the toils of their daily business, and to breathe fresh air, and to recruit themselves with some kind friend in the country. The thought impressed me: if in our temporal pursuits we were to seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, to work out our salvation with fear and trembling, to live by faith in communion with Christ, to follow after holiness, to take up the cross and carry it patiently; how sweetly would we not rest from our labors; how good would it not be for us, when we shall have gone home to our best friend and Savior, where he has prepared a place for us! Even the irrational creatures, which had drawn and carried us through the hot sand, with groaning, felt the influence of the fresh country air, and enjoyed themselves on the extensive pastures with running and jumping as though they were in Paradise. About 4 P. M., the caravan resumed its march, notwithstanding Mr. Vielhauer had urged us very much to remain with him, journeyed about an hour after dark, and with the help of God reached home uninjured and well conditioned. Mr. Kalteisen entertained me with accounts of how he had found things among the Cherokee Indians, e. g. 1. of their manner of living, according to the code of nature, before they had intercourse with Europeans; 2. of the Deity, a good and an evil one; 3. of their superstition in regard to days; 4. of the avenger of blood and of retaliation; 5. of their preparation

when going to war; 6. of the great Eagle he had shot; 7. of his tokens for rain; 8. of their hospital or lazaretto; 9. of burning slowly the women and children taken captives; 10. of the mourning of the women when their husbands are slain in battle: they invite the neighboring women, dishevel their hair, and lament four or five days; and a wife who has loved her husband very much burns his house and personal goods, so that the sight of them may not re-open her wounds; 11. but the nation is now corrupted; 12. they were likewise very hospitable. If but a single piece of bread, or of ash-cake remained in the company, it had to be shared with the stranger-guest of a friend.

Thursday, Sept. 29th, the festival of St. Michael. N. B. Maria Eve Bader, from Gräfenberg, in Wirtemberg, in the county of Neivemer, a daughter of John George Wandele, came to Charleston with her husband, Michael Bader, A. D. 1752. Her husband died ten weeks afterwards, and she is now about eleven years a widow. One sister, Catherine Wandele, perhaps yet single, is said to be in Philadelphia; the second sister, Maria Agnes Wandele, is supposed to live in New York, and to be married to a stone-cutter. The widowed sister in Charleston is anxious for information from them.

I went to-day, by invitation, with Mr. Kalteisen and my daughter to dine with Capt. Gillon's family. Capt. Gillon is an eminent merchant and friend of the Germans, and is on a journey to the Northern Provinces, to Boston, New York and Philadelphia, on account of his health. Thence went with Mr. Kalteisen to visit Mr. Timrod. Towards evening was visited by Messrs. Williams and Dr. Flower, and also by the above named widow, Maria Eve Bader, who inquired after her sister, and handed in her name for the Lord's Supper.

Friday, Sept. 30. From 10 A. M. to 12 at noon, I had preparatory services and confession, from 1 Cor. 5: 7. 8. with forty-four persons; we had some rain and sultry heat. In the afternoon I heard Rev. Tennent preach in his church. His text was Psalm 62: 8. "Trust in him at all times; ye people pour out your heart before him: God is a refuge for us. Selah." He has peculiarly sanctified gifts, and spoke learnedly, practically, intelligibly and edifyingly from the text. He also baptized a child and an adult negress, he asked the latter a few principal questions; sprinkled water once upon her forehead, and afterwards said the words; "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, amen!" I felt again to-day strong pressure &c. in the lungs. The old bellows does not work very well any more. Diseases fare with

me like the gout with the swine-herd. Our hostess has taken my wife in the chaise to breathe the fresh air. In the evening I was visited by Mr. Albrecht, a tailor, who arrived here about nine months ago from London, with his English wife and children. He inquired about missionary Illing, with whom he was acquainted in London, and communicated to me various circumstances concerning the congregations in the Savoy, in the Hamburg and St. George's churches, and in St. James' chapel. He is working here as journeyman to pay his fare gradually, and his wife and child in the meanwhile remain in an hospital.

Saturday, Oct. 1. Well meaning elders, deacons and members of this disorderly congregation, yet without a discipline, are of opinion, that nothing will avail it but to seek a regular minister from our right reverend fathers in London and Halle, and to unite with the Reverend United Ministerium in Pennsylvania. They entreated me, therefore, to prepare a kind of appeal to the right reverend fathers suitable to the circumstances. And because they understood the English quite as well as the German, and English documents are more valid in this region, I, therefore, wrote the following for a trial:

"We, the subscribers, for the time being wardens, vestrymen and contributing members of the German Lutheran St. John's church and congregation in and about Charleston, in South Carolina, his Brittanick Majesty, King George III's loyal and dutiful subjects, do send greeting to the most worthy and reverend fathers in God: Frederick Ziegenhagen, his majesty's chaplain in the German chapel at St. James', Anastasius Freylinghausen, Lewis Schultz, D.D., and to the Directors of the East and West India Missions, at Halle, Gustavus Burgmann of the Savoy, Rector, and William Pasche, Assistant in his Majesty's German chapel, all worthy members of the venerable Society for promoting Christian knowledge; and do humbly request, that it may please them by the gracious assistance of God Almighty, to choose, examine, call, ordain, provide, and send, with sufficient credentials, a well learned, gifted, graceful and faithful minister, for our said church and congregation, who is able and willing to propagate the Gospel according to the foundation of the holy Apostles and Prophets, whereof Christ Jesus is the Corner stone, and to administer the holy Sacraments, agreeably to the articles of our unaltered Augustan [Augsburg] Confession; to instruct and confirm our youth in the principles of our holy Protestant Religion; to exhort, edify and comfort sick members, when required; to

assist and preside in the necessary meetings of the vestry; to live in union and fellowship with the Reverend Lutheran ministry in Philadelphia, &c., and to perform his holy functions (when in health) as a faithful minister of Christ ought to do.

And for such his faithful service and labor, we, the subscribers do, by these presents, engage and obligate ourselves to pay, or cause to be paid, to such our minister, the sum of thirty guineas towards defraying his travelling charges and passage, and as for his maintenance and honest living to pay unto him one hundred pounds sterling yearly, or every year, in four equal terms, viz.: every quarter of a year five and twenty pounds sterling; to grant him free and undisturbed possession of our parsonage house and appurtenances, and such accidental fees as have been customary hitherto.

And this agreement shall stand and remain in force and virtue as long as both parties fulfill their duty on either side, and can live in peace and harmony together. But in case, which God forbid! there should happen dispute or disturbance between the minister and vestry or congregation, no party can or shall be its own judge, but the minister shall have the privilege to choose one or two impartial arbitrators, and the vestry or congregation shall have the same liberty to choose one or two impartial, prudent arbitrators, who together may enquire into, discuss and decide the matter (or choose an umpire if they cannot agree), and both parties shall acquiesce in their award. And if the gentlemen arbitrators should find, that the minister could do no more good in this congregation, and that peace, harmony, and edification might not be restored, then the minister shall be removed into the united, vacant congregations in Pennsylvania, New York Government, Jersey, Maryland or Virginia, in case he be not found wilfully offensive, or guilty of false doctrine and offensive life, and pleaseth to stay and labor in this part of the world. In witness whereof we have hereunto interchangeably set our hands and seals at Charleston, in South Carolina, this twenty-fifth day of October, in the sixteenth year of his majesty's reign, Anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four.

Signed, sealed and delivered N. [*Seal*]
in the presence of us: N. [*Seal*]
N. N. N. [*Seal*]"

This evening my wife had a severe attack of diarrhea and heat. Towards evening I was visited by a man, named Mr. Jacob Mack, from the neighborhood of Ebenezer, who told me with sorrow, that some time ago a negress attempted to

poison Rev. pastor Rabenhorst, &c.; further, that they had already heard in Savannah and Ebenezer of my arrival at Charleston. Persons who wish to be proclaimed to-morrow: Mr. Frederick Kreutner, widower, and Mrs. Anna Barbara Bohner, widow, in the city. Mr. Jacob Mack informed me that three weeks ago the two ministers and the congregation in Ebenezer had met, but could not accomplish a reconciliation, and became rather the more embittered, which is deplorable, and inceases the division. To-day a good friend told me that a vessel would sail from here for Savannah, next Friday. I cannot go over land to Georgia, because there are three of us, and no waggons can be obtained here, and it is said we must pass too many streams and rotten bridges. Towards evening we were visited by Mrs. Vielhauer and her young daughter, of the place we visited last Wednesday.

Sunday, Oct. 2, at 9 A. M. I went to church; had confession with a few mothers of families, who were unable to attend on Friday; preached on the article of the Lord's Supper, and then administered the Sacrament to forty-six persons, of whom the majority had not received it for a long time, on account of the strife and disorder existing in the congregation. The weather was almost insupportably hot, and thundergusts prevailed, and it is necessary to be very careful in the change of garments, lest the perspiration be suppressed and sickness immediately ensue.

In the afternoon a numerous congregation was again assembled, and I preached from Gen. 50: 15. seq. In the evening, Mr. Jacob Mack, who had visited me last evening, informed me that on to-morrow he would return on horseback to Ebenezer. I entrusted to him a part of the letters sent with me from Philadelphia for delivery at Savannah, and promised to follow as soon as opportunity and circumstances would, under the providence of God, permit. The sickness of my wife increases with painful dysentery and feverishness. Last night we had a species of hurricane, with fearful storm, and moaning wind, and violent rain, but which passed over graciously and harmlessly, as far as is known. In the afternoon I baptized Mr. Kimmel's little negro, named Mark, born March 28, 1772.

Monday, Oct. 3, continued rain and wind. My wife experiences no relief in her sickness as yet. The Doctor administered rhubarb yesterday to remove the sharpness in the intestines. Many persons die here of this flux, it is said to keep on and gradually to waste the system. According to invitation I dined with Rev. Tennent, in company with the French minister, Mons. Pierre Levrier and Mr. Hudson, the time be-

ing spent in useful and instructive conversation. Mr. Tennent has opened a kind of gymnasium, in which a learned professor of the Jersey college teaches the classics.

Oct. 4. Last night and to-day we have the first cold wintry weather, with a rough north wind; it appears strange, following upon the sultry days. A visit from Mrs. M. who told me of some disturbances between Rev. Mr. Piercey, T. and Z.; viz.: on account of a prominent family, three sisters, who were awakened through Mr. P's. preaching, and desired to be baptized by him; but Mr. T. would not permit him. He did it, nevertheless, shortly before his departure for Philadelphia. Mr. T., however, alleges other reasons why he refused his pulpit to Mr. P. Thus, even, among so-called awakened and renewed souls, also, offences are found. My wife still suffers with the painful dysentery, and withal we are anxious, God willing, to sail next Saturday for Savannah. I was invited to dine with two respectable, elderly, English ladies, who live of their interest, and fear God, Miss Newman and Miss Atchinson; Mrs. Gillon and her two grown-up sons, were present. After dinner I had to sing some Halle hymns, with my daughter, and accompany them on the spinnet. Towards evening I received a letter from Rev. Nicholas Martin, of the Fork, dated Saluda, Sept. 27th ult., which I immediately answered, the bearer returning to-morrow. Mons. May reported that the captain of the schooner for Savannah had an inflamed eye, and did not know whether he could depart next Saturday or not; he will notify us on Thursday evening. Cold and rough as the weather was this morning, so warm it was in the afternoon.

Wednesday, Oct. 5, wrote an English farewell letter to pastor Tennent. In the morning was visited by Mr. Kalteisen, with whom I conferred awhile concerning the confused condition of the congregation here, which I will state more plainly if I live to transcribe this journal. It is the same old enemy of mankind who exercises the same tricks and treachery in this congregation as in others; especially as no church discipline was introduced immediately in the beginning, he could therefore the better practise his διαβαλλομαι.

N. B. Anna Barbara, whose maiden name was Ritter; her father, John George Ritter, a carpenter from Hopstätte; and her mother, Anna Barbara; they left Germany thirty-four years ago, and father and mother died on the ocean. The daughter, Anna Barbara, was about five years old; arrived in Philadelphia, was hired to Frederick Thor, on Charles Broughton's place near Philadelphia. After having served eight years in Philadelphia, she came with her master, Fred-

erick Thor, to Charleston, in South Carolina, and served here with Thor till within a year of age—served another year with Henry Tuser, in the country. Afterwards she hired herself a year and a half to Felix Lang, in Charleston, and married Martin Kämle, in Charleston, with whom she lived fourteen years, and has four children living. She heard from Charles Schnautzbart, that her brother, John George Ritter, resides in Philadelphia, and is married to Mr. Schnautzbart's daughter. She wishes intelligence of her brother, &c.

My wife has suffered a relapse of her dysentery accompanied with strong fever. Mr. Strobel, the son-in-law of Rev. Martin, a wealthy tanner, sent for me in his chaise, to convey me out of town to dine with him. He told me, among other things, a remarkable history of an abominable sect, which had arisen among the Germans here, A. D. 1760–1, and had some similarity with Knipperdolling and Jan van Leiden. They committed murders, on which account one of them, named Jacob Weber, who called himself a God, and slew a person, was hanged. Their founder is said to have been Schmid Peter. The sect originated at the Saluda Fork, about one hundred miles from Charleston. Jacob Weber was a Swiss, first an exhorter, and then still further advanced — he came to his senses before his end. The multitude grow up in the country without schools and instruction. And though for a while a self-taught (autodidacter) minister may be amongst them, yet it continues only a short time. The people are wild and grow wilder, and what does it profit to hear a sermon every four, six, or twelve weeks, if it was neglected to lay the foundation of divine truth in youth? The aforesaid sect had so far obtained the supremacy that several families united with it for fear of their lives — numbers of both sexes went about uncovered and naked, and practised the most abominable wantonness. One of them pretended to be God the Father; another the Son, and a third the Holy Spirit; and the pretended Father having quarreled with the Son, he repudiated the pretended Son, chained him in the forest, declared him to be Satan, and finally gathered his gang who beat and trampled upon the poor man until he died; he is reported also to have killed the Holy Ghost in bed. The circumstance having reached the authorities in Charleston, the the militia (or police) were ordered to arrest the pretended deity, and he was tried, condemned and executed at the gallows. The English scoffed about it, and said the Germans had nothing to fear, their devil having been killed and their God having been hanged. These are the fruits of not incul-

cating the word of God in youth, and of leaving man to himself, Rom. 1: 21–32. The sect spread from South to North Carolina, thence to Maryland and Virginia among the German and English, and has left some seed behind, in this place.

Upon this gross satanic play, a more subtle temptation followed. Quakers, Anabaptists, &c., spread themselves in the country regions, and appear to be better suited to the circumstances of the land. Toward evening I visited a sick neighbor of our congregation, found him better, and heard him, with much pleasure, speak of what the Lord had done for his soul. His name is Keller, in whose house Charles Ehwald, of Philadelphia, died a few years ago. The day before his death he heard Rev. Hausile preach twice in our German church of this place, and received a letter from his relatives in Philadelphia, and was very much pricked in his conscience, and moved even to tears; the following night he died and was buried here on the Lutheran graveyard. D. Geschwind administered the estate.

Thursday, Oct. 6. In the morning, visits from Meyer, Mensinger, and Messrs. Dorsius, Grips, and Madam Gillon, Mr. Speidel, Dr. Günter, and Mr. Kirchner, &c. In the afternoon wrote a sheet full to Rev. Mr. Pasche, dated to-day. In the evening, went with Mr. Kalteisen to a house where I married Frederick Kreutner, widower, to Mrs. Barbara Boner, widow, a respectable and orderly company assembled. I remained till 8 P. M., and assisted in sustaining useful conversation. I received a few lines from Rev. Zubly, through Dr. Günter, containing an invitation for me and mine to lodge with him in Savannah.

Friday, Oct. 7. Last night my wife was very sick of a painful dysentery;—this morning she is somewhat better. We had spiritual conversation together. Her concern is that her children and relations may be saved. It is praise-worthy, when we have provided first for our own salvation, to regard our children and other friends as a possession that the Lord has acquired and purchased with his own blood and life, and to commend them to the Lord in prayer. He will, still less than Moses, leave even a hoof behind. To argue from great to little things: Moses saith, Numb. 11: 12. "Have I conceived all these people! Have I begotten them, that thou shouldst say unto me, carry them in thy bosom as a nursing father beareth the sucking child?" "Whosoever cometh unto me," saith the proprietor of the possession, "I will in no wise cast out." There is yet room! and whosoever of mine will not suffer themselves to be led by the goodness of the Lord their

way He will hedge around with thorns, &c. To-day I dine with a young merchant, Mons. May, of Dantzic, who arrived a few years ago penniless at Philadelphia, was recommended by a merchant, Mr. Hasenclever, to Mr. Kalteisen in Charleston, who procured him a place with merchant Gillon. Conducting himself in a sober, prudent, faithful and industrious manner, Capt. Gillon gave him an interest in trade with one of his step-sons, and now he is in good credit and increases in reputation and means. "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," and many Germans might prosper more in body and soul if they would but walk in the ways of the Lord and conduct themselves rationally. At noon I went with Mr. Kalteisen and my daughter to Messrs. May and Grips', to dine. On my return home I found Mr. (Rev.) Daser's note requesting to hold another collection in the congregation for his wife and two young children. The following were its contents: "Charleston, Forasmuch as parson Daser, for the sake of the support of himself and family, and the benefit of his future congregation, and in accordance with his external and internal call, is now entirely ready to commence his voyage for England, the day after next Sunday, in order to execute his intended design, but is compelled to leave his wife and two small children behind him for a short time: therefore, he commends himself and his family to the kind remembrance of all his friends, acquaintances, and the worthy members of the congregation he had in charge for five years, with the sincere and upright assurance that their kindness and friendship will never be forgotten. Determined upon, under the favor of God, and communicated to the German Lutheran Zion of this place, in prayer and earnest supplication. Friday, Oct. 7th, 1774." I subscribed the above with £10 Carolina currency, "a small mite towards support of Mr. Daser's spouse and children. Towards evening I visited Mr. Meyer and his family; also delivered to-day to Mons. May the letter to be delivered to Rev. Wm. Pasche, and heard that the vessel for Georgia will not sail till next Tuesday.

Saturday, Oct. 8. My wife had another bad night with her twofold sickness. A visit from Mr. Kalteisen. He and Mr. Kimmel subscribed the above petition, and I gave it to Mr. Kalteisen for further effort. Rev. Mr. Tennent sent a letter to be delivered by me to Rev. Zubly, of Savannah. The atmosphere is thick and heavy with rain-clouds. Mr. Kalteisen returned and showed me with pleasure that several members had added their subscriptions to the above petition — but also mentioned that two merchants intend to arrest Mr. Daser for

debt — he is said to owe upwards of £ 1000 S. Carolina currency. An adult person, Mr. Henrichs, notified me that his mother died last night, and is to be buried to-day towards evening. According to evidences from Germany, she was born May 23, 1720, in Frankweiler, at Landau, in the county of Germersheim, and was baptized May 25th of the same year. Her parents were Abraham Höllriegel, deceased, magistrate, cooper, &c., and his wife Susanna. In the 22d year of her age she was married to John Daniel Henrichs, bore seven children, viz. one son and six daughters, arrived about last Easter, in Charleston. Her husband died about six weeks ago, and she died last night about 12 o'clock, with inflammation of the kidneys. Text, Luke 10: 41. 42. "One thing is needful, &c." Towards evening I went to meet the funeral. It rained fast, and the funeral not having arrived yet, I visited old Mr. Kircherr and wife in the meanwhile, (the step-parents of Mr. Krafft, a deacon in Philadelphia,) afterwards also Mr. Lindauer, an elder of this place, and master-baker; he was not at home, however. Also conversed with Mrs. Delger, a sister-in-law of Conrad Kiemlé, who has moved hither from Philadelphia. Mr. Delger is a tanner. The funeral having arrived I preached from the above text. In the evening I had also a short visit from Mr. Hudson.

Sunday, Oct. 9. My wife slept and feels somewhat better. It has rained violently all night, and continues to do so. My host kindly conveyed me in a chaise to church. I preached on the character of saving faith, from the words, Matth. 9: 2. "And Jesus, seeing their faith, said unto the sick of the palsy, Son, be of good cheer, thy sins be forgiven thee." It is to be hoped that my hearers understood and were benefitted by it, for they were very attentive and manifested, by their countenances, that the word and Spirit were striving with their souls. In the afternoon, notwithstanding the rain, a considerable number had assembled. I preached from Matth. 16: 16, 17. "And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou Simon-Barjona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." Afterwards bade farewell, and we sang, "Ach bleib mit deiner Gnade Bei uns Herr Jesu Christ," &c. [Oh be thy grace, Lord Jesus, With us abiding still.] The orphans of the widow buried yesterday wished to pay me for my services at the funeral, but I declined remuneration, as it is but too often said that ministers are avaricious and do not spare the poor. I proclaimed Jacob Frick and Christiana Hinkel, two single

persons in Charleston. Oct. 4. The rain continued incessantly all night, and still continues. Some kind persons enquired for me whether Captain Churchhill would sail to-morrow with his schooner for Savannah. They were answered that he would wait for clear weather and a favorable wind. To-day I received the original of a letter, dictated for his children, in prison, before his death, by Jacob Waeber, the author of the sect already mentioned, who was hanged.

"April 16, 1761, being imprisoned and ironed, it occurred to me and the jailor to transmit to my beloved children a sketch of my mournful life. I, Jacob Weber, was born in Switzerland, in Canton Zurich, in the county of Knomauer, in the parish of Stifferschweil, and was raised and educated in the Reformed church. In the fourteenth year of my age I journeyed with my brother to South Carolina, leaving my parents; and after my arrival in South Carolina I soon lost my brother. Thus I was forsaken of man and without father or mother. But God had compassion on me amid much trouble and sorrow. He planted the fear of the Lord in my heart, so that I had more pleasure in the Lord, in godliness and the word of God, than in the world. I was often troubled about my salvation when I reflected how strict an account God would require, that I must enter into judgment and knew not how it would result. Although God drew me with his grace, I found also the reverse in my corrupt nature, which was excited with a love of the world, viz.: of riches, honors, and an easy life. Mankind loves a social life, and as the Lord drew me back in many wonderful ways, I came, therefore, nearer to Him; notwithstanding I always attended to my religious services and prayer, but with a heart cold and averted from God. Through such exercise of the heart, I arrived at a knowledge of my sins, and learnt how awfully the human race has fallen from God, and how low, all without exception, are sunk in depravity. As soon as I experienced this, I earnestly besought God, day and night, for forgiveness, for the Holy Spirit, for a pure heart, and for saving faith — and I felt the necessity of retirement to restrain my thoughts, and to prevent the divine work from being hindered in me. In this retirement I forgot the turmoil of the world, and felt as though the Lord and I were alone in the world. In this light I regarded all vain desires and thoughts, and all human works as by nature damnable in the sight of God. Fear and sorrow now seized upon my poor soul, and I thought, what shall I do to be saved? It was shown me that nothing would suffice

but being born again of water and of the Spirit. Realizing that I could not be saved in any other way, I prayed still more earnestly, and it was shown me still more plainly by the Holy Ghost in my heart how sinful I was, Rom. 7., so that I stood there before the judgment of God; but the judgment of God became manifest in me, so that I judged myself and confessed that I had deserved a thousand-fold to be cast from the presence of God, and wondered that the forbearance of the Lord had not long since hurled me, poor and condemned wretch, into the lowest pit of destruction; and then, too, I saw that the whole world lay in sin. Feeling myself so lost, I cast myself entirely upon the mercy of God to lead me according to His holy will and pleasure, whether unto life or death, if he would only be gracious unto my poor soul for Christ's sake, and pardon my sins and purify my heart from uncleanness. Thus I lay at the feet of Jesus with all my heart in submission, sighing and praying night and day for his grace, and so continued for several days, until I had passed from death unto life. Then Jesus revealed himself unto my soul. Then there was great joy in heaven over me a returning sinner. Then all my sins were forgiven me, and I was full of the Holy Ghost, and rejoiced with a joy unspeakably great. This occurred, or I experienced this joy, A. D. 1756, in the month of May. This grace caused me to despise the joy of the world and to disregard its reproach, and kept me, thenceforth, continually with my surety Jesus, amid many temptations not now to be mentioned, until finally I found rest for my soul. This peace and communion with God I possessed about two years, under every burden of affliction; for I had the grace to enable me, under all circumstances, to submit my will to the mercy of God. Through the grace which was in me, I could govern temporal goods without danger to my soul. Upon this followed the great misery and awful fall into sin, already, alas! too well known! the Devil bringing me into a greater temptation and fall than was ever known (of which Schmidt Peter was the origin and instrument). After this, by the Providence of God, I was captured and cast into prison, that I might recover my reason, come to a knowledge of my great sins, and confess them before God, that thus it might awaken great wretchedness in my soul, humble me before God and man, yea, beneath all creatures, yea, that I might account myself as the poorest worm. I often thought each and every person too good to speak to me and interest himself in me. Nevertheless, I sought cordially the forgiveness of my sins in the blood of the Lamb of God, my Redeemer, who loved me and

died for all my sins, and for His righteousness' sake arose, all which I heartily believe, because I experience again the witness of the Holy Spirit, which testifies unto my spirit that I am a child of God. And now, my children, beloved in the Lord, I must leave this world, and, perhaps, behold your face no more in this life. I commend you, therefore, to the protection and mercy of God! Pray without ceasing; learn, and read; injure no one willingly and wilfully while you live; labor industriously and faithfully according to your ability; then, if we should meet no more in this world, we may hope to meet each other in heaven, in the world to come; which may the triune God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, grant to you for the sake of the crucified Jesus, Amen. Such cunning and celerity does Satan possess, as to cause so great a schism and injury even among the children of God, and to lead them astray, and make them fall so suddenly against their knowledge and consent. May God preserve all persons from so great a fall, and trample Satan under foot, for Christ's sake, Amen! The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and all persons, Amen. And I beseech all persons who have been injured by me, to forgive me for Christ's sake! Written, or dictated, by JACOB WÆBER.

April 16, 1761."

I dined at Mr. Philip Meyer's, the meek Mr. Hudson, and a gentleman with an embroidered vest, being present, and we had a variety of useful conversation. In the evening I was visited by Messrs. Williams and Dr. Flower, who brought with them Mr. Philips, an English gentleman, arrived from Savannah. He told me many circumstances concerning the mournful state of things at Ebenezer — among others, that there are two chiefs upon whom the whole principally rests. 1. Mr. Würtz, a Justice of the Peace, and a wealthy merchant, who sides with Rev. Triebner; 2. Mr. Treutlin, also a Justice of the Peace, and a wealthy merchant, who advocates Rev. Rabenhorst. Both these German gentlemen have the common people under their sway and influence. The great mass of the members, and all the English inhabitants are said to have a special regard for Rev. Rabenhorst, and to hold him in high esteem. Thus, too, I find it here in Charleston; the christian, moral character of Rev. Rabenhorst, is highly spoken of and valued among sensible English and German persons. The more I hear of the strife at Ebenezer the more terrible it appears to me. I enquired of this gentleman the circumstances of the poisoning case. He answered, that about six weeks since, the female negro house servant of Rev. Rabenhorst had

prepared coffee in the morning. As soon as Mr. Rabenhorst had drank the first cup thereof, he became giddy and sick on his stomach, and was forced to vomit. Mrs. Rabenhorst supposing it to be caused by something else, also drank a cup full, whereof she was attacked by the same violent symptoms. The contents of the coffeepot were then examined, and the poisonous ingredients were found. The negress, moreover, acknowledged it herself, and said to another negress: "I thought my master and mistress would have enough, but it was not sufficient." The negress then fell into the hands of Justice, was condemned, and after a few weeks was burned alive.

Oct. 11. Last night we had a storm and a violent cold rain, which still continues, so that no vessel can sail. I was anxious to proceed, but was unable, especially as the small craft plying between this and Savannah are incapable of contending with the storm-waves, and very easily founder, as I have been told. To-day an English friend sent me a New York newspaper, to read a printed speech delivered before Parliament by Rev. Dr. Jonathan Shipley, Lord Bishop of St. Asaph. I cannot decide about it; I examine both sides, pro and contra, and prayerfully commit it to the Almighty and merciful Ruler, unto whom all power is given in heaven and on earth, and who has never yet erred in this Government. He will not break the charters he has bestowed upon his church of grace and sealed with His own blood. "The name of the Lord is a strong tower; the righteous runneth into it and is safe, no one shall tear him out of his hand." It appears that the heads of a nation lifted up to the heavens, know not how to apply the time of their gracious visitation, or will not "know the things that make for their temporal and eternal peace." A kingdom divided in itself and split into parties can not stand. "Der Herr is noch und nimmer nicht, Von seinem Volk geschieden, Er bleibet ihre Zuversicht, ihr Segen, Heil und Frieden." [Ne'er hath the Lord his people, His chosen ones forsaken, He doth abide their confidence, And he their part hath taken."] And in regard to politics, which refer only to secondary matters, it may be said that amid it all the poor soul is forgotten. A worm gnaws at Jonas' gourd, perhaps L. B.[1] which will be followed by the withering and smiting effects of the sun. Jonah, 4: 7–11. This evening I conferred yet a few hours with Mr. Kalteisen and my host, Mr. Kimmel, concerning the congregational matters of this church.

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[1] Lord Bute, I suppose. See Note A.

Oct. 12. There are indications of clear weather, and we must prepare for our voyage — but it is clouding over again and beginning to rain, we shall have to tarry, therefore. I could not visit to-day, and spent my time in reading and writing — entertained some company, and in the evening devoted an hour to the instruction of my host's two children, and paid to-day the barber and wig-dresser for four weeks service. The weather is still dark and rainy, delaying our departure. Two friends sent us provisions for our journey, viz.: some bottles of English beer and some sugar. The Lord requite their love! My wife is rid of the dysentery, but her hysterical affection still continues.

Oct. 13. Still gloom and rain, and soon after, the most violent showers we have yet had, consequently no vessel will venture forth. My kind host received a visit to-day from an intimate German family of our denomination, from Old Indian Swamp, fifty miles in the country. The man is named Philip Eisenman, has a farm of his own, but no negroes. He and his wife cultivate the place themselves, in the sweat of their brows, and prove thereby that man can live and find victuals and clothes without black slaves, if he be godly and contented, and desire not to take more out of the world than he has brought into it. They lamented the want of schools and churches in their neighborhood. He has arranged his barn for public worship, and they have accepted as preacher a young man lately arrived from Germany, and who might answer for a schoolmaster. He writes his sermon through the week, and reads it on Sunday, and even reads with it the Lord's Prayer also, being yet young, and excusing himself with the Lord not having gifted him with a retentive memory. The credentials brought by him from Germany, are—black breeches. The remaining fragments, to wit, band, &c. he obtained from his countryman, Rev. Daser. The two honest old people complained that his preaching was so meagre and dry, and left the heart entirely unaffected, and they wanted something, therefore, more to awaken and nourish the heart, &c. I illustrated the matter for them with a simple comparison, viz.: if a live coal were placed among a number of dead coals, the heap might be gradually ignited; but if a dead coal were placed among other dead coals, the whole would remain dead. They comprehended it, and prayed that they might have such a live coal in their neighborhood. It is true, it might be said, the written word of God can and shall be to them, a fire, a hammer, a two-edged sword, and the power of God unto salvation; but it may be answered, that the aged,

and the numerous youth, for want of schools, cannot read, and yet it is written, Acts 8: 30, 31., "Understandest thou what thou readest?" how can they do so if no one direct them? True, enough teachers and false apostles may be found who pervert the word of God, and manufacture the most baneful sects with it! O how necessary, useful and consolatory would it not be, if we were able to erect a long wished for institution, in which Catechets could be trained, who would be capable and willing to teach school during the week, and to deliver a discourse (Vortrag) on the Lord's day! It would not be necessary to torment such subjects many years with foreign languages; it would be sufficient if they possessed mother wit; a compendious knowledge and experience of the marrow and sap of Theology; could write a tolerable hand; understood their vernacular [German] and the English tongues, and the elements of Latin. They should also possess a robust bodily constitution, able to endure every kind of food and weather; and especially have a heart that sincerely loves Jesus and his lambs.

In America there are schools, Gymnasiums, Academies and Universities enough (and their number is multiplying with the increased taste), for lawyers, notaries, physicians, philosophers, candidates for benefices, critics, orators, sea captains, merchants, artists, &c. &c., but who helps the half dead man that has fallen among thieves, and lies bleeding? Priests and Levites pass by on the other side, for their law forbids them to touch any thing unclean. And if, occasionally, some be found who profess themselves Samaritans, they have, notwithstanding, ofttimes unrighteous objects; bind up, it is true, the wounds of the helpless sufferer, and set him on their own beast, but, at the same time, expect as a recompense, to own him entirely and to lead him to their sectarian inn, when the proverb is verified: "the remedy is worse than the disease," as can be shown by many examples. This matter belongs to the *pia desideria*,[1] (pious desires) which are more easily accomplished in theory than in practice. In the evening was visited by Messrs. Meyer and Kalteisen, with whom I enjoyed profitable conversation.

Oct. 14. I conferred with Mr. Abraham Speidel, an elder of the congregation, who had lived here now already twenty-four years, and obtained from him the names of the Lutheran ministers and teachers who have labored here from the beginning. 1st, I myself, thirty-two years ago, spent several weeks

[1] The title of a well known work of Spener's. ED.

here with a German Reformed painter, the late Mr. Theus, and preached on Sundays to several German families in his house; 2d, Rev. pastor Bolzius[1] also visited and preached occasionally; 3d, About twenty-one years since Rev. pastor Rabenhorst and Mr. Gerock, A. M. arrived in Charleston, and labored while they tarried here. 4th, Candidate Friedrichs came and gathered the Germans and served them several years in the French church, the elders of which kindly granted, in the interval between their own services, the use of their church to our people for divine service and their graveyard for burial. Rev. Friedrichs labored hard, and, together with the elders and wardens, exerted himself so as to procure a place in the town, for a German Lutheran church and graveyard. He was acquainted among the English and beloved by them, and collected among them towards the building. He wished the church to be built of brick, which would have been best, but several elders and members outvoted him, and caused it to be built of wood. Mr. Friedrichs left the congregation, and took charge of vacant congregations in the country. 5th, Afterwards they accepted as pastor Mr. Wartman, an educated minister, who is said to be a very animated preacher, but also very fiery and choleric, who had wearied and exposed himself with several congregations in Pennsylvania and Virginia. He remained about two years, and then went into the country. 6th, After him the congregation was served three years and three months by Mr. Nicholas Martin, a self-taught man (autodidactus,) who is said to have been ordained by the brethren in Georgia, and was a sensible and industrious man. During this time the church was entirely finished. 7th, The elders and wardens now applied to his reverence, Dr. Wachsel, in London, and besought him to send them a regular teacher and pastor, and obtained, through his instrumentality, the Rev. pastor Hahnbaum and his family. But he was often indisposed and lived only a few years. Before his death a Master of Arts, quite young, arrived here, from the Duchy of Wirtemberg, without credentials, clothes or money, his trunk with said articles having been stolen from him in Holland, according to his declaration. A good hearted elder of this place had compassion on him, paid his passage-money, and procured him clerical clothes [hochehrwürdige Kleider.] Pastor Hahnbaum, having been long sick, he received this Magister (with consent of the vestry) as vicar, examined him, had him ordained or installed through two elders, and before his death

[1] See Note B.

he married him, on his sick-bed, to one of his daughters, and gave him the necessary books and skeletons of sermons. After the decease of Rev. Hahnbaum the vestry gave Magister Daser a conditional call for one year, in the hope that through "Prayer, study and temptation" ("Oratione Meditatione et Tentatione,"[1]) a thelogian might yet be made of him. But his young wife was ignorant of housewifery, and destitute of the true ornament of a woman, 1 Pet. 3: 4.; and he was light of body, light in spirit, and heavy in self-will and inordinate passions and affections; consequently the fruits manifested themselves. The year having expired, and having no other alternative, the congregation contracted with him for three years longer. But as he conducted his office merely as a secondary business (parergon,) and they both digressed in several things, became involved in debt, and frequented too much company &c., the vestry discharged him before the end of the third year. He had, however, a party of his own kind who were offended at the vestry on account of his discharge, and regarded his extravagances as trifling, or as praise-worthy; but they were far too weak to raise his salary without the aid of the elders and the well disposed members. The vestry wrote to the reverend Consistorium, in the Electorate of Hanover, and supplicated for a regular minister, but were informed that they could not be supplied from that source. Afterwards the elders and wardens addressed me and besought me to send them an educated and exemplary pastor of our Ministerium. The adherents of Mr. Daser wrote to me at the same time anonymously, accusing the vestry, and stating that parson Daser had been a good preacher for them, and that the vestry had discharged him without the knowledge and will of the congregation, without cause and from personal hatred &c. I answered both communications, and informed them, that, God willing, I would journey in the autumn to Ebenezer, in Georgia, and would then come to Charleston, and personally investigate their affairs, on my way to Georgia. Mr. Daser had, in the meantime, procured a recommendation from the Lord Lieutenant Governor here, and the English preachers of the High Church [Episcopal,] to the Lord Bishop in London, for "Episcopal ordination" "and a competent living" in country congregations, and to become a dead weight in the English Established Church.[2] He expected, through my intercession, to be called by the vestry for life, and to receive annually one

[1] Luther's celebrated recipe for the making of a preacher. ED.

[2] Inutile ecclesiæ Anglicanæ stabilitæ pondus.

hundred pounds Sterling for salary. But after I had learned circumstantially from sensible and impartial persons the conduct of himself and wife, I could not conscientiously interest myself in his behalf; for when a minister makes himself familiar with drunkards, flourishes with his sword at night along the streets, throws stones at windows &c., and his wife frequents at night the theatres, and leads in the dance at weddings &c., we can readily imagine what impression this must make upon well-meaning members! O Lord of heaven, do thou have mercy upon such a state of things!

Was visited to-day by some Germans and English; the rest of the time I was engaged in recording the above. Our vessel is still detained by unfavorable wind and weather. In the evening I instructed the two children of my host. Oct. 15. To-day I sent for the church records of this congregation and recorded the *actus ministeriales* that occurred during my five weeks sojourn in this place — meditated — and towards evening visited the co-elder who lately returned from Germany, via. London, viz.: Mr. Werly. A visit in the evening from Messrs. Philips and Kalteisen.

Sunday, Oct. 16. Warm weather. Held public worship in our Lutheran church, and preached from the Gospel for the twentieth Sunday after Trinity. In the afternoon preached from Matth. 5: 3–7 inclusive. In the evening was conveyed to Mr. Kalteisen's to baptize the child of his step-son, Mr. Jacob Ernst, and Salome his wife; it was born early in the night of Oct. 10th, and at baptism was named Barbara Elizabeth. The sponsors were Barbara (the wife of Doctor Hahnbaum), my daughter Mary Catherine, and Mr. Kalteisen.

Oct. 27. *(Memorandum from the Church book.)* 1. Nov. 24, 1763. John Nicholas Martin took charge of the congregation in Charleston. 2) The corner-stone of St. John's church was laid Dec. 17, 1759. 3) The church was consecrated, June 24th, 1764, (John Baptist's day), by two Lutheran ministers, viz.: Rev. John Nicholas Martin, and Rev. John George Friederich. Text, Luke 1: 68, 69, 70., "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath visited and redeemed his people," &c. 4) Rev. John Severin Hahnbaum was called, January 28, 1767; took charge, June 12, 1767. 5) Mr. Daser began his services towards the close of 1767. Mr. Hahnbaum, after having been sick six months, fell asleep, Feb. 10, 1770, and was buried Feb. 11, of the same year. 6) Rev. Christopher Schwab died July 5, 1773. 7) Sept. 22, 1773, Benigna, the widow of the late Rev. Hahnbaum, died, aged fifty years, and was buried Sept. 23, 1773.

The English gentleman from Ebenezer, already spoken of, took leave of me to-day; he intended journeying to Providence, and, God willing, to be at home on Christmas. It is now said that our vessel will sail for Savannah on the day after to-morrow. In the afternoon a whole row of married ladies came to bid farewell to my sick wife, and daughter. Sick and well persons are only burdensome to each other, their taste and feelings differing from each other. Mr. Philips gave me letters for Savannah and Ebenezer. Towards evening Mr. Peronncau was buried at the Presbyterian church. According to those who knew him, he is said to have been "an Israelite indeed in whom there was no guile."

Oct. 18. To-day we intended to embrace the opportunity to sail with Captain Churchhill, the wind and weather being favorable — packed our things — had our baggage removed to the vessel, as it was said he would leave at 2 P. M. Our kind friends, Messrs. Kimmel and Speidel, conveyed my wife and me in chaises thither. The Captain was undecided, however, and thought we had better return to our lodgings, as he would probably not depart before to-morrow. The helmsman secured our baggage and provisions in the vessel. Towards evening we were informed that the Captain's goods had been attached for debt, and therefore the ship would not sail at all, which caused us and our friends still more trouble, not knowing how to obtain our things again. In the evening had private conversation with several elders, viz.: Kalteisen, Kimmel, Speidel and Mensinger, concerning congregational matters, a call, and a necessary school-institution. They enquired also what they were indebted to me for my clerical services while here? I told them if they would satisfy my host for the support of us three while here, I would be pleased; and as the well disposed members of the vestry and congregation had contributed, at my request, for the support of the poor wife and helpless children of Rev. Daser, during his expected absence, I could and would not ask any thing of them for myself, especially as through the contemplated new call we hoped to become closer friends.

Note A, to Page 412. The cöoperating influence of the Germans in originating and effecting the American Revolution has been too much overlooked by our American historians. This is not the place to direct attention to that subject, though the passage to which this No. refers is full of instruction in regard to it. Mr. H. A. Mühlenberg, in his "*Life of Gen. Peter Mühlenburg*," has also done much to elucidate this subject. But my object here is to direct attention to the interesting passage in reference to *Lord*

*Bute*, who, I have no doubt, is the person designated in the Journal by the initials L. B. and so admirably characterized by this christian patriot, as "*the worm at the root of Jonah's gourd.*" To those who are not familiar with the British history of the times, the following extract from the Edinburgh Encyc. Art. "*U. States*," p. 315, will not be devoid of interest, and will serve to confirm the political sagacity of this venerable man, who may here be viewed in the light of a prophet of the events which quickly followed: "At this epoch, the Scotchman Bute was the secret chief in the councils of George III. Driven from the ministry by public opinion, he had the address to secure a successor devoted to his system of extending the royal prerogative. Entrenched behind this rampart, *Bute*, *under cover*, *sapped the Whig party*, the indefatigable champions of American independence." Similar to this is the language of the great Frederick of Prussia, quoted in the same place.

Note B, to p. 415. Dr. Mühlenberg was not aware that Rev. Bolzius had, in 1734, visited Charleston and there administered the Lord's Supper to a small body of communicants, on the 26th of May. It is also my impression that either he or his colleague visited that place several times afterwards, so that it is highly probable that the congregation in Charleston, or (as it was then called) Charlestown, was first organized by these devoted ministers of the Saltzburgers. Ed.

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## ARTICLE V.

### THE MEANS EMPLOYED BY GOD FOR MAN'S RECOVERY.

By George B. Miller, D. D., Prof. of Theol. in Hartwick Seminary, New York.

It is a common but foolish objection raised by the opponents of the Gospel, that if it were from God it would have been communicated at once to all the nations of the earth. It is not to be supposed, they say, that a God of impartial justice would bestow the means of salvation only upon a favored few, while they were withheld from all the rest of mankind. Now, not to insist that we are no where told in Scripture that all those who have never heard the Gospel, are necessarily lost; while, on the contrary, we are assured that if the heathen fulfill the law they shall judge (or condemn) those who have the law, but transgress the same: in short, that "where there is no law there is no transgression," and a man will be condemned only for doing what he knew or might have known to be wrong; so that at the judgment day, as our Sa-

vior says, "many will come from the East and West and sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven, but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out." Not to insist, I say, at present, upon these questions, we would only observe, that the infidel supposition that the Bible represents God as a partial being, so far from exalting the justice and benevolence of the Almighty, as it pretends, would in fact hold Him up as entirely destitute of either justice or benevolence. It would represent Him as leaving the human family to grope its way in utter darkness, without troubling Himself about their welfare, or making any provision to bring His erring creatures back to the path of duty and happiness. So cheerless and heartless is that system which rejects the revelation of God's gracious purposes respecting man. Far different, nay, the exact reverse, is the scheme of mercy made known in the Holy Scriptures. This teaches that "light is come into the world," the beams of divine benevolence have at all times irradiated our race, and that the result has not been more striking — though sufficiently striking, if rightly considered — is owing altogether to the perversity of the subjects it had to deal with; as the Savior adds to the words just quoted: "but men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil." And when all the secrets of men's hearts shall be revealed, then will it be seen that the objections of foolish men to the system of grace contained in the Bible, proceeded from the same evil source of a wicked heart opposed to the will of God. In truth, we learn from the pages of Holy Writ, and from no other source could we know it, that God has never forsaken the world, though the world had universally forsaken Him, but in all ages our gracious Maker has employed a variety of means to draw men to Himself, and has ever guided the affairs of the world in such a manner as was best fitted to bring about this happy result, as the apostle said to the Athenians: He "hath made of one blood all nations that dwell upon the face of the earth; hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek the Lord, if happily they might feel after Him and find Him." Or, as the same apostle said to the rude inhabitants of Lycaonia: "Who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways; nevertheless He left not Himself without witness in that He did good, and gave us rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness." On the same principle, St. Paul, in the Second Ep. to the Romans, appeals to the reason and conscience of all men, Jews or heathens, to acknow-

ledge that the goodness of God is designed and calculated to lead men to repentance. And though but few may be found who improve His goodness to this end, this does not derogate from the kind intentions of our Maker, but only shows how desperately wicked is the heart of man. But all those who follow the divine drawings will be brought to repentance and consequent salvation. From the evil propensity of throwing the blame of their sinfulness upon the circumstances in which men find themselves, i. e., in short, upon the Author of their being, proceeds the discontented and complaining wish that they might enjoy such and such opportunities, then would they repent and turn to the Lord. To this desire, whether expressed in words, or felt in the soul, our Lord has given a satisfactory reply in the Parable of the rich man and Lazarus, (Luke 16: 31.) where he represents Abraham as silencing the demands of the rich man, who found himself in torment, when he had left this world, and who requested that Lazarus might be sent to his brethren to warn them, that they might be induced to flee from the wrath to come. He assures his wretched countryman, that his brethren enjoyed all necessary instruction and advantages, and if these means failed of their effect, other and more striking means would be equally inefficacious. "They have Moses," says he, "and the prophets; if they hear not them neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead." These words very clearly intimate that the means which God has appointed for the conversion of men are, and ever have been, sufficient for that end. In reference to this, we propose considering the following points:

I. That, from the first, God has employed a variety of means to recover men from their ruined state.

II. That these means are efficacious.

III. That the last and chief of these is the Gospel.

I. No sooner had man by transgressing the command of his Maker, lost his innocence, and with it the sense of the divine favor, than we find that measures were adopted by a God of infinite mercy to bring him to repentance. He was called to an account for his conduct, and a suitable punishment inflicted. At the same time a promise was given him which was calculated to preserve him from despair, and to convince him, that notwithstanding his sin, the Lord had still thoughts of peace towards him. Sacrifices were also appointed, both to keep alive the sense of guilt, and thus to keep him humble, and to intimate, that by the substitution of an innocent life, the criminal might be pardoned and restored to favor, pointing, typically and prospectively, at the great sacrifice that was in

due time to be offered for the sins of men. Thus a religion was divinely instituted, such as was suited to man in his character of a fallen creature, stripped of original righteousness. In the infant state of the world and society, the instructions given to man were few and simple, yet plain and significant, suited to their wants and experience, but sufficient for their guidance, and calculated, when faithfully observed, to train them up for a future and better state. That such was the divine teaching, we may learn from the case of wicked Cain, who, out of jealousy of his more godly brother, rose upon him and slew him. For, mark with what parental faithfulness the Lord warns him of the consequences that would follow the indulgence of evil passions. "Why art thou wroth, and why is thy countenance fallen?" says the Lord. "If thou doest well shalt thou not be accepted as well as thy brother?" Moreover, to pacify his angry feelings, he is assured that he shall have the prerogative of the first born, that he shall rule, and Abel be subject to him. Will any one dare to say that these warnings were not given him to turn him aside from his wicked purpose, and lead him to reflection and repentance? True, this effect did not follow; but where did the fault lie but with the wicked man himself, who would not listen to the admonitions of his Maker. And even after he had committed the foul deed, his life was spared, and he was only banished from the society of the obedient subjects of God, and from the place where He manifested Himself. No doubt, if he had afterwards repented, he might have been restored to the communion of his father's family; or, at least, like Adam, when turned out of Paradise, he might still have found favor with God, and have died in peace.

That the antediluvians were favored with sufficient instructions for their salvation, we may learn from the instances of piety recorded. An Enoch walked with God, and to show to the world his approval of his conduct, the Lord took him bodily out of this world, so that he had not to taste death, thus serving to impresss upon men the expectation of a future state of happiness reserved for the righteous; while the same Enoch, as St. Jude informs us, prophesied of the coming of the Lord to judgment, with ten thousand of His saints. So that it is evident that this fundamental doctrine was sufficiently understood, though to be sure, little heeded, by that rebellious generation. For their increasing wickednes the whole multitude were finally overwhelmed with a flood; only Noah, who was found righteous in the sight of God, and his family, being saved. This general calamity which overtook all that had

forgotten God, was intended as an exhibition of the punitive justice of God, and a foreboding the final destruction that awaits all the wicked. That the impression was both deep and lasting, the subsequent history of man teaches. The memory of the deluge, of the wickedness of the generation upon which it was sent, and of the ark as the symbol of salvation was preserved among the descendants of Noah; as the records and traditions of all nations abundantly show. And we need not doubt, that, to a certain extent, this impression served to check the evil desires of man, preventing them from running at once into those excesses of which the antediluvians had been guilty. But now the corruption of the human heart took a different direction; and while the former generation had utterly cast off all fear of God and regard for his law, now men fell into all manner of superstition and idolatry. Afraid, from a consciousness of evil desires and intentions, to appear before God, and yet apprehensive of his vengeance, they invented for themselves a variety of mediators; in short, they worshipped lords many and gods many, whom they regarded as inferior to the Supreme God, and whom they could more readily approach, till the knowledge of the true God was in danger of being entirely extinguished in the earth. To meet this new danger, the Lord selected a single family, and a nation that was to spring from it, as the depositories of the truth. To keep them faithful to himself, he led them by an especial providence, and gave them extraordinary privileges, promising to be in a peculiar sense their God, and to make them his people. For this purpose he separated them from all other nations by peculiar institutions and laws, protecting them against all their foes while they continued obedient, but leaving them in the power of their enemies when they revolted from him: that they might know the difference between the service of Jehovah and being subject to the tyranny of men.

Thus, by an endlessly diversified system of means adapted to the changing condition of the people, both in a moral and civil point of view; by alternate stripes and caresses; by sending them prophet after prophet, "rising up early and sending them," as he says himself; the Lord kept this people within such bounds of obedience and subjection that the knowledge of his laws and character was preserved, and the fear and worship of Jehovah were never entirely lost: so that in the worst times he could assure his servant Elijah that he had still reserved to himself seven thousand knees that had not bowed to Baal. This state of things continued until the fulness of time had arrived when the Messiah was to appear

and introduce the last and best dispensation of divine grace known as the gospel dispensation. But besides the special and peculiar methods employed in regard to the people of Israel, the Lord also directed the affairs and circumstances of the Gentile world (though in a manner less marked) to the same end, viz: to prepare the way for the introduction and spread of the gospel. It might easily be shown, would time permit, that, at no other period of the world's history, was there a more favorable opportunity for establishing the kingdom of truth and righteousness upon earth, than just the very time when the Desire of all Nations made his appearance. It was when philosophy and science had done their best to humanize mankind, and had been found powerless; when civilization and refinement, so far as they can be carried without the purifying influences of the gospel, had reached their highest pitch, and left men slaves of sin and lust, groaning for deliverance under the united load of superstition and vice; when, as a heathen writer has expressed it, men had arrived at a point where they could neitheir bear their vices nor their remedies; when the whole system and framework of society was in danger of falling into one undistinguished mass of ruins; then, "in the fulness of time," when the necessity of something better than the world had yet seen or known was felt, the Sun of Righteousness arose with healing in his wings.

To convince ourselves that, while God, apparently, had entirely withdrawn himself from the heathen world, he yet, by his secret providence and wise counsels, ordered all events for the best, we need but study the prophecies, especially those of Daniel, a man greatly beloved. These contain so clear and specific a description of coming events (now in a great degree accomplished, and that so manifestly that he that runs may read) as to convince any but the most skeptical that the events were under the guidance and control of a holy and divine Being, ordering all things for the ultimate good of mankind, and for the display of his own glory and grace. To notice but one circumstance: All the principal empires that have existed on the earth in the western regions of the old world, of which our histories give us information, and through which civilization and the arts have come down to our day, have been in immediate contact with the chosen people, and have influenced their fate, as well as been influenced by them. This was manifestly the case with Egypt, Assyria, Babylon; with the Persian, the Macedonian, Greek, and the Roman empires. In the centre of these lay the Holy Land, intimately connected with them all, and diffusing the light of the true

religion through them; so that St. James could say, "Moses hath in every city them that could preach him."

Now it would not be difficult to show that, in regard to the heathen nations, God did all that could be done to introduce among them the true religion. The first and fundamental question to be settled was that respecting the true God. The contest was between Jehovah the God of Israel and the idols of the nations. Till a people would acknowledge Jehovah as alone God, forsaking the worship of idols, they could make no further progress in the knowledge of the truth. But God did take the most effectual means to convince men that He was God and none else. With respect to the Egyptians, the miracles wrought by the hand of Moses — to say nothing of the history of Joseph, and the descent of the whole family of Jacob into Egypt, bringing with them the worship of the true God — the plagues sent upon Pharaoh and his land, were certainly calculated to convince them that the God of Israel was the true and only God. The cattle, some of which they held sacred, and to which they offered religious worship, suffered as well as the people. The river Nile, to which they paid divine honor, was made an instrument of punishment when it produced frogs, and its waters were turned into blood. And all these things were known, not only in that land but in all the surrounding countries, so that forty years after, when the Israelites entered the promised land, all the inhabitants were afraid of them and of the God under whose protection they manifestly stood. And if any of the Egyptians were convinced they might join the Israelites, as we read that many did — called the mixed multitude (Num.) who are expressly distinguished from the children of Israel. And even the Canaanites, though devoted to destruction, might be saved, as we learn from the instance of Rahab and the Gibeonites; while such as chose to remove to other regions, had forty years' time allowed them. And, accordingly, we learn from profane history, that about that period many new settlements were begun in the West of Europe; by men, we can hardly doubt, who would take along with them some reports of the wonders that had been wrought in Egypt. And, whereas, in the time of Solomon the trade of the civilized world passed through the land of Israel, bringing immense wealth to them, the fame of his splendid reign must have been spread over the known world by the caravans passing and repassing through the country. Accordingly, we read that the Queen of Sheba, in the furthest regions of Arabia, came to Solomon to see his glory and to hear

his wisdom. And, indeed, the name of Solomon is in high repute in all the middle regions of Asia to this day.

To come down to later times, we find that Nebuchadnezzar the greatest monarch of his day, was fully convinced by a variety of miraculous interpositions and providential arrangements, that Jehovah was the true God, so that he issued a proclamation containing these words: "I blessed the Most High; and I praised and honored Him that liveth forever; whose dominion is an everlasting dominion and His kingdom is from generation to generation. And all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing; and He doeth according to His will in the army of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth; and none can stay His hand or say unto Him, What doest thou?" Need we doubt that the example of the king must have made an impression upon his subjects? In the Persian empire, which was raised upon the ruins of the Babylonian, a similar course of Providences and miraculous interpositions produced similar effects. We need but advert to the case of Daniel, delivered from the fury of the lions; to the history of Esther, queen of Ahasuerus, and to the destruction of Haman, the bitter enemy of the Jews; to the favor enjoyed by Nehemiah, who was cupbearer to another king; so that there cannot be the least question that all the one hundred and twenty-seven provinces of that vast empire,—in all of which, moreover, Jews were found—were made sufficiently acquainted with the fact that the God whom the Jews worshiped was the only and living God.

When we come down to the times of the Macedonian empire, which succeeded the Persian, we have no longer, indeed, the infallible testimony of Scripture to guide us, but the well-authenticated fact, that one of the Ptolemies, king of Egypt, caused the sacred writings to be translated into the Greek, at that time the universal language of the civilized world, together with the favor shown to the Jews, not only by the Ptolemies, but already by Alexander the Great, proves that these nations were not left in ignorance respecting the true God. Hence, also, we find that there were many proselytes from other nations to the Jewish religion. In the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, that tyrant endeavored to root out the worship of Jehovah and set up that of his idols. But the faithful among the people, under Mattathias and his sons, the Maccabees, as they are termed, made a successful resistance, and, finally, after performing miracles of heroism, succeeded in making themselves independent of the Syro-Grecian kings; while Antiochus died in a most miserable manner.

Thus we come down to the time of the Romans. But this brings us also to the times of the Gospel, which was to overthrow the kingdom of Satan by means of the spiritual weapons of truth and righteousness. Accordingly we find that within less than three hundred years from our Lord's ascension, the Roman empire with its one hundred and twenty millions of inhabitants, including all the most civilized portions of the earth, was brought into subjection by Christ; paganism abolished; and millions of the human family taught to worship God in spirit and in truth.

Thus we have seen how the Lord employed various means to keep alive among men the knowledge and fear of their Maker. Not only did He set before all the wonders of His Creative Power, the displays of His wisdom and goodness contained in His works; and by His superintending Providence, supplying the wants of His creatures, call upon all to praise and glorify Him: but He established a special and extended system of means to prepare men for the reception and belief of the truth, to be proclaimed in due time, when all things were ready.

II. The very idea that God has appointed and employed such a system of means for this special purpose, implies, that these means are efficacious; that they are adapted to produce the effect intended. We need not, therefore, spend much time in proving what must be all but self-apparent. Still, some remarks, by way of explanation, may be profitable.—First, in regard to the heathen world before the time of Christ, we have not the means of ascertaining, to any great extent, what was the effect, actually, produced upon the general state of society, by their intercourse with the Jews. Some few particulars, as contained in Scripture, or inferred from profane history, we have already noticed, and have also made you observe, that these could not have been without their share of influence. That the effect was not what it might have been, through the infidelity and stubbornness of the Jews themselves, we are expressly taught in Scripture. Thus the prophets repeatedly reproach them, that through their means the name of God was blasphemed among the heathen, i. e. that by their wickedness and impiety, these were led to entertain low views of the divine character, and were prejudiced against the truth. Such was their character, also, in later times. For we find the apostle, in the 2d Chap. to the Romans, reproving his countrymen for committing the same or similar crimes, as those for which they were ready to blame the heathen. Such, too, has been the effect produced in our times, by the

vicious conduct of so-called christians, upon the minds of Mahomedans and heathens. But, after making all allowance, it will be admitted, by every considerate person, that some truths of the first importance were kept before the minds of men by means of the dispersion of the Jews and their intercourse with all nations, as well as by their complete separation in regard to their religious and political condition. And, no doubt more individuals than we can easily imagine were led to a knowledge and love of the truth, as St. Peter says, "Truly I perceive that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation, he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness, is accepted with Him." Thus also, as already observed, the way was prepared for the more rapid spread of the truth, when the time was come for the Gospel to be preached among all nations. But the point which is more open to investigation, is the effect produced by the appointed means, among the Jews themselves. Before the introduction of the Mosaic covenant, the amount of religious truth was confined to the more simple ideas, such as were adapted to the infancy of the human race. It was the religion of childhood. In selecting the people of Israel for His peculiar people, it was evidently the intention of Jehovah to give them an elementary education, preparatory to a more developed state of the human mind; such as may be compared to the instruction given to youth, to fit them for the active scenes of their future life. This is the view given us by the Apostle Paul, when he writes that the law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ; i. e. to prepare us for the reception of those larger developments of divine truth made by Christ. This idea he still further dwells upon when he goes on, "Now I say that the heir as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant though he be lord of all, but is under tutors and governors until the time appointed of the father. Even so we, when we were children, were in bondage under the elements of the world." Here he calls the various ceremonies and rites of the Mosaic institutions, "worldly elements," mere rudiments, elementary instructions in religion. Nay, he does not hesitate, in comparison with the fullness of grace, and truth, and light, that is in Christ, to call them "weak and beggarly elements." Still, they had their use, and were absolutely necessary in their proper place and time. The grand truths that were to be inculcated, were the doctrine of the Unity of God in opposition to the polytheism of the heathen world; the spirituality of the divine nature; the purity which God requires in His worshippers, and the need of an atonement for

sin, in order to man's acceptance. The Unity of God not being of a nature to be taught by symbolical representation, was taught in plain words: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord." It lies in the name by which He would be known among them, Jehovah, the self-existent and incomparable Being, to whom there was none second or like. But they were more deeply interested in this doctrine by the view under which He made Himself known to them as their God and the God of their fathers, who had promised to give them the land of Canaan for a possession, who brought them out of the iron furnace of Egyptian bondage, and with a strong arm led them forth and brought them into the land of their inheritance. This doctrine was kept before their minds by the protection He afforded them so long as they were obedient, and by the punishments that were sure to follow when they, as a nation, forsook His service. And, finally, after enduring the captivity in Babylon, His truth was at length indelibly engraven in their minds. In respect to this the means proved effectual.

The doctrine of the Spirituality of God, is closely connected with the former. The second commandment given from Mt. Sinai, was, that they should not make to themselves any graven image, or other representation of the divine nature. They heard a voice but saw no shape. The presence of God was manifested at various times by an insufferable brightness, but no visible figure was to be seen. When they pretended to worship Jehovah under a symbolical form, such as the golden calves, this was considered and treated as treason against His divine character, and for it they were punished severely. This tendency was also corrected in the end, and we find that the Jews of our Savior's time had a horror of idols.

As to the purity required of those who would worship God, this was signified by a variety of washings and other symbolical purifications enjoined by the law. It was the intention, too, of the distinction of meats into clean and unclean. In short, a Jew to avoid ceremonial pollution, had to be extremely circumspect. Wherefore the more conscientious ones would not eat with one of another nation. They were taught to consider themselves as a holy people, specially consecrated to God and His service; who were to abstain from every thing that might pollute them. A still greater degree of outward, or ceremoaial purity, was required of the priests, and of such as had voluntarily separated themselves for the special service or honor of Jehovah, hence called Nazarites. Thus the idea of holiness was excited and kept alive by a multitude of sig-

nificant rites and forms. Only, with a great many the real intention and spiritual meaning of these rites was entirely lost out of sight, and they rested in the letter which could do them no good. In regard to sacrifices the case was the same. These were to keep alive the sense of guilt, as well as the comfortable assurance that pardon might be obtained on repentance, if a suitable atonement were made. Thus they were taught that repentance and restitution were not of themselves able to restore peace of mind, till God, who is the offended party in every act of crime, were satisfied by a proper sacrifice. All these sacrifices, which were extremely various, pointed at Christ, as the Lamb of God that should take away the sin of the world. Nay, the heathen world were all accustomed to sacrifices, and had at least some general notion of their intention. Hence they were prepared to receive the doctrine of a propitiatory offering for the sins of men, and could be at no loss to understand what the preachers of the Gospel taught respecting the vicarious death of the Son of God. Now, all these special means employed by the Lord to prepare the way for the understanding and reception of the Gospel, did answer the intended purpose with all sincere seekers for the truth. And before the coming of the Savior, they served to excite the hopes, and kindle the faith, and enlighten the minds of many of the Jews; so that there was always a number, and sometimes a very large number, who lived in the fear of God, and worshiped Him in sincerity, according to the light that they enjoyed. And though with a great part they failed of producing this effect, this was owing to their own obstinacy and perverseness, just as with the Gospel in our day; "The word that was preached did not profit them, not being mixed with faith in them that heard it."

(Conclusion in next No.)

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## ARTICLE VI.

### STIER'S COMMENTARIES ON JAMES AND EPHESIANS.

I. *Der Brief Jacobi. In zwei- und dreiszig Betrachtungen ausgelegt von Rudolph Stier, Pfarrer zu Wichlinghausen in Barmen:* 1845. Verlag von W. Langewiesche. [*The Epistle of St. James, explained in thirty-two dissertations, by Rudolf Stier, Pastor at Wichlinghausen, in Barmen*, 1845, *&c.*]

II. *Die Gemeinde in Christo Jesu. Auslegung des Briefes an die Epheser, von Rudolph Stier, Doctor der Theologie. Erste Hälfte*, 1848. *Der zweiten Hälfte erste Abtheilung*, 1848. *Der zweiten Hälfte zweite Abtheilung*, 1849. Berlin, Bessersche Buchhandlung. [*The Church in Christ Jesus. Exposition of the Epistle to the Ephesians, by Rudolf Stier, S. T. D., in three volumes*, 1848 *and* 1849, *&c.*]

The first of the two works named above has been in our possession some months, the other has only quite recently come to hand. This is one reason why we are better acquainted with the former than with the latter. Moreover, the Exposition of the Epistle to the Ephesians is a large work in three volumes, the other work consists of but one. And they are totally different in their character. The one is chiefly practical, addresses the reader in the homiletical style, and can be readily understood and appreciated by all intelligent christians. The other is a most elaborate exegetical work, designed almost exclusively for the learned theologian, and requiring, from its peculiar character, to be thoroughly and connectedly studied, in order to be fully understood and rated at its proper value, as regards its criticism, and the results which that criticism develops, and aims to place in a clear and strong light before us. — A few words, therefore, on each work separately.

It appears from the preface of the first-named work, that the author had been preaching on the Epistle of St. James, and that he was frequently and urgently requested to publish the series of discourses. As the sermons were not written, it became necessary, when he could no longer refuse to comply with the reiterated solicitation to give them to the public, to write them out from memory. This, therefore, he did in the dissertations before us, omitting, however, a good deal of concrete detail, and of paraenetic application, and presenting only the leading thoughts in a condensed form. The result of this process is by no means, as some might apprehend, a series of dry sketches, or disjointed skeletons, but a book of animated, earnest, searching discourses, elucidating and enforcing the solemn teachings of an epistle so eminently practical as that of St. James. Although we have here no critical commentary for the student, we have expositions which are the results of profoundly critical investigation. Although we have no complete sermons, we have the stuff that sermons are made of — the bone and marrow, the muscle and sinew, the nerves and the warmly pulsating heart, with its many channels for

the diffusion of the vital fluid. It is easy for the thoughtful, devout and practised homiletician to conceive how healthful, substantial and attractive must have been the filling-up, in the living discourse of so able, faithful and earnest a preacher. There is, however, such complete unity, such perfect continuity of style, in the several discourses, that the intelligent reader will not anywhere regard them as defective, but simply as presenting the matter, more fully brought out in public addresses, in a condensed form. To those who read for edification the work cannot be otherwise than instructive and delightful, provoking the most searching self-examination, yielding solid nourishment to the soul, throwing much welcome light on the path of duty, severely rebuking spiritual pride and self-complacent imaginings, encouraging and cheering the heart in the struggles of that great warfare to which every believer is called. The book is replete with sound and vigorous thought, instinct with deep and fervent feeling, and informed throughout with the love of Christ, the love of holiness, and the love of undying souls. We commend it especially to the study of preachers.

To the second work of Stier, named above, a brief notice like the present can barely call the reader's attention. It is peculiar, as are Stier's other works, in its aim and character. In some respects it is, doubtless, the greatest of our author's works. It is evident, that a work of more than twelve hundred pages, proceeding from a mind like Stier's, on an epistle as brief, but as pregnant and important as that to the Ephesians, must present a vast amount of interesting and most valuable matter. It is, in a greater degree than any of his other works, designed for and adapted to the use of the learned student of the sacred word. The paraenetic element is, indeed, not only not wanting, but perhaps quite as prominent as elsewhere, but it is conversant here, as much with the concerns and interests of the Church collectively as the body of Christ, as with matters affecting the relations and duties of the individual believer. Although it thus treats largely and profoundly of practical matters of the highest moment, the immense learning which it exhibits on every page, and of which a vast deal would be utterly unintelligible to the general reader unacquainted with the Oriental and the classic languages, renders it available chiefly to the professional and learned theologian.

At the end of the first and of the third volume, the author presents in full the "Ordnungsplan," or scheme of the design and order of the whole epistle. If we could transfer this to our pages, it would afford the reader a cursory but comprehen-

sive view of the drift and character of the entire work; but even this is too extensive to admit of its insertion here. Stier, as well as others, regards and treats the epistle to the Ephesians as an Encyclica; and conceives the centre and circumference, the sum and substance of the epistle to be "The Church in Christ Jesus." To portray the church in her foundation, way, and aim, with threefold reference to the Trinity in Father, Son, and Spirit; to set forth her growth, her development in individual life, her conflict, and her victory, — this is, according to Stier, the exalted dogmatic-design and purport of this epistle in the canon; and with this ever in view, he here presents and urges considerations the most weighty, the most fruitfully suggestive and monitory for our age, so sadly unsettled and distracted as respects the idea and the nature of the Church. The Introduction, without reading which no man must venture to read the book itself, exhibits, in a condensed form, but very clearly, the general views, which are afterwards elaborated with great copiousness of detail, and with the application of vast stores of learning; so that a translation of this Introduction would itself form a most interesting and valuable article for this periodical, and we would fain hope, that some one who has leisure, would render us this most acceptable service.

The *Kirchenfreund* (Sept. No. 1849, p. 366,) speaks of the work before us in terms of warm commendation, but adds, among other things, the following: "We do not like *this* in Stier, that he wants to know every thing better than other people." Now we cannot help remarking, that our good brethren in Mercersburg are the last, who ought to bring this accusation against *others;* and we say this without intending any censure, but persuaded that they honestly believe, that they have the ability and mission to instruct and reform their generation. But, we would farther ask; does not the man who writes a book on any subject, thereby, *ipso facto*, declare, that he considers himself better informed on that subject, than the mass of his contemporaries? We fancy the charge would scarcely have been made, if Stier did not venture often and very decidedly to differ from Harless, heretofore the most thorough and sagacious commentator on the Epistle to the Ephesians. So far as we have had time to study the work before us, we are of opinion, that Stier never differs from Harless without very sound and satisfactory reasons, and without very respectfully and kindly setting forth those reasons, in a manner calculated to convince his readers of the correctness of

his own views. And we advise our readers to examine and judge for themselves, whether Stier does not really understand better than other people how to explain the Sacred Scriptures, not only according to the principles of philological and historical criticism, but in accordance with those great practical truths and principles, which involve every vital concern and interest, temporal and eternal, of individual and of social man. S.

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## ARTICLE VII.

### HARN ON FEET-WASHING.

*A Sermon on the Ordinance of Feet-Washing, by George U. Harn, V. D. M.* Harrisburg, 1846. 18mo. pp. 96.

THIS erudite little work, which at the time of its reception we solemnly placed on our shelf of controversial theology, has not, we are afraid excited that attention its merits so richly deserved, and which the "Copy-right secured," seemed to imply was not wholly unexpected by its learned author. The author belongs to that ancient and wide spread and truly Catholic, but most modest denomination, "*The Church of God,*" which has been in existence more than eighteen years, is spread over a part of Pennsylvania and Ohio, and is believed by the sanguine to embrace eighty ministers and several thousand members, including many women, but no children, and which claims to be the only part of christendom which has moral courage and does not dishonor God. This denomination, (if we dare give it so restricted a name) is remarkable, not exclusively, but mainly, for two things. One is, that it has nothing about it but what is expressly set forth in Scripture. If any unlearned reader, and it is possible that in our rapidly extending list of subscribers, one or two such may be found, should be puzzled how to reconcile Hr. Harn's title with this rigid scriptural simplicity, or even to know its meaning, he need only turn to Gen. 27 : 25. to get the V., to Isaiah 56 : 10. for the D., and to Ex. 24 : 13. for the M. These initials, moreover, have a significance in the Latin language, and are believed by the learned to stand in that tongue for Verbi Dei Magister. Moreover, they spiritually signify, Vain are the Dogmas of Men, and thus suggestively set forth the distinctive peculiarity of this venerable communion, and the

unscriptural rottenness of the little sects at war with them. Nothing could well be more unfounded than the theory of some, not without some plausibility, indeed, on a superficial examination especially of many who bear it, that these cabalistic letters, after all, import no more than "Very Dull Minister." So far are the advocates of feet-washing as a sacrament from being dull, that they have more sense than the whole church in the present or in past ages; they have risen superior to the prejudices which fetter all other people; and instead of washing their own feet quietly on a Saturday night, as most of us have been brought up to do, they insist on every body washing every-body else's feet in meeting; and so far from washing them when washing is needed, as we have been used to do, they do so only when they are clean. This feet-washing is their second distinctive feature.

The respected author of this little book, like almost all who print their thoughts, does so with reluctance. He mournfully speaks of the present age as one in which "authors are almost as common as mechanics." Instead of "almost as," he should have written, "more," and should have substituted the words "than other," for his second "as." He also touchingly remarks, that "books are more plenteous than readers." This is hardly correct, as every author reads his own book. The truth is, the number of writers and readers, in most cases, is about the same, as the author usually unites both offices in his own person. Like the maker of the famous brazen bull of the old tyrant, he is not only the inventor of the instrument of torture, but always its first, often its only victim. But the "many internal conflicts" of our author, were at last overcome, and being urged by his brethren to prepare a discourse on this subject, in his own chaste language, he "done so."

He is afraid that to many persons the subject may appear "romantic," but despite the exquisite and fragrant flowers of fancy with which he has so richly garnished it, he may dismiss such a gloomy apprehension. Most people regard it in quite the contrary light; nor can we ourselves exactly see into the poetry of it. The discourse, which is on 1 Cor. 11: 2., enters learnedly into a philological discussion of "ordinances," as that word is used in the Bible, and in "the regulation of lamp-light and moonshine in Pittsburg." He tells us that the word here translated "ORDINANCES," is neither "*dogma*" nor "*dikaiosune*," but "*paradosis*," a piece of information well calculated to enrich the stores of modern criticism, and highly refreshing to the feet-washers; as it is well known that they are all Greek scholars! This somewhat fatigueing dis-

play of scholarship satisfies us that our author understands Greek very nearly as well as he does English.

Our author is graciously pleased to strew a great deal of theological and other information along the somewhat barren track of his subject, which has no connection whatever with it. This is delightful indeed, and shows the extent of his erudition, and proves that, however strong he may be in feet-washing, it is not the only thing in which his strength lies. It serves also to dignify the discussion, in which he endeavors to elevate the feet to their proper position, and to show that, though they are lowest in situation, they are by no means so in importance. Among these divergencies from the beaten path, none are more startling than some new views in Astronomy, with which he favors us. The difference, he tells us, between the sun and the stars, is, that the former is a "constitutional law," and the others are "ordinances." In this ingenious line of argument, he seems to make the stars "fight in their courses" for feet washing, as they once fought against Sisera. The planets "are *repulsed* and attracted by him," and "they repulse and attract their respective inferiorities." These very satisfactory views, as the feet washers hold nothing save by warrant of Scripture, he establishes from Job 38: 31., and Jer. 31: 35. He justly ridicules the ordinance in Pittsburg that the moon shall shine two nights in every week, but as he well observes: "The moon does not always obey this ordinance, for it sometimes hides its pale face behind the clouds, and leaves us in the dark. So also in reference to smaller communities, such as temperance societies." Now, unless he here means to assert, that Temperance Societies are smaller communities than the moon, we confess we do not quite understand him,—like the rebellious moon at Pittsburg, he "leaves us in the dark"—but we do not reproach him for this, since it has been satisfactorily shown that the obscure is an element of the sublime.

We find some general views, also, broached in other departments of natural philosophy, in which it is shown that "Cohesion, attraction, repulsion, and gravitation, are carried into effect through the medium of ordinances." Our author also shows the profundity of his political knowledge, by asserting that governments are "ramifications." We believe every word of it, and very shocking it is.

Mr. H. is at once lucid and sublime in the following burst, in which metaphysical acuteness is happily mingled with an overwhelming eloquence: "To have the will to do a thing, and the power to do it, and yet not perform the doing of it, is

a contradiction of terms. To my mind there exists no such idea in all the universal and ample regions of cogitation and thought." "*Mr.* Mosheim, the Lutheran historian," is honered with a quotation. Politeness is a jewel!

The author is very severe, and no doubt justly so, on some of his opponents. Some of them, it seems, more daring than others, have compared it (feet-washing) with "boot-blacking." Mr. Harn may fairly felicitate himself on having shown that they are very different things. His refutation of this heresy is very brilliant, and will, perhaps, by some be considered the the gem of the discourse. It is very certain that he has established no other point with the triumphant success with which he sustains himself here.

Mr. Harn is not so satisfactory in answering the objection that the feet-washers require the feet to be washed before coming to church; so that they wash only clean feet. We confess that this staggers us a little. We do not say that the feet-washers "gild refined gold," far less do we charge them with "adding a perfume to the violet," yet we do find a flaw here, which will make us hesitate fully to adopt their views.

This elaborate performance is closed by a yet more elaborate hymn, which, we presume, is original. If it be, it proves that Mr. H's. claims as a poet, are no less than as a philologist and a theologian. We have only space for two lines of the first stanza:

> "And if we would his precepts keep,
> We must descend to washing feet."

We feel ourselves constrained to say, though we pretend to correct so favored a child of the muses with diffidence, that the rhyme absolutely requires the word "sheep" as the termination of the last line.

The great profusion of literature of the high rank of the work we have been noticing, would alone show how well grounded is the idea that "*had the Reformers but lived to our times they would have thought very differently in many respects.*" Oh! how charming to turn from their vain efforts to uphold "*exploded dogmas*," to works sparkling and charming like the present, where the novelty of the discoveries can only be equalled by the exquisite style which flows around them like a rich gravy over a green goose. When wearied by those and kindred works of distressing magnitude, when desirous of seeing a great subject lifted from the sphere in which ignorant and bigotted little sectaries would put it, it is only needful to read the book "on washing of the saints' feet."

It will wrap him who reads, into an atmosphere in which he will almost loose the power of understanding, what Dryden meant in his coarse but expressive lines:

"While crowds unlearned,
Around the sacred viands buzz and swarm:
The fly-blown text creates a crawling brood;
And turns to maggots what was meant for food." K. J.

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## ARTICLE VIII.

### A HYMN FROM THE GERMAN OF ROTHE.*

A version of "*Ich habe nun den Grund gefunden.*"

By Henry Mills, D. D., of Auburn, N. York.

1. I now have found, for hope of heaven,
An anchor-ground that firm will hold;
One—through the cross of Jesus given,
By God predestined from of old;
A ground that shall enduring stay
When earth and skies have pass'd away.

2. 'Tis *Mercy*, — mercy, never ending,
Whose measure all our thoughts excels,
The arms of pity, wide extending,
Of *Him* whose heart for sinners feels,
And whose compassion warns his foes
To fly from sin and endless woes.

3. And why should we be lost forever —
Since God to us commends his love?
His Son, with message of his favor,
Invites to holy joys above;
To win our hearts, as oft before,
He now is knocking at the door.

4. This love 's a deep — our follies merging!
The death of Christ,— a matchless grace!
From sin and death our souls 't is urging,
That wrath no more may find a place.
His blood for us is pleading still
"*Let Mercy all its work fulfil!*"

5. From *this* will I my comfort borrow,
With joy will trust my Savior's *plea;*
And, while for sin I deeply sorrow,
Will to the Father's pity flee,
In Him will ever seek a friend
Whose grace in Christ will never end.

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* *John Andrew Rothe*, who was born May 12, 1688, at Lissa, near Lauban, and died in 1758, as Pastor of Thomendorf, in Upper Lusatia. From 1722 to 1737 he was Pastor at Bethelsdorf, whence he was called by Zinzendorf, who gave him the testimony that he had few equals in sacred oratory. K. VON RAUMER.

6. Of all beside were I forsaken
That could my soul or body cheer;
From me if joys of earth were taken,
If not a friend were left me here,—
One joy remains — the brightest, best,—
For I with pard'ning love am blest.

7. Should earthly cares still gather round me,
And, joined with griefs should malice rise,
Together striving to confound me,
Or into sin my soul surprise,—
Should sorrows over sorrows swell—
Let Mercy smile — and all is well.

8. My works—when I would look them over—
The best of all that I have done,—
Much wrong and weakness I discover.
And boasting is forever gone:
But in one thing I can confide,—
'T is *Mercy* — and in naught beside.

9. He guides and always will be nigh me,
Who has on me his mercy set;
With all I need he will supply me,
Nor let my soul his grace forget:
And I will trust, in joy and grief,
His grace and mercy for relief.

10. Upon this ground I will sustain me
As long as earth my dwelling prove;
To serve my God and Savior train me,
Till, dying, I shall rise above; —
And there, rejoicing, will adore
Unbounded Mercy evermore.

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## ARTICLE IX.

### LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.—GERMANY.

THE first volume of *Hengstenberg's Commentary on the Apocalypse* is announced as about leaving the press. It will, undoubtedly, be the most valuable work on that portion of prophecy, with which the christian world has ever been favored. The essays, which he has from time to time published in his paper (the *Ev. Kirchenzeitung*), give us the earnest of this.—The September No. of the Ev. Kirchenzeitung, in addition to the usual notices of current events in the religious world of Germany, several papers of unusual interest on "*The resurrection of the body*," from the pen of *C. Temler*, whose name is new to us.

Liesching, of Stuttgart, (whose topography we may remark, en passant, is the handsomest that we see issued from the German press) announces the completion of a new edition of the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran church, under the following title: "Die Symbolischen Bücher der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche, deutsch und lateinisch. Neue sorgfältig durchgesehene Ausgabe, mit den sächsischen Visitations-Artikeln, einem Verzeichniss abweichender Lesarten, historischen Einleitungen und ausführlichen Registern. Besorgt von J. T. Müller, evangelisch-lutherischer Pfarrer in Immeldorf." From the sample of this work which we have before us, we should suppose it the finest edition of the Symbolical Books ever published. It is printed upon a super-royal octavo page, in double columns, with the Latin and German text parallel to each other. The Editor assures us that the whole text has been most carefully revised so as to give it correctly and as received by the church, whilst the more important *variations* are also given. The historical Introductions to the whole work and to its several parts, appear to be very complete, and the extensive Indexes must be very valuable. Although various editions of the Symbolical Books have been published within the last few years in Europe, and one (in German) in this country, some of them of great merit, (the Latin edition of Hase, for instance, which has rapidly passed through several editions, and the German text of that enterprising and meritorious publisher, H. Ludwig, of N. York), there was still need of such a work as that before us. To those who would have an accurate knowledge of the originals of the various parts which compose the symbolical system of the Lutheran church, both the Latin and the German text is indispensable, some having been first written in one language and some in the other. The Augsburg Confession, as is well known, was presented to the Diet of Augsburg in both languages, in writing, though the German only was read, and yet the Latin was the proper original. There can, in fact, be no better commentary and exposition of the text than its literal transfer from one language to the other, and to have both on the same page is obviously a great convenience. This did not escape that able critic and commentator WALCH, and he accordingly, in 1750, published his excellent edition of the Symbolical Books, in this form. This is, of course, long since out of print, yet we are not aware that any thing similar has been published, until now, after the lapse of about a century, this work of Mr.

Müller has made its appearance. Although the price of the work is considerable, $3\frac{4}{5}$ Thlr. (for which our German booksellers in Philadelphia and New York will charge $3 00,) we have no doubt it will meet with a ready sale upon both sides of the Atlantic.—Since the preceding notice was written we have received a copy of this work, but have merely space to add here, that it meets, in all respects, the expectations excited by the publisher's notice, and will, we doubt not, become the standard edition of these works in our theological libraries.

We observe that Winter, of Leipsic, advertises a second edition of Tischendorf's Greek Testament, under the title, "Novum Testamentum Graece. *Ad antiquos testes recensuit, apparatum criticum multis modis auctum et emendatum opposuit, commentationem isagogicam praemisit* Constantinus Tischendorf, Theol. Dr. et Prof." (Price 2 Thlr. and 20 Sgr.) The first edition of this critical manual edition of the N. T. appeared in 1841, and was then pronounced by that veteran critic, D. Schulz, (in an extended review in the "New Jeda Literatur–Zeitung, Nos. 145 – 148, for 1842,) that which was preferable in every respect to any that had hitherto been published," and "one that ought to be in the hand of every student of Theology." The second edition professes to be rewritten and improved in all respects, so as to be a new work both in its critical apparatus and the state of the text. It is based upon an independent study of the original sources of information in the pursuit of which the author visited all parts of Germany, France, England, Holland, Switzerland, Italy and the East, many years being expended in these travels. The transcription and comparison of the most important Greek documents hitherto unedited, or but partially known and imperfectly employed, the new examination of various ancient versions, and the careful comparison of many of the Greek and Latin Fathers, is said to give the critical apparatus a position in advance of that employed in any other edition of the New Testament text. In addition to the various readings of Rob. Stephens, the Elzevir, Griesbach, Scholz, and Lochmann, there is an accurate exhibition of the readings whether more or less doubted, or more or less recommended by Griesbach. The work is handsomely got up, printed with fair type upon good paper, and will, we have no doubt, be a valuable addition to the libraries of students and theologians.

The fourth No. (for 1849) of the *Theologische Studien u. Kritiken*, so long and ably edited by Drs. *Ullman* and *Umbreit*, has just come to hand. Its contents are unusually interesting for Americans. The leading article from the pen of *Dr. J. G. Müller*, of Basil, (pp. 793–869) is a discussion of "The Conception of the Great Spirit among the savage Indians of North America," which exhibits the usual research and thoroughness of German scholarship. The *second article* (by F. Düsterdiech, D. phil. of Göttingen) is entitled, "Contributions to the Exposition of the Prophecies of Amos, with special reference to Dr. G. Baur's Prophecies of Amos." pp. 869–914. Art. 3., is a continuation of Dr. Bähr's "Exegetical Elucidations," the first of which is translated for the second No. of the Ev. Review, by Prof. Baugher, from the preceding No. of the Stud. u. Krit. Art. 4, is a discussion by Pastor W. Fr. Rirck, of Grenzach, of the question, "*Can the Epistle to the Ephesians have been sent to Ephesus?*" which he, of course, answers in the affirmative. Art. 5, is a Notice by Ullman of the third edition (1849) of his "Wesen des Christenthums" (Essence of Christianity), which has had the good fortune to be translated into English, and published both in England and in the United States. In the former country, Miss Lucy Sanford has translated both this and Ullman's "Worship of Genius" into very readable English, both together forming a neat little volume, published in London by Chapman and Brothers; 1846. In this country Dr. Nevin has given a condensed translation which is prefixed to his "Mystical Presence." Art. 6, is a translation by Prof. Schaff, of Mercersburg, Pa., of Dr. Nevin's "Antichrist or the spirit of Sect," in a note to which the Editor (Dr. Ullman) expresses himself in a very complimentary manner towards both Dr. Nevin and Prof. Schaff, expressing the hope that he may "soon be favored by Prof. S. with further communications relative to the ecclesiastical and theological affairs of N. America." The position of the Studien und Kritiken is that of moderate orthodoxy, with an occasional sprinkling Rationalism of the school of De Wette, and sometimes also of the most decided orthodoxy, the evangelical element very decidedly preponderating, however.—We accidentally in the last (second) No. of the Ev. Review, neglected to credit Art. VII. (*Exegetical Elucidation of Mark* 9: 49, 50.) to the third No. of this periodical.

The last No. of the "*Zeitschrift für die gesammte Lutherische Theologie u. Kirche*," (No. 3, for 1849) which we received some time since, is chiefly occupied by a masterly article from the pen of Dr. Rudelbach on "The Historic Right of the Reformation and the Romish church of the last three centuries." It covers over 150 pages, and is written throughout with great force and spirit. In the first part he establishes the great truth, so generally overlooked, that "*The Reformation* far from being a clumsy human device *(deus ex machina)*, is much rather *the ripe fruit, the keystone of the contest of christianity, which had been carried on for four hundred years preceding.*" Having then proved the corrupt state of the Romish church, and the long felt necessity of its reformation, he proceeds, in the second place, to demonstrate the *irreformableness of that church*, whence it follows that the life of christianity has passed over into Protestanism, just as that of Judaism had formerly done into christianity. The treatise is well worth translating and publishing in a separate form in this country where Romanism has so greatly lifted up its head, and makes it a regular part of its warfare to defame the Reformation and all connected with it, in which they are only too often aided by those who call themselves Protestants. The remainder of this No. of the Journal is occupied by the usual bibliographical notices (some forty in number), and a continuation of the discussion some time since commenced by Rev. P. Pistorius, on "the validity of baptism by Rationalists."—The fourth No. which has just come to hand, contains the following Articles: Introductory remarks upon the Ep. to the Romans; by F. Debitsch. On the sacrament of Baptism; by E. Nögelsbach. The New Testament office; by E. Francke. Dr. Scheibel and the Lutheran church in Prussia; by H. W. Brandt. It also contains the usual variety of literary notices.

## GREAT BRITAIN.

T. & T. Clark, of Edinburgh, have published as a part of their "*Foreign Theological Library*," (of which these are the first volumes that we have had the pleasure of receiving), three volumes of *Olshausen's Commentary* on the N. Testament. The first and second vols. are on the Gospels, and have prefixed to them the same distinguished author's "Proof of the genuineness of the writings of the N. Testament," translated by David Fosdick, Jr. The third vol. contains the Comment. on the Ep. to the Romans. The

work is got up in a very handsome style, and, for a British publication, the price is moderate, (it can be had in this country at from $2 00 to $3 00 per volume—each vol. containing from 290 to 430 p. 8vo.) To those acquainted with the character of Olshausen's Commentary we need say nothing in commendation of it. So far as we have had an opportunity of examining it, the translation is executed in a very satisfactory manner; but we propose, ere long, to give a more extended notice of this work. In the meantime, we cannot forbear suggesting, in this place, that an American edition of this work, edited by some one competent to the task, will be a most valuable addition to the libraries of our theologians and students.

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## ARTICLE X.

### NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

1. *Loyola: and Jesuitism in its Rudiments. By Isaac Taylor, Author of the Natural History of Enthusiasm.* New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

THE name of Isaac Taylor on the title-page of a new book, is pretty decisive evidence of that book's intrinsic merits. Allowing, even, that we do not expect to subscribe to all that he says, we always know with certainty, beforehand, that nothing stale, vapid, or flat will be served up to us, for Isaac Taylor's mind is too manly, too rich and powerful to deal in platitudes, or to make an empty parade. He has never yet treated any subject otherwise than with consummate ability. We entirely agree with a learned friend of ours, in regarding his work, entitled: "Physical Theory of another Life," as a most wonderful book, and we avail ourselves of the present opportunity, to commend it to the attention of those who have not read it. The subject, which he treats in the work before us, is one of great importance, of deep and permanent interest to mankind; and, in his mode of treating it, the peculiarities of the author's intellect, clearness of view and statement, depth and vigor of thought, are quite as conspicuous as in his earlier productions. While he strives to do justice to Loyola as a man,—in his character, his principles. and his designs, he exposes, with great acuteness,

his ridiculous extravagancies, and deals, with unsparing severity, with the system of belief and practice—popery—which could produce such absurd exhibitions, and such contradictory developments, as we find in the life, the career, and the system, of this remarkable man, in whom great intellectual power and uncommon shrewdness were singularly combined with the most fatuous fanaticism. Taylor possesses extraordinary sagacity in detecting, following up, and exposing, the aberrations and vagaries of human intellects, the vicious manifestations of the human heart and character, and the defects and inconsistencies of human institutions; and, in his dissection of Loyola's character, career, and institute, the anatomical scalpel, which he handles with admirable skill, is keen and two-edged. Not the smallest organ, not the slightest evidence of morbid secretion, in the subject before him for dissection, escapes him, and with an unflinching love of truth and right, he lays bare to view whatever he has detected. In the progress of his searching analysis, he has repeated occasion to contrast with Loyola his illustrious contemporary, our own Luther, and his remarks in this connexion, although, from the nature of his design, few and brief, are instructive and interesting.

Jesuitism may be in disgrace, but it is not dead; and we should not wonder, if, in the singularly mixed crisis which has overtaken the papacy, it should be again invoked, and summoned to resume its former position and labors. Taylor points out clearly its inherent and independent—independant of Rome—vitality. We doubt not, that it is stealthily and vigorously active in our own land. But, whether or not it may be any longer dangerous, Protestants cannot but have a deep interest in studying the character and procedure of the most unscrupulous, relentless, versatile and slippery antagonist, that Protestantism ever encountered. And to those who desire to look deep into this subject, the author's chapter on "the Purport of the Jesuit Institute," in which his acute intuition, and his powers of minute analysis and of close reasoning, are eminently exhibited, will afford welcome light and guidance. There is little sprightliness or vivacity about Taylor's writing: he is too serious a thinker to furnish mere entertainment — too earnest a spirit to endeavor to amuse. But his work now before us is very far from being heavy: if any should so find it, they would only prove, that they are themselves either too heavy or too light. To us its perusal, so far as we have been able to read it connectedly,

has not only afforded much valuable information, but been a delightful intellectual treat; and to those of our readers, who love to converse with clear and strong minds, we recommend it as a most instructive and interesting examination and expose of a most important subject. The book deserves a complete and thorough review, and we had marked many passages for extraction; but want of space compels us to limit ourselves to this cursory notice.

2. *The Four Gospels; arranged as a practical Family Commentary, for every Day in the Year. By the Author of "The Peep of Day," etc. Edited, with an introductory Preface, by Stephen H. Tyng, D. D., Rector of St. George's church, in the city of New York. Illustrated with twelve highly finished steel engravings.* NEW YORK: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. PHILADELPHIA: Geo. S. Appleton, 164 Chestnut St. 1850.

We have received a copy of this work from the publishers, and have endeavored to examine it sufficiently to enable us to express our opinion of it intelligently. It is different from all other commentaries that we have ever seen, and hence peculiar in its design, character and arrangement. It makes no pretensions to profound criticism or learned exposition, although the author evidently had her eye on learned commentaries. The work is strictly and purely practical, and its arrangement is as follows: The four Gospels are divided into 365 portions, one for every day in the year, and on each portion a short practical discourse, or rather, a series of practical observations, is presented. To each of these discourses an "Evening Scripture Portion, to be read in connexion with it, is subjoined. For example: we open at p. 97., and find the heading, "John IV. 39, to end. The conversion of the Samaritans, and the healing of the nobleman's son." On this we have a page and a half of observations, to which is added: "Evening Scripture Portion. 1 Thess. II. Converts to the Gospel." The next Section is: "Luke IV. 14–32. Christ preaches at Nazareth." At the end of the observations on this passage, we read: "Evening Scripture Portion. Is. LXI. The acceptable year."—This may suffice to exhibit the plan here followed. The work begins with the first chapter of John's Gospel, down to v. 18; and this portion is divided into three parts, with appropriate reflections on each.

The design of the work is, to promote the intelligent and practically profitable reading of the Scriptures in families, and more es-

pecially, to interest the minds of the young in the great subject of Redemption; "to show them," as Dr. Tyng says in his Introductory Essay, "simply, but clearly and effectually, what God really means to teach in his holy word, — to take off the dull, technical, and barren aspect under which this word habitually appears before them, and to make them feel, that it is really attractive, striking, and full of instruction, which they will truly love to receive. .... The excellent author of this present familiar commentary,—a christian lady, if we are rightly informed, — has accomplished an important measure of this desired work." As we have read only detached parts of the work, we are, of course, unable to say, whether we could agree to all the author's remarks. But we have designedly examined her observations in several places, where polemic theology might be very naturally introduced, and are happy to say, that we have found a studious avoidance of matters of controversy and a strict confinement to points of deep practical interest to all alike. The author's sole aim appears to be, to accomplish the greatest amount of good in her power; to awaken, to instruct, to edify. The book exhibits much evidence of sound and careful thought, of large and truly liberal views, free from the prejudices of narrow-minded sectarianism. It is evidently the fruit of deep and healthy religious experience, and of a fervent desire to advance the best interests of our race, more especially by influencing the mind and heart of the young. We have read various portions of the work with great delight and edification, and can, we think, safely and cordially recommend it, as a most valuable contribution to the practical religious literature of the age. The book, an 8vo. volume of 548 pp. is elegantly got up; the binding, paper, and letter-press, are beautiful; the engravings are appropriate, and finely executed. We hope it will find its way, with its sound instruction, its gentle, but earnest and solemn admonitions, its wise and kindly counsels, into many a family circle, and be the means of exciting in many a love of the Scriptures, and of leading them to a saving acquaintance with the "friend of sinners."

3. *Outlines of Astronomy, by Sir John F. W. Herschell, Bart. K. H. &c. &c., and E. Howell, R. J., &c. &c. With Plates and Woodcuts.* Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1849.

We are pleased to find that a new edition of the above named work has been brought out by those enterprising publishers, Messrs.

Lea and Blanchard, Phila. The present is not a reprint of the edition of 1833, so justly and highly prized, both in the old and the new world, for the lucid and very interesting manner in which the leading truths and theories of Astronomy were presented; but it is an entirely new edition, revised, and, to a very considerable extent, rewritten by the distinguished author himself, presenting the science not as it was, but as it now is. Whilst the world was surprised with the announcement of the wonderful progress made in other departments of physical science, into which the eager mind of man sought to penetrate by experiment and observation, the old science of Astronomy was renewing its vigor and becoming young again. Within the last sixteen years, since the last edition was issued, the list of known planets has been increased from eleven to eighteen. That particular department of it called Siderial Astronomy has also been considerably enriched by the enlargement of the list of the periodical and variable stars, whose periods have been calculated, and of that of the double, triple, quadruple and multiple stars, as also that of the *binary* stars composing siderial systems, in which one revolves about the other in a regular orbit. The department of nebular Astronomy has also had a clearing up, especially since the construction of Lord Ross's great Telescope. What had seemed to be a gaseous nebulous matter dispersed through some portions of space, and which Sir William Herschel had supposed to be in a state of subsidence into stars, thus forming stellar clusters, has been seen to be, like others not so distant, only immense clusters not resolvable, except under the highest optic power; and thus at present there is not left any evidence of the nebular hypothesis which had so long called forth so much admiration. These and many other discoveries, which we cannot now enumerate, rendered it necessary that one whose powers of communicating are no less happy than his acquaintance with his subject is thorough, being the great Astronomer of our day, should again present to the public the science in its improved state. The present treatise is not strictly popular or "*elementary*, in the sense in which that word is understood in these days of light-reading." Embracing the whole of the truths and reasonings of astronomy, with only as much of mathematical explanation as necessary to the full comprehension of the subject, it will still require higher attainments for its satisfactory perusal than are possessed by the majority of readers. This is particularly true of the chapter on planetary perturbations, which

is treated in a new and satisfactory manner. The great body of the work, however, may be read with the highest gratification and profit by any one who is in the habit of reading with close attention. There is perhaps no book in the English language on this subject, which, whilst it contains so many of the facts of Astronomy (which it attempts to explain with as little technical language as possible), is so attractive in its style, and clear and forcible in its illustrations.

4. *The History of the Peloponnesian War, by Thucydides. By J. J. Owen, D. D.* New York: Leavitt, Trow & Co. 1849.

Professor Owen is entitled to the thanks of all true scholars for the service he has rendered in presenting to the American public an edition of this prince of Grecian historians, in so attractive a form, and with such an introduction as will secure for him the favor of all who desire to make his thorough acquaintance. Thucydides, from the earliest times, has been considered a very difficult author. Even Cicero tells us that he found many parts of his history almost unintelligible. A Greek author, whom Cicero could with difficulty construe, will not be very easy to the American school boy. If, therefore, in any school book, voluminous comments are allowable, they are proper in a school edition of Thucydides. With Dr. Owen as an Editor we have always been pleased. His editions of Homer and Xenophon we have examined with interest, and frequently recommended them to our classes. The present book is characterized by the same good taste, sound scholarship, and accurate discrimination which mark his previous labors. All that he does bears evidence of learning and care. We find fullness and variety of annotation, yet the notes are appropriate and free from all pedantic display, expressed in clear and precise language, leaving nothing, which requires elucidation, unexplained, designed really to aid the student in his studies and yet not to supersede his own efforts. He exercises an independent judgment, and seems to keep constantly in view the circumstances and wants of those for whom his work is intended. A feature in the work, which pleases us very much, is the attention which is every where paid to developing the train of thought, narrative and argument in the original, each chapter in the commentary being introduced by a concise yet full analysis of its contents in English. The typography of the work is beautiful, and reflects honor upon

the American press. The finely engraved maps of Greece, as it was in the time of the war, which is the subject of the history, adds much to the value of the book. We are gratified to learn that the Doctor is continuing his labors in this department of literature, for which he seems so well qualified, and we shall await with much interest the publication of the second volume of this great author, which he has promised the public.

5. *A philosophical Essay on Credulity and Superstition; and also on animal Fascination, or Charming. By Rufus Blakeman, M. D.* New York: D. Appleton & Co., Broadway. N. Haven: S. Babcock. 1849.

The writer of this work aims to bring the subjects, relative to which either credulity, or superstition is most strikingly exhibited by mankind, to the test of common sense, and of philosophical examination. While there are some points on which we are inclined to differ from him, inasmuch as he seems to carry his *in*-credulity rather too far, we regard his discussion, as, on the whole, fair and satisfactory. We have read with particular attention his treatise on that monstrous system of absurdity, of nonsense unadulterated, Homoeopathy: and to those who still have faith in its whimsies and its infinitesimal doses, we recommend the perusal of Dr. Blakeman's clear and sensible discussion. The style, though clear enough, is not always accurate, and delights, at times, too much in long words. The superstitious and credulous cannot do better than purchase the book, and read it attentively.

6. *The Living Authors of England. By Thomas Powell.* New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton, 164 Chestnut St. 1849.

We plead guilty to not knowing who Thomas Powell is. There are some passages in this book, which seem to indicate, that he is an Englishman, and yet the work is an original American publication, and entirely American in its spirit and feeling. But though we have never before heard of Thomas Powell, we, for one, thank him cordially for the volume before us, which is, certainly, a very delectable one. It makes us acquainted, more or less, with forty-five living English authors, to some few of whom we are barely permitted to make a passing bow, and exchange a few civilities, while with others we have the privilege of forming a closer acquaintance. The volume gives a brief account of the several authors' lives, criticises their productions, of which a number and

variety of specimens are given, gives a general estimate of their rank and position in the world of letters, and abounds in entertaining anecdote, and pleasant literary gossip. The book is one of those agreeable fireside companions, which, while they communicate interesting information, serve to recreate and refresh our minds, when wearied by the toil of our more serious pursuits. Its biographical sketches are very brief, its criticism is sound, fair and generous, sometimes, when the case requires it, smart and cutting, its anecdotes are spicy, exhilarating, and often exceedingly amusing, and its literary gossip is sparkling, piquant, and highly entertaining. The avthor promises to introduce to the public, in another similar volume, the living Authors of America. We wish him success, assured, that those who have read the book now before us, will be prepared to give the author, when it comes, a cordial welcome.

7. *The Practical German Grammar; or, a Natural Method of learning to read, write, and speak the German Language. By Charles Eichhorn.* NEW YORK: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. PHILADELPHIA: Geo. S. Appleton, 164 Chestnut St. 1850.

This work belongs to that class of practical school-books, which form a conspicuous feature of the improved and improving methods of modern scholastic instruction and training. Following the ordinary arrangement of synthetic grammars, but teaching every thing by examples and exercises, it avoids the excessive tediousness, and the burdensome diffuseness of Ollendorf; "it presents, in a form compact and easily surveyed, a comprehensive view of the forms and structure of the German language. The simplicity of arrangement, the clearness and fulness of illustration, and the strict consistency of consecutive development, according to the common system, which characterize this grammar, will greatly simplify and facilitate the study of the German language; and, as the exercises are designed to lead the student in evolving, for himself, the declensions and conjugations, his memory will thus be greatly aided in grasping and retaining the forms and inflections of the language."

8. *Mandeville's Series.*

*I. Primary Reader, designed for the use of the youngest children in our schools. II. The Second Reader. III. Third Reader, for common schools and academies. IV. Fourth Reader, for common schools and academies. V. The Elements of Reading and Oratory. All "By Henry Mandeville, D. D.," Professor*

*of Moral Science and Belles Lettres in Hamilton College.* New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton, 164 Chestnut St.

The last decennium has been quite productive of books, and of series of books, designed to teach the art of reading and speaking correctly and well; but those who are engaged in the instruction of children and youth, must have been often painfully sensible of the want of a series, in which the principles of reading and oratory are fully developed, thoroughly digested, clearly laid down, and judiciously reduced to rule and system. We think it will scarcely be disputed, that, of all who have attempted to supply this desideratum, Prof. Mandeville has been the most successful. He evidently brings to the work peculiar qualifications, aided by extensive experience in this very department of culture; and for the moral and religious character of his books, the character of the man is a sufficient guarantee. The series is duly, we may truly say, admirably progressive. The wants of different ages, and of different degrees of advancement, are strictly and wisely consulted. And, what is more, the books are attractive and entertaining to the young. We well recollect the dislike, with which we regarded some of the readers, through whose dry dissertations we were again and again, made to plod our weary way, in our school-boy days. Here the abstract discussion, and the gravely hortatory inculcation of truth and duty, so uninviting to children, is entirely avoided, and attractive illustration, by pleasing conversation and narrative, and by beautiful and illustrious examples, is substituted in its place. It has, evidently been the Professor's design, in compiling his Readers, to make the necessary instruction and training in reading, an agreeable exercise to "the little folk." There are entertaining anecdotes, interesting scraps of history, instructive conversations, narratives which practically illustrate, and, by showing them up in an engaging light, forcibly commend patriotism, benevolence, industry, good temper and patience, and the other virtues so important to human life, and withal, true piety, as the basis of all goodness; whilst, by means of a great variety of anecdotes and incidents, the many vices which prevail among us are suitably exposed and rebuked. Yet, with the compiler's studious endeavor to render his books attractive and entertaining, nothing trifling or frivolous is introduced. There are letters, extracts from speeches, and portions of Scripture, and other articles of a grave,

and always healthfully instructive nature. Though we have not read these books through, we may safely venture to judge from their general character, that every page is designed to teach something good, and to commend it to the young. Of the book last mentioned above, which is designed for the most advanced pupils, Professor Mandeville is, in the proper sense, the author. This will be found, in its clear and ample development, its thorough discussion, and rigid application of sound principles, in its copious explication and elucidation of well-digested rules, an invaluable aid to those, who are employed in instructing higher classes in the art of reading and of elocution. The work contains a valuable chapter on a most important, but much neglected subject; we mean punctuation. We have used this, successfully, with a college freshman-class. The series is most cordially recommended to the attention of all concerned or interested in the instruction of children and youth.

9. *Exercises in Greek Prose Composition, adapted to the first book of Xenophon's Anabasis. By James R. Boise, Professor of Greek in Brown University.* New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton, 164 Chestnut St. 1850.

The Appletons seem determined, that there shall be no lack of good books for the study of the classic languages. In the one here before us, a peculiar plan — and it strikes us as a very happy one—for exercising students in Greek prose composition, has been adapted. The author speaks as follows in his Preface: "The following exercises were prepared simply as an accompaniment to the First Book of the Anabasis. They consist of easy sentences, similar to those in the Anabasis, involving the same words and constructions, and are designed by frequent repetition to make the learner familiar with the language of Xenophon. Accordingly, the chapters and sections in both are made to correspond. .... In writing these Exercises, it is impossible to study the expressions of Xenophon too carefully, or to imitate them too closely; and the fact, that the learner has continually before him a model so faultless, so purely Attic, is conceived to be no small advantage." This is sufficient to exhibit the character of the work. Its entire arrangement is excellent, and, if used with careful attention and assiduous fidelity, it cannot otherwise than contribute largely to the student's knowledge and appreciation of pure, elegant, Attic

Greek, and enable him to avail himself, to a considerable extent, of that beautiful medium for the expression of thought.

10. *The Shakspearian Reader: a collection of the most approved plays of Shakspeare; carefully revised, with introductory and explanatory notes, and a memoir of the author. Prepared expressly for the use of classes, and the family reading-circle. By John W. S. Hows, Professor of Elocution in Columbia College.* New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton, 164 Chestnut St. 1849.

This book, put forth by our friend, Prof. Hows, scarcely needs any recommendation. Its design is, to render Shakspeare's plays fit to be used in schools, and to be read in the family-circle. Every sober-minded person, acquainted with the works of the prince of dramatic poets, regrets the many blemishes which disfigure them; the double-entendres, and the coarse and lewd language, which often shock the taste and offend the modesty of those, whose sense of propriety, and love of sound morals, attend them every where. Such readers know, that Shakspeare's works, in their entirety, are not fit to be used in schools, and, if possible, still less so to be read aloud at the domestic hearth. It is with a view to adapt a number of his most beautiful dramatic compositions to these purposes, that Prof. Hows has prepared the work before us, in which the plays introduced are thoroughly expurgated of every thing offensive; he has also made a few alterations in the text, and omitted the less interesting portions, supplying, in their place, brief explanatory and connective notes. This attempt to render Shakspeare's immortal works fit reading for the young, and acceptable to the serious and refined of every age, will, we trust, commend itself to the good taste and judgment, and the correct feeling of our reading public in general. We wish the work success.

11. *The Story of Little-John. By M. Charles Jeannel, Professor of Philosophy in the Royal College of Poitiers. "My little children, love one another," St. John, C. 18. Translated from the French, by F. G. Skinner.* New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton, 164 Chestnut St. 1850.

In his dedication of this work to American mothers, the translator says: "Under the simple title of Little-John, a foundling, this work has been so prepared by a scholar of eminent learning and piety, in reference both to style and topics, as that, while your children are learning to read, even at the tenderest age, their minds

will be impressed with useful knowledge, and the soundest principles of morality and virtue. With these true objects of a sound education constantly in view, the accomplished author has employed original fables to amuse, and biographical sketches, drawn chiefly from Scripture, of men and women distinguished for wisdom and piety." So far as we have had time to examine for ourselves, we regard this work as a most valuable and delightful gift for children. In a simple and most pleasing form, it communicates a great deal of profitable and interesting information, teaches many important duties, aims to excite a love of the Scriptures, and to commend a life of usefulness and virtue; and it is, above all, designed to lead the young to the blessedness of early piety. The exterior outfit is very beautiful. Parents in search of books, that may not only entertain and instruct their children, but bring the influence of religion to bear upon them, will find this admirably suited to aid their pious purposes.

12. *The American Manual. By J. B. Burleigh, A. M.* Philadelphia: Grigg, Elliot & Co. 372 pp. 8vo. 1849.

This volume contains a brief but comprehensive outline of the origin and progress of the political powers and the laws of nations, an excellent commentary on the Constitution of our Republic, and a lucid exposition of the duties and responsibilities of citizens and magistrates, with questions, definitions and marginal exercises. The design of the work is to develop and strengthen the moral and intellectual powers of the young, to impart an accurate knowledge of the nature and necessity of political wisdom, to awaken in the rising generation a devotion to the Union, and to imbue their minds with a love for our political institutions. The author has prepared a work, which will be of great practical utility, and on a plan which must give prominence to any reading book intended for schools. It supplies a deficiency which has long been felt by teachers. The marginal exercises, which are a new and important feature, will give the pupil an accurate use of words, and, by exciting him to habits of investigation and reflection, will materially aid the instructor. The statistical tables appended, will not only be useful to the pupil, but they will render the book of value to business men for reference. We like, too, the moral tone of the work. It presents to the youthful mind the purest principles of patriotism, urges the necessity of the universal dissemination of education, and, on every page, inculcates the soundest morals.

The book has received the highest endorsement from all who had carefully examined it, and we take pleasure in commending it to the attention of the American public, especially to those who are engaged in the business of education.

13. *Orations and Occasional Discourses. By G. W. Bethune, D. D.* New York: Geo, P. Putnam. 1850. pp. 428.

This is a most interesting volume, containing discourses, etc. delivered by the author on various occasions, and embracing the discussion of the following topics: Genius—True Glory—Leisure, its uses and abuses—the Age of Pericles—the Prospect of Art in the United States—the Death of Harrison—the Eloquence of the Pulpit—the Duties of Educated Men—the Duty of the Patriot—a Plea for Study—the Claims of our Country upon Literary Men. The frequent solicitations for copies of the addresses suggested the propriety of their publication in the present form, and we are sure, the Doctor's numerous admirers will be gratified with their appearance. We are not surprised that their delivery attracted so much attention, and made so deep an impression upon the public mind, for we seldom meet with more finished and eloquent discourses. They are conceived in the finest taste, indicating genius of the highest culture, full of elevated thought and the purest and most patriotic sentiments, clothed in language the choicest, and abounding in most beautiful and apt illustration. They together fully sustain the reputation of their gifted and honored author, and will amply repay a perusal.

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DEFERRED ARTICLES.—We regret greatly that our narrow limits have prevented us from inserting in the present No. several Articles that we have had on hand for some time, as well as several others with which our contributors have recently favored us. Among these we enumerate a Review of "*Fleming on Prophecy*," "*Reflections on the state of the church in Norway*," "*Our Office*," and the conclusion of "*The means employed by God for man's Recovery*." This last, especially, we were very sorry to be compelled to divide, as it is not longer than we expect such articles usually to be. But the unexpected length of several preceding Articles compelled us to do this in order to ensure that variety in the contents of the Review for which we suppose the taste of its readers calls. The Article on "*Symbolical Theology*," from the pen of one of our most distinguished theologians, came to hand too late for the present, but shall appear in our next No. Communications ought to be in our hands at least two months before the publication of the Review. —We hope that our friends will understand from this exposé the necessity of an increase of our subscription list, in order that we may increase the contents of each No. to at least *two hundred pages*. Contributions to this amount, we are well assured, we can readily obtain, and that there is a demand for this amount of such literature, we are well assured — in fact, the single department of *Church-history*, in which we have just made a beginning, would, of itself, cover the greater part of this space. But in order to be justified in publishing a quarterly No. of 200 pages, we ought to have at least 1500 subscribers, whilst *we have not yet obtained our first thousand*. We therefore, commend this subject to the serious consideration of the friends of the Review, hoping that they will take such action as seems called for by the circumstances.

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ERRATUM. No. 2,—page 250, second line from bottom, *as* an ambiguous one, read *though* an &c.

THE

# EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

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## ARTICLE I.

### SYMBOLIC THEOLOGY.

By Rev. Charles F. Schaeffer, A. M., Red Hook, N. Y.

1. *Allgemeine christliche Symbolik. Eine vergleichende quellengemässe Darstellung der verschiedenen christlichen Confessionen von lutherisch-kirchlichem Standpunkte. Von H. E. F. Guerike, Theol. D. Leipzig*, 1839. *pp.* 597. [*General Christian Symbolics, or, the various Christian confessions of faith exhibited in conformity to the original sources, compared with one another, aud reviewed according to the principles of the Lutheran church, &c.*]
2. *Comparative Darstellung des Lehrbegriffs der verschiedenen Kirchenparteien, nebst vollständigen Belegen aus den symbolischen Schriften derselben, von Dr. G. B. Winer, &c. Leipzig*, 1837. *pp.* 186. [*Comparative view of the doctrines of the various denominations of Christians, attested by copious extracts from their symbolic writings, &c.*]
3. *The utility and importance of Creeds and Confessions: addressed particularly to candidates for the Ministry. By Samuel Miller, D. D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication*, 1839. *pp.* 119.

We have noticed with sincere gratification the renewed interest which the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United

States has recently manifested on the subject of her Symbolical Books, or Confessions of Faith; and the actual appearance of the "Evangelical Review," at this particular period, we regard as an auspicious event. At length we not only find our church and her doctrines appreciated by those who have had the ability and the inclination to investigate the truth, but an appropriate channel has been opened, through which the English community in general can be made acquainted with important facts, that have hitherto been known to those chiefly who read German or Latin.

The profound repose of the church which had existed at a former period, was disturbed, several years ago, by the introduction of "new measures." In whatever light different minds have viewed these innovations, it must be admitted that they, incidentally, rendered good service, in affording an invigorating exercise to the intellectual and moral energies of the church. The agitation appears to have subsided in a great degree; the opinions of the larger portion of the church, after the experience of several years, seem to have become more fixed, and most are now willing to concede to the pastor full liberty to follow the dictates of his own conscience, in his efforts to awaken and maintain a religious interest in his flock. It is possible that an agitation, produced by another question, may soon attract attention, which will, as we trust, ultimately produce the most beneficial results. We begin to form a clearer conception of the fact, that, as Lutherans, we belong to a religious society characterized by a remarkable combination of strength, wisdom and piety. It is reasonable to suppose that a church like our own, which has counted some of the best of the human race among her faithful members, must possess spiritual treasures of inestimable value. Among these we enumerate her *Symbolical Books.* Their scriptural character, their authority and their general value, will, doubtless, attract increased attention; and we rejoice to see the frequent references which our periodicals begin to make to them. We can even derive encouragement from the objections which are advanced against these writings, since this one fact shows that they are at least not regarded with perfect indifference, as they formerly were by many. Unfortunately, they have never been presented to the English portion our church in their whole extent, and hence many intelligent persons scarcely know them all, even by their names. We earnestly desire to see the English Lutheran admitted to the same privilege which the German and most other portions of our church

have long enjoyed, of reading these noble productions himself, and of becoming established by them in his holy faith.

Our Confessions of faith received the name of *Symbolical Books* in the following manner: When Jews or Gentiles, in the earliest ages of the church of Christ, received the Gospel as a divine gift, they were required to make a public profession of faith. The first formula which was used, after the orthodox development of the appropriate Scripture words (Matth. 28: 19,) had been necessarily introduced, was brief, comprehending merely the names or titles of several of the leading doctrines of the Christain faith. By their recognition of the religion which taught the doctrines of this formula, the early Christians distinguished themselves alike from all Jews and heathens, and from all heretics. Now the word σύμβολον (symbolum) primarily signifies a *note*, *sign* or *badge;* that is, a *mark* by which any person or thing may be recognized or distinguished from another. Consequently, the Christian's *creed* was his *symbol*, that is, the *mark* by which he was distinguished from all non-professors of the Christian faith. It was in reference to this usage of the word *symbol*, on the one hand, and, on the other, to an alleged identity with the doctrines of the Apostles, that the most ancient creed was called the *Apostolical Symbol*, (symbolum apostolicum). The legend (related by Walch, Introd. in lib. E. L. Symb., p. 88 sq. Jenæ, 1732,) which accounts for the compound name, by supposing that the apostles, at a meeting of their body, *contributed*, each a clause or sentence, originated partly in a philological error. The word σύμβολον, which is not used by any classic author in the sense of "*contribution*," was confounded with a word derived from the same root, συμβολή, which does signify *collatio*, *a bringing together*, or *a contribution* — and the epithet "apostolical" gradually led to the fully developed form of the fiction respecting a conclave of the apostles, held for the purpose of composing a formal creed.

After the word *symbol* had thus been generally employed in the church in the sense of a *creed* or *confession of faith*, it was natural to apply the same name to other compositions designed to answer a similar purpose. Hence the two subsequent creeds of the church, the *Nicene* (more correctly, the Nicæno-Constantinopolitan) and the *Athanasian*, were also called *symbols;* these, in addition to the *Apostles' Creed*, are recognized and adopted by the Lutheran church; they are characterized by the name of the "*three œcumenical*" or *general* "*symbols.*"

When the Lutheran church was herself required by the exigence of the times to furnish statements of her doctrines, more expanded and detailed than these early writings, she naturally retained the name which was familiar to all, and called her standards of faith, her "*symbols*," or "*symbolical books.*" The Reformed church confined herself to the name "Confession," which the Lutherans also employed, (e. g. Confessio Augustana), as equivalent to the words *Creed*, *Symbol*, *Symbolical Book*.

These Confessions or Symb. Books of the Ev. Lutheran church are the following: *(a)* The three short creeds to which reference has just been made; *(b)* The *Augsburg Confession*, of 1530, (Confessio Augustana); *(c)* The *Apology*, printed in 1531, (Apologia Aug. Confessionis,) a vindication of the former; *(d)* The *Smalcald Articles*, printed in 1538, (Articuli Smalcaldici — which ancient orthography of the adjective derived from *Schmalcalden* we retain in English.); *(e)* The *Large* and *Small Catechisms* of 1529, (Cat. Luth. uterque — minor et major); *(f)* The *Concord-Formula* (Formula Concordiæ). The whole collection, forming a large volume, is variously termed, *The Symbolical Books*, The *Book of Concord*, or, emphatically, *Concordia*, and contains the entire body of the faith or doctrine of the Evangelical Lutheran church. The editions, both in the Latin and in the German language, have been exceedingly numerous. When references to pages are made by writers, it is usual to adopt those of an edition published in 1602, by order of Christian II., Elector of Saxony, known as the "editio Rechenbergiana," (Rechenberg's Edition) the pages of which are printed on the margin of later editions. We conform to this custom in the few references which we have occasion to make in this article.

Like the Lutheran church, other ecclesiastical societies have also published their creeds or standards by the authority of their respective representatives; some of these it is necessary to our purpose to mention. I. The Church of Rome recognizes, in addition to the ancient symbols, the following: *(a) Canones et decreta concilii Tridentini;* (extending from 1545 to 1563); *(b) Professio fidei Tridentinæ*, of Pius IV. published in 1564; *(c) Catechismus Romanus*, published in 1566. II. The (orthodox) Greek Church: *(a) The Confession of Gennadius*, or Georg. Scholarius, of 1453 or later; *(b) Confessio orthodoxa ecclesiæ græcæ*, by Peter Mogilas, signed in 1643, by the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, and presented in the form of

questions and answers. III. The Reformed Church: This term embraces, in the writings of German theologians the established churches of England, Scotland, Holland, &c. — Among the vast number of their confessions we mention the chief: *Confessio Tetrapolitana*, (also called *Argentinensis* and *Suevica*) of 1530; *Confessio Helvetica prior*, of 1536; *Consensus Tigurinus*, of 1549; Conf. Gallic. of 1559; *Articuli* XXXIX *eccles. Anglic. &c.*, or the 39 *articles* of the Church of England or Episcopal church, of 1562, founded on Cranmer and Ridley's forty-two articles of 1551. Of this creed the Methodist Episcopal church has retained a large portion; *Conf. fidei in conv. Theol. auctoritate Parlia. Angl. &c.*, or *The Westminster Confession* of 1643, with two catechisms. This confession is generally adopted by Congregational and Presbyterian churches in the United States; *Confessio Belgica*, of 1562, sanctioned by the Synod of Dort; *Confessio Helveticæ posterior*, printed in 1566; *Acta syn. nat., &c.*, or the *Articles of the Synod of Dort*, of 1620, adopted by the Dutch Reformed church in the U. States and extensively by Calvinistic communions; *Catech. Palatinus*, or the *Heidelberg Catechism, &c. &c.* IV. The Arminians: *Remonstrantia, libellus &c.* of 1610, &c. V. The Socinians: *Catechesis et Conf. fidei &c.* Cracov. 1574, &c., with several Catechisms. VI. The Quakers: *Robert Barclay's* confessional works. Other writings of this class (e. g. those of the Moravians, Swedenborgians, Mennonists, Baptists, &c. have not attained an equally extensive reputation, and require no special notice.

It may readily be supposed that materials so abundant as the various doctrinal statements published by the highest ecclesiastical authorities in Christendom, must, ultimately constitute a separate and independent branch of theological science; hence originated the name of *Symbolic Theology.*[1]

[1] We would prefer the more appropriate term "Symbolics," if similar forms were as familiarly used by English as they are by German theological writers. The vast additions which the labors of theologians have gradually made to the original materials of the science of theology, imperatively demand new terms, precisely as any other science enlarges the list of its technical terms, when new materials require classification. The German form of names derived from Greek adjectives in ικός is simply *ik*, as, Dogmatik, Mathematik, while the English termination in *ics*, (sometimes simply *ic*, e. g. Music, Logic,) inconveniently assumes a plural form, as Mathematics, Ethics, Hydrostatics, &c. Still, even this inconvenience should not prevent the introdcuction of words of this kind, several of which, indeed, have succeeded in obtaining citizenship among us, as, Hermeneutics, Homiletics, Æsthetics, the last of which we are glad to see that good writers prefer to the Websterian Esthetics. The necessity of introducing the word Homiletics, which Porter adopts in the title of his "Lectures on Homiletics and Preaching," will

Several authors in the 17th and 18th centuries published works with this general title, in which the history, contents, &c. of the Symbolical books were set forth. The term has since been used, by different authors, either in a general or in a restricted sense. In the former, it is employed by Guerike, and also by Winer, in the works of which we have given the titles at the commencement of this article. By *Symbolic Theology* or *Symbolik*, they understand that department of theological science, to which is assigned the history of the confessions of faith of several ecclesiastical communions, together with the comparison of their contents, &c without the introduction of any polemical or controversial element. On the other hand, when Köllner, in his great work, *Symbolik allen christlichen Confessionen*, assigns the first volume to the *Symbolik der lutherischen Kirche*, and his second to the *Symbolik* of the church of Rome, he adheres, in each case, to his more restricted definition of *Symbolik (Einleit.* p. xliv), and confines himself to the history &c. of the symbols of one church, without reference to the doctrines of another. This was the early practice, Walch. Introd. p. 981, 982. The latter mode is denominated by Hagenbach (Encyk. u. Meth. d. theol. Wiss. 2d. ed. p. 255) *Symbolik* in a more extended, the former, Symbolik in a narrower sense, that is, as he understands the name, confined chiefly to a comparison of doctrines, and excluding historical elements.

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be readily admitted by any one who reflects on the singularly indefinite character of the earlier term *Homiletic Theology*. *Dogmatics*, *Catechetics*, *Patristics*, *Apologetics*, *Isagogics*, *Liturgics*, *Symbolics*, &c., are terms constantly occurring in German theological works, and impatiently demanding a more general recognition by English divines. The power of the termination in ικός in the Greek adj. from which these words are derived, (that is, either the neut. pl. in ικα, or the fem. sing. in ικη, with τέχνη understoood,) is very briefly noticed by the Gr. Gram. of Matthiæ (§ 108, § 445, d.) and Buttmann, (§ 119 not. 16, Larger Gr. Gram.) but very fully developed by F. Ast, in an extended note (Platonis quæ exstant op. Vol. xi. p. 51 sqq.) on a passage in the Gorgias (455 A.) of Plato. These adjectives designate ability and skill; thus πειστικόν is defined to be *quod ad persuadendum est aptum*; while adj. in τος are are used in a passive, those in τικος are used in an active sense. Thus πιστός is *fide dignus*, or *cui fides habetur*, but πιστικός is *fidem efficiens*, or *fidei faciendæ peritus vel sciens*. Consequently, those departments of human knowledge which bear names terminating in *ics*, e. g. optics, metaphysics, &c. are usually defined by Webster to be sciences which "teach," or "treat of," &c. The principles to which we have here adverted, sanction the adoption of "Symbolics," rather than "Symbolic Theology." The reader will find the former term in Brande's Dict. of Science, Lit. and Art, in the following sentence in art. *Symbol*: "The Germans call the ..... study of the history and contents of Christian creeds and confessions of faith, by the name of *Symbolics*." The English translation of the Roman Catholic, Möhler's, celebrated work, absurdly enough employs the term "symbolism."

The masterly work of Guerike, the title of which we have already given, does not discuss all the doctrines of the Christian faith, but chiefly those respecting which various ecclesiastical bodies seriously differ. Copious extracts are made from the confessions of faith of the different parties, on all disputed points, and the appropriate passages occurring in our own Symbols are adduced, so that all the conflicting views are fully presented, and the reader is enabled to form an opinion of their character. Our own doctrine is stated in all its fulness, without appearing precisely in a controversial or argumentative form. The work is characterized by strict fidelity in all its statements, and betrays no unbecoming feeling towards those of another faith. It gladly recognizes in any dissenting party those portions of divine truth, which that party still retains; it *does* adhere, however, with uncompromising severity, to the Lutheran form of doctrine, and grasps with unyielding tenacity every portion of our holy faith. Not only does the work impart a vast amount of information, but its dignified character, its consistent love of truth, its candor and firmness, are well adapted to give tone and vigor to the Lutheran church in this country.

The work of Winer is less extensive. After exhibiting the different opinions of several bodies, on the chief doctrines of the christian faith, and quoting largely from their Confessions, it presents tabular views of the agreement or disagreement of the Romish, Greek, Reformed and Lutheran churches, and of the Arminians and Socinians, on fundamental doctrines. The work occupies a high rank for the impartiality of its statements, and the accuracy of its details.

The observations which we may offer, on a future occasion, will, in some degree, assume the form adopted by these two writers; we propose to submit a few illustrations of Comparative Symbolics, by referring to several doctrines in which the Lutheran Church differs from others. Two or three preliminary questions, of great importance, claim, however, our attention, the consideration of these will occupy the remainder of the space assigned to this article. The first is: *How shall the doctrinal system of one church, in contradistinction from another, be ascertained?* We need scarcely remark that the question is not: Are the doctrines of a particular church contained in the Scriptures? — but, what are the doctrines by which she is characterized? We answer unequivocally and positively: *the publicly acknowledged symbols alone, to the exclusion of all the works of theologians, &c. will furnish that doctrinal system.* There are several aspects in which this

subject may be regarded, and we believe that if all parties could adopt similar views respecting it, and then consistently adhere to them in their practice, the asperity of party strife would be diminished, fidelity to the truth be ultimately secured, and efforts to promote union be far more judiciously directed than they have hitherto been.

The Form. of Concord, p. 631 sq., after asserting that the peace of the church can be permanently established only by the adoption of a compendious statement, or type of doctrine derived from the word of God, proceeds to declare that this compendious form of doctrine ought to consist *not of private but of public writings*, prepared in the name of the associated churches, and sanctioned by them, or, in other words, of symbols or creeds adopted formally by the lawful representatives of the church, as expressive of her real sentiments. This declaration is decisive, and its propriety cannot be denied. Augusti, Klein, De Wette, Twesten and Hase, in their respective dogmatic works, have, it is true, largely applied the writings of Gerhard, Calov, Quenstedt Hutter, &c. in stating the doctrines of the church, but Bretschneider, Dogm. I. § 7, and Köllner, p. 601, most powerfully protest against this unfair procedure. The church, in her collective capacity, never recognized the works of any private man as the rule of her faith. On what grounds can we be expected to receive as a portion of our creed the theological opinions of an individual who writes merely on his own authority? Even the writings of men like Luther and Melanchthon do not contain our creed, unless these writings have been officially recognized and adopted by the church. It is the extreme of injustice to burden us with private opinions which have never passed the ordeal of a public ecclesiastical revision. We accordingly maintain as a fundamental principle, that no doctrine can be considered as a Lutheran doctrine, unless it be taught in the acknowledged standards or symbolical books.

This principle, obvious and fair as it is conceded by most to be, is often grossly violated in modern controversies. Unfounded or rash assertions of individual members of a church are triumphantly quoted by an adversary, while, in truth, the church is only misrepresented by an erring or presumptuous man. To this principle we feel justified in adhering whenever we propose to state a point of the Lutheran faith.

Another important question claims particular attention in this connection: *By what principles are we to be guided in interpreting the Symbolical Books?* Many obstacles to a cordial reception of the books may be easily removed by an

enlightened examination of this point. If our symbolical books were set forth in the form of the three ancient symbols, presenting barely a rigid doctrinal text, *and nothing else*, we would, on assuming the whole as our creed, assume also all the details. But they present a wide range of subjects, communicate doctrinal truth, interpret Scripture passages, quote ancient authors, introduce controversial discussions, relate historical events, refer largely to persons and things whose importance diminishes in the course of time, until it fades entirely away, and are as miscellaneous in their character as various books of the Bible. The latter, Paul's epistles for instance, by no means intend to be simply creeds, in the technical sense of the word, but also design to notice passing events as well as to teach eternal truth, and we interpret the symb. books precisely as we interpret the Bible itself. It is a canon universally recognized by all sound interpreters, (e. g. Stuart's Ernesti, § 31,) that the principles of interpretation are common to the Scriptures and to uninspired compositions, and hence the same general rules are applicable to the symb. books which guide the expounder of the Bible. We regard the Scriptures as our sole rule of faith and practice, but not as a text-book for scientific lectures, nor as a volume of the "Universal History." Thus, too, we regard the symb. books as the expression of our faith, but not as our Commentary on the Scriptures. If Paul quotes a harsh but well-deserved description of the Cretians by the poet Epimenides, whom he calls a "prophet," (Titus 1 : 12), and if Peter (2 Pet. 2 : 22) is equally plain in his strictures on the unfaithful, the *force* of their language does not detract from its truth. The "cloak, books and parchments" of St. Paul, and "Alexander the coppersmith" (2 Tim. 4 : 13, 14) may be mentioned in an apostolic letter as really existing, without assuming the rank of articles of faith. The oration of Tertullus is introduced into a canonical book (Acts ch. 24) without securing our approbation of its denunciations of St Paul; the discourse even of Gamaliel, a "doctor of the law had in reputation," (Acts, ch. 5) is characterized only by good sense but not by inspiration; and, in this manner, large portions of the contents of the Scriptures are separated from the creed of every sincere christian, *as they were not intended by the sacred writers to constitute articles of faith*, but were necessarily introduced in writings, which, besides conveying doctrinal truth, and precepts of morality, were designed to refer to persons and things of a local and temporary character.

The interpretation of the Scriptures is materially influenced by the interpreter's theory of inspiration; the strictest views and most orthodox sentiments, however, on this subject, are perfectly consistent with the following passage: "In 1 Cor. 7: 6, 10, 12, 25, 40," says Olshausen on 1 Corinth. 7. p. 563, "we find that the apostle distinguishes between *his own* and the *Lord's* declarations, between a positive command (ἐπιταγή) of Christ, and his own subjective opinion or judgment, (γνώμη) .... Although it is clear from verse 40, that this γνώμη is not designed to be placed in opposition to inspiration, since it truly proceeded from the Holy Ghost ..... still it is plain that Paul makes this distinction for the purpose of intimating, that Christ's command indeed, but not his own γνώμη (judgment) must be unconditionally fulfilled; even when his counsels are not followed, (according to verse 36) sin is not necessarily thereby committed. .... Where doctrines or positive commands are concerned, Paul insists on his apostolical authority, his γνώμη (judgment) is precisely on this account decisive, because it is enlightened by the Divine Spirit. But in adiaphora or things indifferent, it is true wisdom to refrain from positive commands," &c. This view of the orthodox commentator is established on the principle, that, while the declarations of the apostles are to be regarded as obligatory in matters of faith and practice, their private opinions, however worthy of respect, possess no absolute authority. In truth, this principle is practically adopted by all classes of christians, for they have long ceased to observe several usages described in the Acts as established or sanctioned by the apostles, ("they had all things common," Acts 2: 44; 4: 32; "look ye out among you seven men," &c. 6: 3,) and yet subsequently abandoned without sin.

The same general principle, according to which we discriminate between official doctrinal teachings, and the private opinions of the teacher, is again illustrated by Olshausen in his remarks on Galat. 2: 11–13, p. 46. "The communication of the Holy Spirit to the Apostles was not designed to convey to them morally an absolute perfection, but only to set them forth, in respect to doctrine, as infallible organs of the truth. We need not hesitate to admit that the apostles, like the prophets of the Old Testament could err; Paul himself confesses that his old man still lives, that he must daily die, and that he needs a thorn in the flesh. There are, besides, certain cases in which their conduct was not altogether perfect, e. g. Acts 15: 36 sqq. 23: 3 sqq. &c." The conduct of Peter, on which Olshausen is here commenting, is another illus-

tration that even an inspired apostle remained liable to error. The principle, therefore, which judicious interpreters adopt, is this: *the teachings of the sacred writers on all points of faith and practice possess divine authority — their opinions as individuals, and their conduct as men, are not designed to control our own.*

Now the authors who composed our symb. books, do not, of course, pretend to possess the gift of inspiration, and uniformly represent the Scriptures as the source and test of all truth, as we shall have occasion presently to show; they were also fallible men, although prëeminently distinguished by divine grace. We, therefore, discriminate between the doctrinal statements which they conscientiously and prayerfully make, and which were adopted by the church as strictly scriptural, and the various opinions which local circumstances, that are susceptible of explanation, led them to adopt, or historical and other matter which circumstances compelled them to incorporate with the Symbols. Accordingly, when we approach the symbolical books, we find that their miscellaneous contents must be arranged in certain classes. Some portions occur which are not designed by the writers to be articles of faith, and they clearly indicate the opinion that the judicious friend of their doctrines will be able to make the necessary distinction himself. They uniformly assert that the *doctrinal portions* of the books are to be regarded as the Creed or standard. Thus, the Form. Conc. p. 634, declares that the two Catechisms were adopted as a portion of the symbolical books, in order that not only pastors, but also the people or laymen generally, might be enabled "to distinguish sound from false doctrine," and because the *Christian faith* (christliche Lehre) "derived from the word of God was taught therein with the greatest perspicuity and simplicity." And, p. 637, a distinction is carefully made between necessary and pernicious contentions (respecting unimportant matters) on the one hand, and, on the other, that unnecessary contest in which the believer engages, when "articles of faith or the chief points of christian doctrine" are assailed.

When we, then, commence the study of the Lutheran doctrine, as contained in the symbols, we observe the following principles We exclude from the Creed: (1) *All historical notices*, &c. Although the facts are related with the strictest regard to the truth, still, they are *history* not *doctrine*, and hence the occasional remarks made on passing events and the conduct of friends or adversaries, do not consttute a portion of the Creed. (2) *All extracts from the Church Fathers*,

*declarations of earlier popes*, &c. These portions were introduced to meet the wants of the times, but were never regarded in any other light than that of discussions — they are not articles of faith.—(3) *The private opinions of the writers, incidentally expressed* and not explicitly represented to be coincident with the sense of the church. Thus, several expressions of Luther in the Art. Smal. p. 308, 309, and Catech. Major, p. 405, respecting Satan, occur as opinions which he entertained at that time and as an individual, but he does not represent them as the public doctrine of the church.—(4) *All mere argumentative and controversial matter.* Many remarks are made, which, at this distant day, and under our more favorable circumstances, seem to be exaggerated, but which, nevertheless, embody sober truth; the form which they assumed is to be ascribed to the peculiar situation of the writers. The reference to philosophers, for instance, in the twentieth article, and the remarks on the observance of Sunday, in the 28th Art. of the Augsburg Confession are not intended to be a portion of our christian faith. The latter case has often embarrassed readers, and been the cause of the frequent suppression of the concluding portions of the Augsburg Confession. That language is employed by men who had long groaned under the burden of episcopal oppression, and who now first began to breathe. They challenge the bishop to exhibit his title to power — they show his incapacity to vindicate his own faith—they think that he cannot adduce evidence from the New Testament for the observance of Sunday *in the popish sense*, that is, as they say: "in order to obtain grace thereby, or make satisfaction for sins," (Augs. Con. Art. 28, p. 42) and the only defect which, *in our day seems* to mark that article is, simply, that it omits to state in full our views of the moral character of the Lord's day — a point which it was not their intention to discuss on that occasion. For they were not required to enumerate *then* the moral duties of religion, but to test the foundations of the popish faith and show its unsubstantial nature. (5) *All references to local or temporary ecclesiastical rites*, &c. which like temporary institutions of the Apostles (e. g. the holy kiss, Rom. 16: 16, 1 Pet. 5: 14, the *agapæ* or love-feasts, 1 Corinth. 11., Neander, Pflanzung, &c. I. 31, 218, 322) were never regarded as a portion of the Creed. We may here refer to the so-called "Exorcism," which has notoriously, but through a grievous error, been produced as an objection to our symbolical books. The reader may perhaps be surprised to learn that *neither the name nor the thing is at all recognized by our symbolical books.*

The "Taufbüchlein" in which alone something resembling it occurs, is no more a constituent part of the symbolical books than the Apocrypha are of the canonical Scriptures, as we can prove, although, in each case, the same volume has sometimes but not usually, presented both. This harmless practice which is founded on Ephes. 2: 2, as its friends maintain, is still recommended by Guerike in a note to § 56, p. 405, but the symbolical books sanction it as little as they do the invocation of the saints. See Bretschneider, Dogm. II, § 197, p. 705, sqq. With equal truth we repel the charge that our symbolical books sanction *auricular confession* and absolution. A general confession of sins, such as all members of orthodox churches in modern times unhesitatingly admit, the symbolical books certainly require, but they indignantly reject auricular confession or the enumeration of the individual's sins. "We hold," says the Apology, Art 4 *ult.* "that God has not commanded us to name and relate sins (to the Pastor)," and one of the most important reforms on which the symbolical books insist is precisely the abolition of the unhallowed practice of the Romish church. The promise of *absolution*, the Apol. p. 172, declares, can only be received by the penitent soul *through faith*, and not otherwise, *with an express reference to Rom.* 4: 13, 16. (6) Finally, *all exegetical matter*, or interpretations of scripture passages, adduced, not as constituent portions of the creed, but merely for the purpose of supporting a doctrine that is itself announced as a portion of the creed of the church. A position, somewhat similar is held by Bretschneider I. 35, and but feebly assailed by Köllner, p. 604 sq. A discrimination must be made. A doctrine, announced to be the doctrine of the church, we are, of course, required to regard in that light. Let us suppose that certain texts are now cited for the purpose of supporting the doctrine. These texts, *thus explained*, may be shown by later critics to be inappropriately applied, and may be then unhesitatingly set aside, *unless* such interpretation is distinctly declared to be an integral portion of the faith of the church, in which case, *if it should ever occur*, the church would be convicted of a mistake respecting that scripture passage. *Nevertheless*, the doctrine itself may be quoted as one that is held by the church, since its scriptural character may be demonstrated by arguments omitted at the time by the writers. If, for instance, the symbolical books had attempted to prove the doctrine of the Trinity by John 5: 7, and if later critics should show that verse to be spurious, still the doctrine would stand as a portion of our creed, sustained by passages not quoted at the time.

Thus, too, we separate the doctrinal portions which discuss the subject of Baptism, from the private opinions of the writers of the symbolical books, when they not only represent immersion as consistent with the true design of the ordinance, but even find a good meaning in it, (Cat. Min. p. 377 sq., Cat. Maj. 548.) This view regarding a practice never adopted or sanctioned officially by the church, they derived from a traditionary interpretation of Rom. 6: 3 sq. but do not set it forth as an article of faith, and we reject it unconditionally, without affecting the integrity of the symbolical books. — With regard to other complaints which are occasionally made (e. g. the supposed apparition of a Calvinistic element, &c.) we think that all the phantoms that have alarmed some minds, can be successfully *exorcised* by a candid investigation of the doctrines which the symbolical books really do teach, and of their perfect harmony with Scripture.—The 'condemnatory clauses' of the Augsburg Confession also need the application of an "exorcism." When the intrepid founders of the church declared their faith, they felt that no compromise with particular errors could be tolerated, and we thank God that he infused into their souls alike an ardent love of the truth, and a stern determination to cast down, by his help, "every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God," (2 Cor. 10: 5.). They prayed for the erring, but fearlessly rebuked their errors; if they "condemn" the course of the enemies of the truth, the whole phraseology is understood in a sense as consistent with holy sentiments, as the language in which the disciple of the blessed Redeemer is required to "*hate* his father and mother," &c. Luke 14: 26.

After these explanations, we are enabled to indicate those portions of the symbolical books which actually constitute our Creed. (1) *All those declarations* which are introduced by the formulas: "we teach," "we profess," "we confess," "our faith is this," &c. (2) *Those declarations* which contain a doctrine in a negative form, introduced by the formulas: "we reject," "we condemn," &c. (3) *Statements of doctrines* that are formally announced, that weigh expressions and terms, that make distinctions, or that exhibit the limits or extent of a truth, comparing it with the opposite error, &c. Such portions are *essentials*, others are merely *accidents*, entirely distinct from the *eternal truth* in connection with which they appear.

These principles, which are nearly all developed by Bretschneider, Dogm. § 8, are recognized as sound by eminent theologians. Twesten represents it to be a principle always

acknowledged, that "if the symbolical books constitute a form of faith, they can be regarded as such only in respect to that portion of them which constitutes the doctrine and confession pronounced and received by the church, and that any non-essential garb in which the doctrine appears, and which originates in the individuality of the author, or in transient circumstances may be disregarded." (Dogm. § 21. 4th ed. p. 394 sq.). Reinhard declares it to be a self-evident truth, steadfastly maintained by the most conscientious theologians, such as Spener, Walch, &c. that even he who has solemnly adopted and subscribed the Symbolical Books, is by no means bound to adopt every non-essential point, every interpretation of a scriptural passage, every argument or opinion which they contain, &c. (Moral, § 355. vol. 3. p. 790.)

One question to which the preceding remarks conduct us, we cannot refrain from introducing here: *What authority do the Symbolical Books possess in the Evangelical Lutheran Church?* We dismiss at once the recent term: "*American* Lutheran Church," as either unnecessary or awkwardly framed. If it signifies simply the *English* Lutheran church, it is unnecessary. In the presentation of divine truth, the English, as well as the German language, is an instrument fully as available as the languages spoken by the "Parthians, Medes, Elamites," &c., Acts 2: 9, and the proper term would undoubtedly be, "the Evangelical Lutheran church in the United States of America." If it is geographically employed merely to distinguish between the members of the church residing in America and Europe it is awkwardly formed, since its ambiguity may lead to injurious inferences; the *American* Lutheran church *might* be understood to be as distinct in respect to origin, interests, sentiments, and character, from *the church* in other countries, as the American government is from the German or Swedish government. Any other definition of the term, by which a separate and independent existence of such a church in America would be implied, is altogether unauthorized. Who founded this new so-called *American* Lutheran church? What circumstances rendered the organization of a new church with an old name necessary? To what protestant church did the original members belong before they attached themselves to the newly-formed *American* Lutheran church, and *in what era did they formally declare the old ties to be ruptured?* What doctrines does it hold? What right has it, an independent church, to decorate itself with the name of *Lutheran*—a name dear to the hearts of us who still belong *only* to the Evangelical Lutheran church—a name that is

expressive of all that is honorable in history, pure in doctrine, and divinely blessed in the kingdom of Christ? In truth, the American Lutheran church exists only on paper; in actual life we meet, in the United States, only with the Evangelical Lutheran church, distinguished simply by geographical position from the same church in Europe. On similar principles we unequivocally disown all one-sided names, and have no sympathy with that idle prejudice which confines Lutheran orthodoxy to the German language alone.

We can define the true position of the symbolical books with better success after we shall have heard them state their claims in their own words. The Augsburg Confession is, in its preface, termed a "confession, setting forth the *doctrine* derived from the sacred scriptures and the pure word of God, . . . . and held in the churches." At its close the signers say that in these articles are contained the *confession* and the *chief points of the doctrine* of the reformers. The obvious design of the writing, then, was simply to present a statement of the *doctrines* which were held by its supporters, and specially in contradistinction from those of the papists, and all other religious parties; it was a *symbol*, by which the members of a certain society could be recognised. The Formula Concordiæ, p. 635, sq., after enumerating the previous symbols, (the Aug. Conf., Apol., Sm. Art., Cat. min., Cat. maj.,) justifies its recognition of them on the ground that they contain the *unanimous and common religious opinions of the church*, and repeats that, while the word of God is the foundation, these symbols, as witnesses of the truth, exhibit the unanimous and sincere faith of the church. But the following declaration of the Formula Concordiæ, p. 570, sqq., is so explicit as to render all comment unnecessary: "*We believe, confess, and teach that the only rule and measure, according to which all doctrines and all teachers ought to be judged, are no other than the prophetic and apostolic writings of the Old and New Testaments. . . . . Other symbols and writings which we have mentioned* (Aug. Conf., &c) *do not possess the authority of a judge, which dignity belongs to the sacred scriptures alone; they only* ('duntaxat—allein') *give evidence in favor of our religion or faith* ('religione—glaubens') *and explain it; and they show in what manner the sacred scriptures were understood*," &c.

The object of the founders of the church in setting forth the confession cannot be mistaken. They designed to state in them the doctrines which they held, and the reasons for which they could not live in communion with the church of Rome.

After the Lutheran church had acquired an existence and character of its own, these symbols, already precious as witnesses of the truth, acquired new value. Many opponents of divine truth, who adopted dangerous errors, could easily have found shelter under the expanding wings of the church, if her symbols had not impressed too plainly on her the character of a church "holy and without blemish," to permit the errorist, the unbeliever, or the apostate to be regarded as her son.

The writers of the symbols were men who, evidently, were in earnest when they labored in God's service; who possessed the spirit of prayer; who relied on the gracious guidance of the divine spirit in their search after truth; and whose instrumentality God was pleased to own in the most signal manner. *They* could not say, "the Bible is our creed," for, alas! few of their adversaries knew what the Bible taught. They searched in the scriptures long and faithfully, and they found the "one pearl of great price," divine truth. *Then*, they proclaimed it in their confessions with joy; and this precious gift, which God bestowed upon them, he enabled them to communicate to others in all its heavenly splendor and fulness. A body of truth more pure and complete than these symbols present, next to the Bible, the world cannot produce; a theology more scriptural, more satisfactory to the mind and the heart, more elevating in its character, and more worthy of Christ's own church, than these books exhibit, the world will never possess. The two sacraments which Christ instituted are there revealed in all their divine excellence; they are shown to be, not unmeaning forms nor unimportant rites, which may be neglected without loss, but ordinances of deep import. Holy baptism is not represented merely as an initiation into the visible church, but as a bond which may unite us more closely with the Head of the church. The sacred ordinance of the Lord's Supper is not a merely mnemonic rite, but conveys the richest blessings to the soul. The depravity of man is not confessed reluctantly, nor are honeyed words employed when the guilty creature is told that he must be regenerated by divine grace or perish. No tribute is paid to human merit or wisdom, but, with an inflexible adherence to divine truth, the lost sinner is taught that justification by faith in Christ alone is the Bible doctrine. No Pelagian pride is flattered, no Arminian looseness of doctrine is tolerated, no Calvinistic asperity displayed, no Popish superstition endured, no fanatical excess permitted, no modern rationalism presented in its germ, no form of "union" commended which would extinguish one ray of di-

vine light; the current of truth, full, clear, deep, and strong, flows onward in these confessions, mingled with no corrupting element, and arrested by no human power. If there be any rich blessing which we implore heaven to grant to our revered and beloved church, it is this: that her children in this country may be enabled to read, to believe, to cherish and feel the power of the truth as taught in these symbolical books.[1]

The wants of the church, as they were successively felt, led to the preparation and adoption of the several creeds, which, in their aggregation, constitute the volume of our symbolical books. The objections to their number and extent, which do not usually proceed from those who cordially believe the whole system of doctrine taught by them, are completely neutralized by the results of calm historic investigation. An analogous case may here be introduced with advantage. We presume that no sincere believer regards the reading of *four* gospels in the New Testament, in place of one, as a burden, although the same discourses of the Savior, or descriptions of the same miracles, are sometimes furnished by two, or even by three, of the four evangelists. The discourse or narrative is not a tedious repetition, but an instructive presentation of the same truth in a new aspect. The object of each writer is peculiar to himself, and a candid consideration of this important hermeneutical principle will explain many apparent divergencies in the four gospels. The following facts are not, we believe, seriously denied by sound theologians: Matthew's intention, in writing his gospel for *readers of Jewish origin*, was to exhibit Jesus Christ as the true Messiah, "of whom Moses, in the law and the prophets, did write;" and his narratives are intended to show the identity between the prophetic and the historical Christ. Mark's object, in writing for *readers of Gentile origin*, was to exhibit to them Jesus Christ as the true Son of God, greater and more glorious in reality than their gods were in imagination. Luke's purpose in preparing his gospel was, to furnish a history of the origin and establishment of the new covenant, and to illustrate its spiritual character in contradistinction from the character of the old covenant. He completes his work in the Acts of the Apostles,

[1] We have understood that large portions, if not the *corpus*, of the symbolical books, translated into English, already exist in manuscript. We respectfully submit that, in a case of such importance, those who desire their publication should previously meet, for the purpose of adopting certain principles (selections, or entire books, the text alone, or notes added, &c.) as guides in completing the work, so that an approved translation may originally appear, bearing the sanction of the names of all who are favorable to the dissemination of these books in the English language.

which exhibit the actual establishment of the church of Christ, and its triumphant progress, in proportion as Judaism recedes from the view. John's design, in appending his gospel to the three earlier compositions, was, to display the glory of the Father as far as it was revealed in Christ, and not so much to sketch historical events as to show the spirit of the christian religion in all its lovely and divine features. We do not hesitate to avow our adoption of the old theopneustic principle, that a special influence of the divine Spirit guided each of the four evangelists in giving to their respective writings precisely the character in which they actually appear, and we are grateful to God for these multiplied accounts of the life and discourses of our divine Redeemer.

Now we are not prepared to regard the Reformation and the establishment of the Lutheran church as accidental events, over which divine Providence exercised no special control. There is something hideous in the thought that those momentous proceedings of Luther and his associates should have been regulated by mere human wisdom, or hurried on by human passion, but not guided by a gracious Father in Heaven. The old question recurs: was the reformation a work of man or of God? If it was the work of God, designed to restore the Bible to the world, and release men from the yoke of Antichrist, is it conceivable that Luther, who so fervently prayed for divine illumination and guidance, should have been abandoned to his own wisdom, and that his faithful followers should have been equally forsaken by the God whom they so devoutly adored? Can we not distinctly trace the hand of Providence in the establishment of the protestant church? And when, in the course of Providence, the symbolical books appeared as the glorious fruits of all the discoveries of divine truth made by the reformers of the church, would it be consistent to disown them as a mere human work, and practically assert that, after God had guided his servants in renouncing the errors of popery, he had ceased to hear their prayers, left his own work unfinished, and, in place of popish errors, substituted either other errors or revived anarchy and confusion? Was no guide given which the sincere inquirer could safely follow, amid the fierce conflict of opinions and the furious cries of zealots and sectaries? Is it not rather probable that the Head of the church, in releasing it from popish bondage, would listen to his humble worshippers, and grant them minds that could discover and understand the doctrines of his word? Indeed, we think we can trace the hand of Providence in the history of each separate book in the collection of our symbols.

The Augsburg Confession laid a broad, deep foundation, well suited to sustain the whole system of divine truth as held by the church. Then followed the Apology, which proceeds to unfold the leading doctrine of the church—justification by faith. The Smalcald articles next appeared, classifying the truths of religion, and expressing alike a determined hostility to error, and an unalterable attachment to truth. They were designed to meet new emergencies of the church, and their special history demonstrates the necessity of appending them to the earlier creeds. Finally, the Concordiæ Formula appeared, containing the last and fullest development of the truth which the Lutherans held, deciding points of controversy, uniting conflicting parties, and completing the great work of the reformation of the church by a full exposition of Bible truth. The two catechisms, during this whole period, exhibited the doctrines of the other books in their practical character, or revealed the influence which they should have on the heart and the life. All these books exhibit the same form of doctrine, and he who candidly adopts the Augsburg Confession will not hesitate to adopt those with which it is indissolubly connected. They constitute a complete whole, and are usually considered in this light by the church in Europe. When they were originally adopted, the subscription to them was voluntarily made, and those who withheld their names were not denominated Lutherans. Similar liberty is enjoyed by all in our country. The Lutheran church has here also found her altars reared, and has heard her "hymns of love and praise;" she asks for nothing more than ordinary justice, and entreats both friends and strangers to permit her to bear her own name, and be consistent with herself. The individual who disowns her doctrines she does not ask to adopt her symbols by an any outward act, until his mind and heart are both convinced of her truth. The erring child who deems her doctrine to be a burden, she dismisses with the fervent prayer that he may still yield to her holy teachings. But she does insist that those who bear her name should own her authority; her *name is her own*, hallowed in many hearts by tender associations, expressive of a system of faith that is distinctly marked and defined, and she cannot consent that those should bear it who reject the truth which is her very life. She cannot call the bramble a cedar of Lebanon—she cannot call a doctrine that is opposed to her own a Lutheran doctrine.

Under such circumstances we sincerely hope that the day is passing by, when any Lutheran will disguise his want of attachment to these symbols by using the unmeaning language:

"the Bible is my creed."[1] Is it even so? Is every doctrine readily acknowledged, provided that it is ascribed to the Bible? Calvinism and Universalism, Methodism and Quakerism, Episcopacy and Congregationalism, each resting on a pyramid of bible texts — alas! we cannot digest all these. "The Bible is my creed" is language divested of all expressiveness in our age. If the founders of the church felt that they could not be recognized without public symbols, is there less necessity to state our faith explicitly in these tumultuous days, when the number of sects is increasing, and the "Christian Alliance" sees no practical results produced by its labors, except a new creed intended to suit as many meridians as a universal almanac, and precisely adapted to none? Who are the Lutherans? Evans's cheap History of all Christian sects is carrying to every village in the land information of the portentous fact, that "the religious system of Luther approaches, in some respects, nearer to Romanism than that of any other of the reformed churches"! (p. 76.) Who are the Lutherans? If not semi-Catholics, "are they some new sect?" as a western man once inquired of an esteemed brother. "No! the Bible is my creed." And, forsooth, in this christian land, *whose creed is it not?* Does not every petty sect make the same declaration? At length, we Lutherans, are driven to the necessity of producing *something* in the shape of a doctrinal statement, and we actually produce — a translation of the Augsburg Confession in a mutilated form! All "rough corners" are carefully removed, all energetic statements softened — the mother of Protestantism is to be introduced to several daughters, and it is very necessary that she should apparel herself in a new style, so that the superior taste of her fastidious and more fashionable daughters may not be offended! She is compelled to veil her "distinctive features." Alas! it

[1] "Men of the world regard the Articles of Faith of the Reformation as antiquated forms, become unmeaning in the present age. This error arises from their never having experienced in their hearts that faith in Christ which is the same in every age. Those confessions of christian hope which our fathers made, even in the face of Rome, and for the sake of which so many martyrs have ascended the scaffold, can never grow old, can never lose that divine fire which the Holy Spirit imparted to them. It has been said, 'these articles are useless to the church—the Bible is sufficient.' But most frequently, at least upon the continent, those who will not have confessions of faith will not have the Bible either. Very lately, one of the most eminent Protestant clergymen of Germany, Dr. Ammon, first preacher of the court of Dresden, a rationalist, but yet an enlightened theologian, made this candid avowal: 'Experience teaches us that those who reject a creed will speedily reject the holy scriptures themselves.' "—*J. H. Merle D'Aubigne's 'Germany, England, and Scotland, or Recollections,' &c. New York: Printed by R. Carter, 1848, pp. 89–90.*

was not in this spirit that Protestantism originated—it was not this timid, yielding disposition that cast down the pride and strength of popery — and, God forbid that it should ever generally characterize those who, in America, call themselves Lutherans. We believe that consistency, the true interests of the church, the honor of Christ's name, our obligations to God — all demand that we should openly, formally, and sincerely, adopt, not fragments, but "The Symbolical Books of the Ev. Lutheran Church." They have maintained their own honor during more than two centuries, and they will, by God's help, continue to adorn and bless the church long after we are numbered with the dead.

We have already occupied so much space that we cannot engage in a discussion of the grounds on which the necessity and authority of creeds may be maintained. Our only alternative is to refer to the work of Dr. Miller,[1] of which we have prefixed the title to this article. He states very forcibly the arguments which may be adduced to show the necessity of creeds, and successfully answers the popular objections which are made against them. We cannot refrain from presenting a few specimens of this work. The following extract illustrates his mode of reasoning:

"1. Without a creed explicitly adopted, it is not easy to see how the ministers and members of any particular church, and more especially a large denomination of christians, can maintain unity among themselves.

"If every christian were a mere insulated individual, who inquired, felt, and acted for himself alone, no creed of human formation would be necessary for his advancement in knowledge, comfort, and holiness. With the Bible in his closet, and with his eyes opened to see the "wondrous things" which it contains, he would have all that was useful for his edification. But the case is far otherwise. The church is a "*society*"—a society which, however extended, is "one body in Christ," and all who compose it "members one of another." Nor is this society required to be merely one in name, or to recognise a mere theoretical union; but also carefully to maintain "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." They are exhorted to "stand fast in one spirit, with one mind." They are commanded all to "speak the same thing," and to be "of one accord, of one mind." And this "unity of spirit" is as essential to the comfort and edification of those who are joined

[1] Since these remarks were written, we notice the decease, on the 7th of December, 1850, at the advanced age of eighty years, of this venerable man, who was for nearly half a century one of the leading theologians of the Presbyterian church in this country, and for nearly forty years a professor in its theological seminary at Princeton, New Jersey.

together in church fellowship, as it is to a compliance with the command of their master. "How can any walk together unless they be agreed?" Can a body of worshippers composed of Calvinists, Arminians, Pelagians, Arians, and Socinians, all pray, and preach, and commune together profitably and comfortably, each retaining the sentiments, feelings, and language appropriate to his denomination? This would indeed make the house of God a miserable Babel."—pp. 8–10.

He applies a historical argument in this manner:

"In the fourth century, when the church was still more agitated by the prevalence of heresy, there was a still louder demand for accredited tests, by which the heretics were to be tried and detected. Of this demand there never was a more striking instance than in the Council of Nice, when the heresy of Arius was under the consideration of that far-famed assembly. When the Council entered on the examination of the subject, it was found extremely difficult to obtain from Arius any satisfactory explanation of his views. He was not only as ready as the most orthodox divine present to profess that he believed the Bible, but he also declared himself willing to adopt as his own all the language of the scriptures, in detail, concerning the person and character of the blessed Redeemer. But when the members of the Council wished to ascertain in what sense he understood this language, he discovered a disposition to evade and equivocate, and actually, for a considerable time, baffled the attempts of the most ingenious of the orthodox to specify his errors, and to bring them to light. He declared that he was perfectly willing to employ the popular language on the subject in controversy, and wished to have it believed that he differed very little from the body of the church. Accordingly, the orthodox went over the various titles of Christ plainly expressive of divinity, such as "God," "the true God," "the express image of God," &c., to every one of which Arius and his followers most readily subscribed; claiming a right, however, to put their own construction on the scriptural titles in question. After employing much time and ingenuity in vain in endeavoring to drag this artful chief from his lurking places, and to obtain from him an explanation of his views, the council found it would be impossible to accomplish their object as long as they permitted him to intrench himself behind a mere general profession of belief in the Bible. They, therefore, did what common sense as well as the word of God had taught the church to do in all preceding times, and what, alone, can enable her to detect the artful advocate of error. They expressed in their own language what they supposed to be the doctrine of scripture concerning the Savior; in other words, they drew up a Confession of Faith on this subject, which they called upon Arius and his disciples to subscribe. This the heretics refused, and were thus virtually brought to the acknowl-

edgment that they did not understand the scriptures as the rest of the Council understood them, and, of course, that the charge against them was correct."—pp. 32–35.

Now this arch-heretic, who attempted to dethrone the Savior by reducing him to the rank of a creature, could very plausibly exclaim, "the Bible is my creed." He was possessed of talents of a high order, was distinguished for the cultivation of his mind, in morals adopted even an austere system, and was doubtless very sincere in his rejection of the orthodox faith, which he regarded as unscriptural. Has he not often since reappeared in the world, and repeated his heartrending complaints of the tyranny of creeds?

The following may be appropriately added:

"....I have no hesitation in saying that, in my opinion, church creeds not only lawfully *may*, but always *ought*, to contain a number of articles besides those which are fundamental.... Let me offer one illustration more. The question between Presbyterians and prelatists is generally acknowledged not to be fundamental. I do not mean that this is acknowledged by such of our episcopal brethren as coolly consign to what they are pleased to call the 'uncovenanted mercy of God' all those denominations who have not a ministry episcopally ordained; and who, on account of this exclusive sentiment, are styled by Bishop Andrews 'iron-hearted,' and by Archbishop Wake 'madmen;' but my meaning is, that all Presbyterians, without exception; a great majority of the best prelatists themselves; and all moderate, sober-minded protestants of every country, acknowledge that this point of controversy is one which by no means affects christian character or hope. Still, is it not plain that a body of ministers entirely differing among themselves as to this point, though they might love and commune with each other as christians, could not possibly act harmoniously together in the important rite of ordination, whatever they might do in other religious concerns."—pp. 89–92-93.

The principles which Dr. Miller defends in this work, when further developed, and applied to our own case, lead to the following conclusions: that the symbolical books are an exhibition of the form in which the Lutheran church receives the doctrines of God's word — that those who are attached to her communion retain their ecclesiastical connection because her doctrines appear to them to be in harmony with *that* word — that they judge of the scriptural character of any doctrine by the decisions of her creeds—that, while they retain her name, they avow that they adhere to her doctrinal system — that the symbolical books, without any new official recognition, at this late day, and in this land, are already understood to be the

creed of the Lutheran church — and that they ought, as a matter of course, not only to be regarded as the decided expression of the sentiments of the members of the church, but also to be faithfully studied, and freely acknowledged by all.

We ascribe no importance to the preposterous objection that views like those which have been expressed, tend to fetter the consciences of men, or elevate the symbolical books above the Scriptures, as we feel persuaded that no candid or intelligent mind will attempt to repudiate the orthodox faith by resorting to such a pitiful subterfuge. Those who value our Confessions may certainly claim the right of expressing their high esteem for these writings, without justly incurring the invidious charges involved in the objection to which we have alluded. In truth, many opponents of these creeds are, perhaps unconsciously, governed by principles similar to our own. Let an individual assert that he is a Lutheran, and then utter Socinian or Universalist frivolities, on the ground that he finds these in the Bible — are these friends of liberty of conscience prepared to sanction his course? Will they not deny that he is a Lutheran in sentiment? With all their dislike to *written* creeds, and their earnest defence of the Bible as their only creed, they nevertheless disown this Socinian or Universalist Lutheran, because he *does not practically adopt their unwritten creed.* There can be no real controversy between symbolic and anti-symbolic Lutherans, if the latter are really orthodox and sincere. No one who reveres the Scriptures and holds to our evangelical system of faith, will represent us in the light of blind devotees, nor will he apprehend danger from a general reception of our symbols, which have no other tendency than that of leading the sinner to Christ, nor will he feign an apprehension that we may derogate from the Scriptures, while we exalt the symbols. There is no occasion to manifest a pious horror and fear of our symbolatry — those who are inclined to adopt this course may err by mistaking their contempt of the doctrines of grace for a rational regard for the Bible. The very conscientious ruler of the synagogue (Luke 13 : 14) did not by any means, object to works of mercy — certainly not; but he reverenced the law of God, and he *did* object to the course of the Savior who healed on the Sabbath day. The opponent of our symbols allows us to value our faith, but he reverences the law of God, and he *does* object to the course of the Lutheran who finds the doctrines of the Bible, and those of the symbolical books to be identically the same.

And yet, why should we hesitate to avow our sincere convictions? Shall the dread of reproach be more powerful in compelling our silence, than the love of truth in urging us to confess Christ fearlessly? Have we reason to feel ashamed when the carnal and profane demand liberty of conscience, condemn our narrow views, and refuse to submit to what they term the bondage of a creed? Shall we, therefore, reject as antiquated, the doctrine of our creeds that man is a lost creature without Christ? If the rationalist glories in the triumphs of reason, and disowns a written revelation, shall we timidly surrender our holy faith through fear of ridicule? Is he who boasts of his superior light really wiser than we who hold the scriptural doctrine of our symbols respecting the Trinity? If the infidel superciliously derides us as living behind the age, as refusing to follow the "spirit of the times," as clinging to the obsolete doctrines of our symbols, shall we assent to his unholy argumentation, and reject our precious doctrines respecting Christ's atonement, and justification by faith? Have we really made such progress in the discovery of truth since the era of the Reformation, that we understand the Scriptures more thoroughly than those who framed the symbolical books? When Luther and his associates were prepared to surrender their lives, but not the doctrines of the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, the Smalcald Articles, and the Catechisms, had these men of faith and prayer discovered treasures of divine truth of less extent and less value than we possess in modern times? When the Elector Augustus incessantly and with holy fervor prayed to God that the authors of the Concord-Formula might be guided by the Divine Spirit in the preparation of that admirable work, was his prayer for the illumination of the Spirit less efficacious than modern prayers are? If the writers of the symbols are unworthy of regard, or are erroneous in their exhibition of truth, who are the men that are more competent to unfold the scriptural doctrine? When were their new discoveries made? What palliating features have they discovered in man's corruption, in more recent times? What useful changes do they suggest in the doctrine of the Atonement? What improvement do they proprose in our old doctrine of justification by faith? What more ready access to the throne of grace have they discovered? Are we wiser, more holy, richer in divine grace, more useful through the inspiration of the "spirit of the times" than our pious fathers were? — We are weary of listening to these empty, frivolous declamations respecting the superior intelligence of the nineteenth century in matters of Christian faith. Is re-

vealed religion capable of improvements similar to those which a human science like mathematics or chemistry, or which the steam-engine admits? Is the rail-road car an emblem of the speed with which we now travel in the pathway of religious truth? Can the light of revelation be made brighter by the taper of human reason? It may be said that our views are those which narrow minds hold, and that such minds are incapable of harmonizing with the spirit of the age; but until we obtain some tangible evidence that there are men in our day who live nearer to God, or feel in their hearts the power of divine truth more deeply, or possess the gifts of the divine Spirit more abundantly, than the founders of our church, we must adhere, to the old doctrines of our creeds, which unfold the treasures of the Bible, and teach us to love it, because it reveals the adorable Savior to our delighted view, in all his heavenly grace and glory.

We have too long detained the reader, and already transgressed the limits which we had assigned to this article. We may resume the general subject on a future occasion.

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## ARTICLE II.

### THE MEANS EMPLOYED BY GOD FOR MAN'S RECOVERY.

(Concluded.)

By George B. Miller, D. D., Prof. of Theol. in Hartwick Seminary, N. York.

III. Having hitherto dwelt upon the fact that God has from the first employed a variety of means to recover men from their fallen state, a number of which we have pointed out; and having insisted on the evident principle that these means are in their own nature efficacious, though their natural and proper effect may be counteracted through the perversity of men — we proceed to consider our third proposition, *that the Gospel is the last and chief of these means.*

We have noticed that there is a gradation in the different manifestations of divine truth unto the world. The religion of the patriarchs was such as was suited to the infancy of human society. That of the Israelites under the law was adapted to the youthful state, and that of the gospel is intended for the adult age of the church and the world. The apostle Paul has some beautiful ideas on this head in the third chapter of 2Cor., where he compares the Mosaic and christian dispensations,

calling one the ministration of the letter, the other that of the spirit, adding that "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." "But," says he, "if the ministration of death," (that which can do nothing but condemn us as being sinners) "written and engraven in stones," (alluding to the ten commandments which were engraved on two stone tables by the finger of God) "was glorious, so that the children of Israel could not steadfastly behold the face of Moses for the glory of his countenance;" (this was when he had been with God on the mount, and on coming down his face shone so that it dazzled the beholders, by which they were to be impressed with veneration for him as their teacher,) "which glory was to be done away" (at the coming of Christ who was so far superior to Moses), "How shall not the ministration of the Spirit be rather glorious?" The religion taught by Moses was a great advance upon the previous revelations of the divine will, and compared with them was truly glorious. But all this glory was to be eclipsed by the superior splendor of the meridian light of the Gospel day. This will be apparent on a slight comparison of the two. The one was suited to a ruder stage of society and adapted more especially to the circumstances of a single nation, insignificant for numbers and power, when compared with some of the larger countries of the world. It was in a sense overloaded with ceremonies and ritual observances, so that the most exact and punctilious could hardly fail of erring sometimes; whence the apostle Peter calls it "a burden which neither we nor our fathers could bear." Its promises, rewards and punishments, literally taken, were all of a temporal and earthly nature. Its immediate object, though not its final purpose, was to make of the Israelites a happy people, according to the circumstances of the times. Its laws of a civil and political nature, were such as suited the degree of civilization then attained; many of which would be utterly inapplicable in our day. The instruction which it afforded of spiritual and moral truth was, in a great measure, conveyed by means of symbols or shadows, (as they are termed by the apostle). Especially it taught nothing expressly concerning a future state, or judgment to come, which led one of the sects existing among the Jews in later times, entirely to deny any future state of existence. It served to separate the Jews from all other nations, and to interpose what the apostle terms a partition wall, consisting of rites and ordinances. It led even the better class to look upon other nations as outcasts, and objects of divine abhorrence, In short, while it educated the nation for an especial and a valuable purpose, it at the

same time conduced to make them proud, supercilious and bigoted. It was not, it could not be, and was not intended, as a whole, to be imposed upon any other nation.

The Gospel, on the contrary, is general in its application, suited for all nations, ages, sexes, times and circumstances. Its forms are few and simple; so few and simple that there has been a constant tendency among men to add to them. It is calculated and intended to unite all mankind in the bonds of one common brotherhood, now that Christ has broken down the middle wall of partition. Instead of being confined in its promises and sanctions to the present life, it dwells principally upon the awful and glorious realities of the future state, having "brought life and immortality to light." It deals directly with man's moral nature, and is designed to make him a fit citizen of heaven. Its instructions are plain and and direct, universal in their application, spiritual in their import. In short, to resume the apostle's description from which we have already borrowed, he closes in these words: "Now the Lord is that Spirit," (i. e. Christ the Lord is what the Old Testament points to, when understood in its spirit and true meaning.) "And where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. But we all with open face" (not veiled as was Moses), "beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord," (being enabled to understand the true spiritual import of the Old Testament which was hidden from the Jews,) "are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord." But if a far inferior dispensation such as was the patriarchal or the Mosaic, was calculated, when faithfully improved, to make its subjects pious and sincere worshippers of the Lord, much rather will the Gospel, which so far exceeds them in glory, train us up to "worship the Father in spirit and in truth." Therefore St. Paul writes to the Romans, "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God" (it is accompanied by a divine power,) "unto salvation to every one that believeth." All that is required is, that we receive it in simplicity and faithfully obey its requirements. The law operates upon the mind chiefly by the ordinary motives that influence men. The Gospel in in addition to these has the promise of the Spirit annexed. Where it is received in faith, the Holy Spirit is given. It is His office to glorify Christ, to show the sinner his need of a Savior, and to direct him to Christ as being just the Savior that he needs. He fills the soul with joy and peace in believing, and renews the heart by His almighty power. Hence, every one that truly believes on Christ, is a new creature. He

feels new desires, new impulses. The chain and the charm by which he was held in bondage to the world and the world's god, are broken. A deliverance is wrought out, of which the deliverance of Israel from Egyptian slavery affords but a faint image. The temporal blessings secured to the faithful Jew are but feeble types of the pure joys and glorious hopes that occupy the Christian's heart, and cause him to sing songs of praise and thanksgiving to his great Deliverer. But he has a warfare to accomplish, a struggle to engage in, which was portrayed by the wars of the Israelites for the possession of Canaan. And in this he has the true Joshua, Jesus the Son of God for his Captain. Under His banner he comes off victorious, provided he holds fast his confidence and does not yield to discouragement and unbelief.

Let no one, therefore, hesitate to lay hold on the promise because he feels his own weakness and inability. In Christ dwells the fulness of grace and truth. Other sovereigns are enriched by the tribute paid by their subjects, and are defended by their arms. Our King welcomes the poor and the needy, the lame and the halt. He gives might to those that are ready to faint; His strength is made perfect (is displayed in its perfection) in our weakness. He makes His subjects rich by bestowing upon them out of His royal treasures. "Wherefore he saith: when He ascended up on high, He led captivity captive and gave gifts unto men." "From His fulness," says another Apostle, "have all we received, and grace for grace." "As many as received Him, to them gave He power (or the privilege) to become the Sons of God, even to them that believe on His name." Thus, all that you have to do, all that you can do, to share in these blessings, is to believe; to receive with humble gratitude and cheerful confidence the testimony of God concerning His Son. It is but to open your mouth and receive the streams of salvation. It is but to suffer the grace, the rich mercy of God, to fill your heart with joy and peace to overflowing.

That the Gospel does not produce these blessed effects on every one that hears it, is not owing to any defect in its nature. It was intended for man; for man as he is, sinful, impotent to good, conscious of ill-desert, opposed by his corrupt nature to the holy law of God. Accordingly, it is exactly suited for just such creatures as we are. "The righteousness of God without the law is manifested;" i. e. the kindness and mercy of God in justifying the ungodly without any works of righteousness on their part. "Even the righteousness of God which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that be-

lieve, for there is no difference;" there is no distinction made between Jew and Gentile, between the moral and the immoral, in the question of our justification. "For all have sinned and come short of the glory of God," all have failed of obtaining His approbation on the ground of their own obedience, "being justified freely," i. e. gratuitously, without any respect to their past lives, "by His grace," by the free and sovereign mercy of God in Christ Jesus, by virtue of the redemption wrought out by the obedience and sufferings and death of Christ. As if a province in the dominions of some powerful monarch had revolted and risen in array against him. He approaches the rebellious district with an army strong enough to put down all opposition. But anxious to save the lives of those who were once his subjects, he arrests his march on entering their country, and makes them an offer of peace. All have been guilty of rebellion, though some have gone to greater lengths than others. But all are liable by the laws of the realm to suffer death. He proclaims a general amnesty, that all who shall, within a certain period, return to their allegiance and conduct themselves in future as peaceable citizens, shall be fully pardoned. Here is no question about more or less guilt, so far as the amnesty is concerned. All that will may enjoy the benefit of it. Such is the character of that justification which is by faith. There is no reference to previous conduct. No matter to what lengths of wickedness and rebellion a man may have proceeded, the moment that he repents, turns about and accepts the offered pardon, he is acquitted, he is justified from all things, he is accepted in the Beloved.

But it is equally clear that no one will accept of pardon till he is convinced that he is guilty and deserves death, and that nothing but the most dreadful death awaits him unless he repents and turns to his allegiance. Hence, in this sense too, the law is our school-master to bring us to Christ, as the apostle describes at large in the seventh chap. to the Romans, to which the reader is referred. "For by the law is the knowledge of sin." The better we are instructed in the nature of the divine requirements, the more sensible we shall be of our deficiencies and transgressions: the more sensible, too, of our guilt in the sight of God, and of our exposedness to punishment. And it is to escape from this punishment that we are called to flee and lay hold on the horns of the altar; in other words, to put our trust in Christ Jesus and embrace the offers of divine grace made unto us in Him. When so disposed, there is nothing more for us to do than simply to believe the

promise. We have not first to do this or that to prepare ourselves for the reception of divine grace. The pardon has been published, the ransom for our souls has been paid, the covenant is drawn out, signed and sealed on the part of God, by which friendship and communion shall be reëstablished. All that is yet wanting, is for us to put our names to it. And when this act, the act of faith and repentance, the return to our Father's house, has taken place, we have the privilege of constant access to the treasury of divine grace. These are all contained in Christ, in whom dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. Therefore, says the apostle, speaking of believers, "All things are yours; whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present or things to come; all are yours, and ye are Christ's and Christ is God's." If Christ is ours, or what is the same, if we are Christ's, then have we all that we want. We have but to ask in His name and all things that the Father knows to be good for us, He will give unto us. Especially are we assured that He will give His Holy Spirit to them that ask Him.

The Gospel, as we have seen, contains a complete, adequate and sufficient provision for our wants as sinful creatures, to restore us to the favor of God and to renew us to holiness. It is a scheme formed in the counsels of eternity, prepared during all the ages preceding the coming of the Savior. Upon it has been expended all the wisdom of the Deity. It is the grand means employed by God to overthrow the kingdom of darkness and the power or Satan. It has proved itself to be efficacious in the experience of millions who have embraced it, many of whom were previously sunk in all the vices and degradation of heathenism. It has shown itself mighty, too, in the pulling down of the strong holds of Satan and bringing into captivity the high thoughts of men. The strongest minds have bowed in submission to its authority. In short, it is what the apostle calls "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." But in order to its exerting this power it must be received into the heart, even as food must be received in order to nourish, and as medicine must be taken before it can cure disease. And though freely offered to all, it is not forced upon any. The submission that God requires is a voluntary one; the obedience He demands is a cheerful one. That the Gospel, therefore, does not exert its saving effects upon all that come within its influence, is owing to the perverse will of men who put it from them with disdain, and reject the gracious overtures of divine mercy. If even that inferior dispensation, which our Lord in Luke 16:

31, calls "Moses and the prophets," was fully adequate to make men wise unto salvation, if they would but suffer themselves to be persuaded, how much more must this be the case with the Gospel, which was first taught by the Lord from heaven, and "was confirmed unto us by them that hear Him," i. e. was published by competent witnesses, who had seen His miracles and heard His doctrines from His own lips. If, therefore, we hear not the Gospel, if we will not be persuaded by the accents of mercy in which it addresses us, neither would we be persuaded though one should rise from the dead to admonish us. It is not the outward means that can effect the change. It is the voice of God addressing the heart, when we devoutly listen to it and sincerely obey it. As our Savior says, "My words are spirit and they are life." The Gospel is the dispensation of the Spirit, because in it, in a peculiar degree, the Holy Spirit speaks to our spirit; and he that hears and obeys this voice within, shall be led into green pastures and beside still waters.

But the spirit operates in and with the word. Therefore St. James says: "Of his own will begat he us with the word of truth." And those who make light of the preached gospel, under the pretence that the Spirit must teach them, will find that they have sadly deceived themselves. It was while Peter was preaching on the day of Pentecost that three thousand, feeling themselves pricked in their hearts, said, "men and brethren, what shall we do?" and being exhorted to repent, they believed and were converted, and were added to the church. So it was, also, when the same apostle, being sent to open the door of the kingdom of heaven to the Gentiles, was preaching to Cornelius and those assembled with him: "While Peter yet spake these words the Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word." "Faith," says St. Paul, "cometh by hearing and hearing by the word of God," that is, by the preaching of it. It is necessary, therefore, if we would be benefitted, that we should use the means of grace, and particularly that we should attend to the preaching of the gospel. But it is not enough to sit and listen, without any previous preparation, or subsequent meditation upon what we have heard. What is especially needful is, that we should at once obey the command of God, and do whatever we know to be good and right; otherwise our attendance upon divine worship will be of little use, but will rather serve to harden our hearts and to aggravate our guilt. Hence St. James admonishes us that we "receive with meekness the

word which" says he, "is able to save your souls; but," he adds as a warning, "be ye doers of the word and not hearers only, deceiving your own souls." Though a fallen creature, man has not ceased to be a free agent, having the power of choice; true, in his natural state, without divine grace interfering, he would never choose the good, because his affections are drawn too powerfully to what is evil. But God, knowing this, has taken measures to counteract the influence of the world and of sinful desires ruling in the heart, so as to make a choice possible for man. The tumult of the passions is sometimes hushed; the feeling of his immortality will sometimes break in upon the most heedless; the dread of a future judgment will sometimes come upon the most hardened. These are the gracious operations of the Holy Spirit, and he that hears and heeds these gentle calls shall be led into all truth. By these means the soul of man is so far freed from its shackles that it can deliberately choose and act.

It were in fact taxing God with injustice and cruelty to suppose that, under our actual circumstances, it is impossible for us to repent, but that, in a different situation, we should find it comparatively easy. It is, in effect, *precisely* the language put by our Lord into the mouth of the idle servant: "I knew that thou wast a hard master, reaping where thou didst not sow, and gathering where thou hadst not strown." And out of their own mouth shall all such complainers be judged. We say not that God does not bestow the means of graee in different degrees upon different individuals and societies, dividing unto each severally as He, in his wisdom, sees fit. For he has a perfect right to do what he will with his own, and will show that he claims and exercises this right. But the faithful and humble improvement of the talent intrusted to us, however small, will not fail to obtain the approbation of our Lord, and to draw down a rich blessing from above. "To him that hath shall be given," while "from him that hath not shall be taken even that which he hath."

And where it pleases God to visit a society or a neighborhood with a larger measure of his grace and spirit than ordinary, it will be found to hold, almost universally, that those who had faithfully improved what they before enjoyed will be the ones who receive the blessing in their persons or in their families; while such as have wilfully neglected the means of grace before, may be expected to become more hardened than ever. So that, while a people is not suitably prepared for the blessing, it may be as much in mercy as in wrath that it is withheld. We do not by this wish to be understood

as limiting the grace of God; our feeble reason cannot fully comprehend the ways of the Infinite, whose path is in the deep and his footsteps are not known. At the same time, it is our duty to study the principles of his government as laid down in his word, and to regulate ourselves accordingly. "Secret things belong unto God; those things that are revealed belong unto us and to our children." Moreover, God is, in an especial sense, a hearer of prayer; and when christians, in the lively exercise of faith, cry unto the Lord, he may pour out a blessing upon them of which others, also, shall largely partake. And if christians felt that concern for their unconverted neighbors that they ought to feel, they would be both earnest and importunate in prayer in their behalf. Thus the ordinary means of grace would become extraordinary, by being accompanied by an increased display of divine power, and a rich effusion of the Holy Spirit; and believers would find their spiritual strength renewed, as they do that wait upon the Lord.

Finally, we would observe, that if the means employed by God to bring men to the knowledge of salvation are efficacious, and do produce the intended effect upon all that rightly improve them, and if the gospel is indeed the last and fullest revelation of the divine will, then we have no ground to expect any other means to be employed, or to suppose that any other provision is made for the salvation of men. To neglect this, therefore, is to perish. To continue impenitent under the sound of the gospel, is to insure final and irremediable ruin to ourselves, as our Lord makes Abraham say, "besides all this, betwixt us and you there is a great gulf fixed, so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot, neither can they pass to us that would come from thence."

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## ARTICLE III.

### MIRACLES.

By Rev. Theophilus Stork, A. M., Pastor of St. Matthew's Church, Philadelphia.

Miracles occupy a prominent place in every standard system of apologetics. They are associated with our earliest conceptions of revelation, and the two are, in fact, inseparable. We cannot conceive how a revelation could authenticate its heavenly origin and secure the intelligent credence of the world in any other way than by presenting this unquestionable seal of

divinity. And yet, the fact that revelation comes to us attested by supernatural agency, (the only conceivable way in which it could be made and certified,) has been, to many minds, a strong presumptive ground against its reception.

It is to this *preliminary* difficulty, in the admission of revelation, thus certified—this *presumption against miracles*, that I wish to devote the present discussion.

As introductory to the main topic for consideration, I remark that there is, in man's moral instincts and necessities, adequate ground for the antecedent probability of a divine revelation. If man has a religious nature and an immortal destiny, then our conceptions of the *Divine Being*, and the analogy of his works, lead us to anticipate an appropriate provision for the development and perfection of that nature, and the felicitious consummation of that destiny.

But without revelation there would be no such provision for man. He would exist as an anomaly in the universe. Whilst every buzzing insect and every songster of the forest revels in the very breath of love, and every cry of the young raven is heard from the lofty pine tossed in the darkening tempest, man would be left without an element or objects corresponding to his nature and destiny; with a heart full of gentle affections and lofty aspirations; with powers that would uplift themselves to some divine and eternal good, but with no adequate object to love, and no immortality opening to satisfy his infinite longings—like the eagle, with an eye to look undazzled upon the sun, and pinions to bear him upward, but no surrounding element in which to soar to the birth of day.

The *a fortiori* argument of the Savior for a particular providence applies with peculiar emphasis to this case. If every creature is surrounded with an element suited to its nature, and provided with objects adapted to its wants, shall man be left with no adequate provision for his spiritual wants and immortal nature? "Is he not much better than they?" If man's religious nature demands, for its appropriate exercise and development, such a beneficent interposal of divine goodness as is secured in revelation, shall we not expect such an interposition? "Shall not a father speak to his own child?"

But there was this antecedent probability that God would make a revelation; there was, anterior to the fact, reason to expect miracles, as the credentials of such a communication, as there is no other conceivable and adequate evidence of revelation but miracles.

Whether it be an intuition or an induction of the reason, we are so constituted that we cannot receive a revelation as

divine unless accompanied with miraculous manifestations. We might receive it as containing unexceptionable doctrinal truth, and rejoice in its professed disclosures of the future, just as we may admire much in the transcendent theories of Swedenborg; but we could not receive it with the authority of a divine revelation, unless accompanied with the indubitable confirmation of miracle. This is the "simple, natural, majestic seal which we should expect God would affix to a communication from himself; and when this seal is presented by men whose lives and words correspond with what we might expect from messengers of God, it is felt to be decisive."

In order to systemize our discussion, we shall consider consecutively the nature of miracles, their authoritative position, and the presumption against them, in their connexion with revelation.

### *I. The nature of Miracles.*

We may form some conception of miracles from the several terms by which they are designated in the New Testament.

1. They are called δυνάμεις, when reference is had simply to the manifestation of *divine power*, (Matth. 11 : 20). The cause is transferred to the effects. The power was inherent in Jesus, and was displayed in productions indicative of supernatural power.

2. They are styled "signs," as significant of the ethical meaning of the miracle.[1] This word reveals the true design of the miracle, as the seal of a divine commission. It is to be regretted that σημεια has not always been rendered "signs," in our English version, instead of miracles, which, in some instances, has obscured the meaning as well as impaired the consistency and force of the word in its particular connections, as in John 3 : 2. 6 : 26.

3. They are also styled τέρατα, "wonders," in reference to the feelings of amazement excited by the contemplation of such phenomena. The word, however, does not designate the ethical element in the miracle, nor define the specific purpose of these divine facts; and hence it is never employed by itself to point out the miracles, but always used in connection with some other word, as "signs," and "wonders," &c.

But even in this sense, viewed as phenomena exciting wonder, reducible to no known law, they subserved an important purpose, as startling the beholder, arresting his attention, and

[1] "Σημεια, werden sie genannt mit Rücksicht auf ihren Endzweck, oder ihre Bestimmung, dass sie uns zur Erkentniss von irgend etwas hinführen sollen."—*Lisco.*

placing him in a moral attitude favorable to the reception of the divine message.

The whole view of the miracles, as presented by these three terms, is stated in a concise and substantially correct manner by Pelt: "These three terms, δ. σ. τ., differ but little from each other. But Δυναμίς, in the singular number, is the power of performing miracles. They are called σ., inasmuch as they serve to prove the doctrine or divine mission; τερατα are wonders which excite admiration and surprise."[1]

(*a*) In attempting to give a formal definition of miracles, it is difficult to select such language as will be altogether unexceptionable. The one sanctioned by the most approved authors is sufficiently accurate and distinct to give them their authoritative position, as seals of a divine revelation. They are events or effects that take place, or are produced, in a manner not conformed to the common laws of nature, and which cannot be accounted for according to those laws.

To give perspicuity as well as comprehensiveness to this definition of Dr. Woods, I would add, that a miracle is a suspension of the regular and established succession of events, for a *specific* purpose.

Now this view of the miracle obviates the objection that is sometimes made, that the commonest process of nature is as inexplicable as those facts which we individualize and dignify as miracles. Without impairing the force of this definition, we admit that there is wonder and mystery everywhere; the events of every day are a history of miracles, and every familiar step is more than a story in a land of enchantment. And were the marble statue, as we gaze upon it, suddenly to glow with intelligent expression, it would not be intrinsically more wonderful than the familiar friend who greets us with a smile in the common walks of life The one would startle us, the other, by its familiarity, excites no feeling of wonder.[2] But But whilst we make this concession, we maintain that the miracle stands out as a peculiar exhibition of divine power, for a specific purpose.

We admit that the unfolding of a flower is as inexplicable as

> " * * * * Aaron's rod,
> That blossom'd at the sight of God."

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[1] Parum differunt tria ista δυνάμεις, σημεια, τερατα. Δυναμις numero singulari tamen est vis miraculornm eden dorum; σημεια quatenus comprobandae inserviunt doctrinae sive missioni divinae; τερατα portenta sunt, quae admirationem et stuporem excitant.—*Trench.*

[2] "Quotidiana Dei miracula ex assiduitate viluerunt."—*Gregory.*

That the waving harvest of summer, from the seed sown by the husbandman, is as marvellous, intrinsically, as the multiplication of the loaves under the creative touch of Jesus; and that the grapes clustering upon the vine is as inexplicable as the miracle at Cana, when, as it has been beautifully said, "the conscious water saw its God and blushed." And for aught we know, there may be no greater exertion of power in the miracle than in the ordinary processes of nature; but, according to our definition, it is a peculiar manifestation of divine power, for a *specific* purpose.

Whilst nature, in its ever-varying beauty and grandeur, declares the glory of God, it could never be confirmative of a special revelation, for the obvious reason that its voice speaks indiscriminately to all, and has no peculiar and personal significance. But in the miracle, the power concealed under what we call the laws of nature, is unveiled, and the hand that moves the world is made bare to attest the divine commission of those whom God has authorized to communicate his will to man. So that the *distinctive feature* of a miracle is the manifestation of divine power apart from and above the ordinary operations of nature, with the specific design of authenticating a divine revelation.

*(b)* But whilst the miracle is a manifestation of power different from that observable in nature, it is not necessarily a violation of the laws of nature. It transcends, but is not contrary to, nature. If we view nature merely as a piece of mechanism, operating by fixed laws, independently of the divine will, then miracles would appear violations of natural law. But, viewed as a constituent part of his universal kingdom, subject to his will, and designed to work out, ultimately, his glory, then what seems a violation of the laws of nature may only be the operation of a higher law, embraced in the regular order of the universe; and to the divine mind, comprehending the entire scope of his kingdom, these anomalous phenomena may be in the most perfect harmony with the ordained operation of all things to the final realization of his will. So that, what appears to us an infringement of the order of things, a miracle, may be in consonance with a higher harmony, transcending our apprehension, and belonging to a higher order of nature.

In the miracle the law of nature is only held in suspense by the introduction of a higher law. Of this we have many familiar instances around us; the mention of one will suggest others: "when I lift my arm, the law of gravitation is not, as far as my arm is concerned, denied or annihilated; it exists as

much as ever, but is held in suspense by the higher law of my will." Thus when Peter, at the bidding of his Lord, walked upon the tossing sea, the law of specific gravity was only held in suspense by the intervention of a higher law—the *will of Christ;* when Peter, by a defective faith, severed himself from this higher law, he was again subject to the natural law, and began to sink. So that in the miracle the inferior law is held in suspense by the higher for the attainment of a higher end. The laws of nature are made subordinate and subservient to the higher laws of God's moral government.

In this view, the miracle is neither a lawless interruption of nature nor a mere capricious display of power, but the intervention of a higher order, subordinating nature to a higher and nobler end. And he who does not recognise this subordinate relation of the natural to the moral world, is as far from the true system of the divine economy "as he would be from the true system of astronomy who should place the earth in the centre."

*II. Miracles as the credentials of a Divine revelation.*

(*a*) It is worthy of remark, that miracles are almost uniformly found in connection with revelation, and are but seldom associated with any other work of providence. So intimate is this connection, that they are actually made to assume four distinct general forms. Croly has presented them, in these four general aspects:

1. *In the patriarchal ages*, they were comparatively few, emanating exclusively from God himself in attestation of his being and perfections.

2. *In the birth of Judaism* — when they were intended to subserve a different purpose, they were no longer isolated instances of power proceeding immediately and exclusively from God; but the power was delegated to man, and made co-extensive with the various emergencies connected with the organization of a peculiar people, and the establishment of a peculiar form of government.

3. *Under the Christian dispensation* they assume a new form, adapted to confirm the mission of Christ. Here the power was inherent on Jesus, and not delegated as before; not confined to extraordinary occasions but extending to innumerable instances of every day life, transcending all the earlier miracles in power and comprehensiveness — displaying its divine control alike over the world of matter and of mind.

4. *In the extension of Christ's kingdom* we discover a new aspect in the miraculous power, adapted to the peculiar

necessities of the case. It is no longer, as before, an external agency: as in the smitten rock or the hushed tempest, but is mostly *internal* in its operation. It is now exhibited in supernatural, spiritual endowments; the communication of gifts — the capacity of speaking and interpreting various languages — of spiritual discriminations—of preaching or prophesying with peculiar impressiveness.

In such a revision of miracles, in their connection with revelation, there is seen an agency so plastic and comprehensive, so universal in its operation, exhibiting its achievements in a period at once of unprecedented intellectual development, and equally prevailing skepticism, that we cannot but exclaim, "This is the finger of God." "If it consist of deviations from the order of nature, it is like the deviations of the planetary system, not less provided for by the laws of nature. .... It refers to revelation as the order of nature refers to natural religion. The order establishes the existence of a God, the deviation establishes his will. Miracle is the τα φυσικα (physical form) of Revelation." When this testimonial is presented by men, whose spirit and character correspond to the dignity and sanctity of their mission, and the doctrines and truths thus sealed are worthy of God, the evidence of a divine revelation is final and incontrovertible.

(*b*) But it has been asked in this connection, whether the inherent excellency of the truths revealed, is not in itself, apart from miracles, an evidence of their divine origin. I answer, that such truths are accredited as from God, just as every good and perfect gift is from the Father of lights. But they would not designate the teacher as divinely commissioned to make a special revelation of God's will. An awakened sinner, or a disquieted christian might take up some practical work of Baxter, and feel the truths so happily adapted to impart comfort and peace to their souls, that they might exclaim, Verily these must be the very words of God. And, yet this, though the fact, would not be adequate to prove Baxter a divinely commissioned messenger of God to reveal his will, or justify the reception of his works as a divine revelation. There is an obvious distinction between truth and revealed truth. "A thing may be true, whether it is revealed or not; nay, it must be true independently of that consideration." But we receive christianity as a special revelation, as an authoritative record expressive of the divine will, and as such it must have some attestation beyond its general consonancy with our intellectual or spiritual nature, else every accredited principle of science

or moral philosophy would be a revelation. That additional and confirmative attestation is miracle.

(*c*) But is not the good tendency of the communication, at least a part of the evidence? This is but a slightly modified form of the preceding question. I answer that, properly speaking, it is not. It is a prërequisite to the admission of proof, but not the proof itself. It is antecedently incredible that God would make a revelation of evil tendency. If the professed revelation, therefore, be obviously of a bad tendency it is inadmissible of proof. Just as a lawyer must make out a credible case, before an intelligent court would admit the testimony of witnesses; and yet, the credibility would constitute no part of the proof. So, whilst the good tendency and excellent doctrines of revelation are prërequisites to the admission of testimony, they are not, and cannot be, apart from supernatural agency, proof of a special divine revelation. And in this view of the revelation, of the doctrines and the miracles, we cannot see the force in those words of Pascal which some men have attached to them: "We must judge of doctrine by miracles, and we must judge of miracles by doctrine. The doctrine attests the miracle, and the miracles authenticate the doctrine."[1] A candid examination of the several points suggested under this head, cannot fail to induce the conviction that there is no conceivable means by which God could authenticate a revelation to man but *miracles*, the chosen seal of the Almighiy Monarch.

### *III. The presumption against Miracles.*

There has always been a secret prejudice against miracles. It has revealed itself under various forms. It appears in the rationalistic theology of Germany. And, as will appear in the discussion of this part of our subject, it has, in some instances, assumed a form directly antagonistic to revelation. But even where it does not reach this formidable aspect of repugnance to miracles, asserting the essential incredibility of such facts, there is still a reluctance in many minds to admit these departures from the order of nature predicated in miracles. And if we mistake not, there is a tendency in this age, and in this country, to depreciate, if not altogether to overlook, these primitive and distinctive evidences of revelation. This objection to christianity, originating in this presumption against miracles, meets us at the very threshhold. And it appears to

[1] "Il faut juger de la doctrine par les miracles, il faut juger des miracles par la doctrine. La doctrine discerne les miracles, et les miracles discernent la doctrine."—*Pascal Pensées sur les miracles.*

me, that writers on apologetics have not given sufficient prominence to this preliminary ground of the argument for revelation. If this preliminary difficulty were removed, the evidences of the divine origin of revelation would be not only adequate, but absolutely overwhelming. "It is not from the weakness of the proof, but from the strength of the presumption against it, that it fails of producing conviction."

We shall devote the remainder of this article to a revision of some of the various forms of this prejudice against miracles.

A modified form of this feeling may be seen in many honest believers in their disposition to overlook the miracles as the wonders of a distant age, answering an important purpose in the first introduction of christianity, but of little use now as evidences of their religion; and the consequent inclination to resort exclusively to the internal evidence. They are satisfied with the intrinsic excellence of their religion—its adaptation to their spiritual wants, and the secret responses of their own hearts to its teachings—this is all the evidence they desire. They are ready to exclaim with Coleridge, "Evidences of christianity! I am weary of the word. Make a man feel the want of it; rouse him, if you can, to the self-knowledge of his need of it; and you may safely trust it to its own evidence."

But those who unite in this fervid exclamation forget that miracles are fundamental to the very existence of objective christianity. And although in their spiritual apprehension and experience of its blessed truths, they may not feel the necessity of miracles to confirm their faith in religion, still they are, in fact, the ultimate basis upon which the whole system rests. Just as they may live for years in their well-constructed houses, in quietness and peace, without ever thinking of the foundation upon which they rest; and yet, this very quietness is based on the admission of the foundation upon which the superstructure reposes. So are miracles in the christian system; they are like the massive subterranean arches and columns of a huge building. Miracles support the edifice, and upon a divine foundation. "They show us, that if the superstructure is fair and beautiful to dwell in, and if its towers and endless flight of steps appear to reach even up to heaven, it is all just what it seems to be; for it rests upon the broad foundation of the Rock of Ages."—*Ware.*

This illustrates the fallacy of those who wish to dispense with miracles in their evidences of christianity. Yet their very faith in religion, if it is worth any thing, presupposes a speculative or traditional belief in the christian system, as rest-

ing fundamentally upon this basis. But, besides, we do not, by withdrawing from the outward miraculous attestation of religion, escape the necessity of admitting supernatural agency in revelation; for christianity is not only confirmed by miracles, but is in itself, in its very essence, a miraculous religion. The internal evidence is of the nature of miracles. That the fishermen of Galilee should, without supernatural illumination, produce such a book as the New Testament, is as inadmissible as that an untutored savage should have composed the *Principia* of Newton — which would be as incredible as that he could have created the world. The character of Jesus is itself a moral miracle. Miracle, indeed, is a primary and an essential element of this religion. So that we cannot avoid this presumption against revelation, as attested by supernatural agency, by retiring from the external to the internal evidences of christianity. If the objection on the ground of miracles is valid, it must be fatal to the christian system.

Whatever may be the origin of this disposition to discredit miracles, we confidently affirm that it is not an essential principle of our mental constitution; and that it is both unphilosophical in its assumptions, and atheistical in its tendencies. This, we think, will appear upon a revision of the various forms of its manifestation.

(*a*) As the Jews and heathen, in their opposition to the miracles, did not call in question the facts, their assaults upon the miracles are not properly embraced, in the present discussion. We begin with those whose presumption against miraculous agency has amounted to an assertion of the essential incredibility of such facts. This form of opposition may be referred to Spinoza, who denied the possibility of miracles as contrary to the idea of God. Most of the modern forms of opposition are but modified developments of the Spinozistic philosophy. Spinoza's doctrine of eternal necessity precluded alike the possibility of revelation and of miracles.

This theory is scarcely deserving of a serious consideration. The summary disposition of the whole matter by Lisco is, perhaps, the best: "The question, whether God can perform miracles? is one highly absurd, inasmuch as we believe and acknowledge that He is the Almighty, with whom nothing is impossible; this absurd question, however, arises *on the one side*, from that false idea of nature, which regards nature only as a dead mechanism, about which the Creator gives himself no further trouble, and from interfering with whose unchangeable and established laws he entirely abstains and must abstain; *on the other side* it is based upon unbelief in the mir-

acles recorded in Sacred Writ, for where belief in the miracles as *actual* occurrences and facts that have once transpired, exists, there the question as to their possibility no longer arises, since it is already answered by the actuality."

*(b)* Another ground of prejudice against the admission of miracles, is *the uniform order observable in nature.* The phenomena of the universe, so far as they have come under the inspection of man, are seen to be regulated by general and permanent laws, and to proceed upon a prëestablished order. And the more the secrets of nature are divulged, the stronger is the conviction of uniformity in her operations. In the progressive developments of science, many phenomena, once considered irregular, are found to be embraced in the general order. The comet, once stared at as some fire-winged, lawless vagrant through the heavens, is now known to observe the same general laws of attraction. And even the vagaries of Uranus, so long perplexing astronomers, by its anomalous motions, have been reconciled to the permanent laws that control and harmonize the solar system. So that there is truth as well as beauty in that poetical effusion of Nichol, after considering the wonderful order and comprehensive harmonies of the government of God: "Within whose august, whose perfect harmonies, the fragile lilly issues from its stem, robed as the most beauteous queen, and the feathered songster pours forth those bursts of melody, which are heard even amid the solemn music of the stars."

This universal order pervading all the works of God — this continuous uniformity in the processes of nature, disposes the mind to look with distrust upon the alleged violations of this order, and originates a presumption against miracles, which, in some instances, is tantamount to a conviction of their essential incredibility. The presumption against miracles originating in this observed uniformity of nature, may be identified with Hume's celebrated argument. Hume does not assert the abstract impossibility of the miracle, as Spinoza—but assumes that it is incapable of proof.

Whilst we would refer the reader to Campbell's work for a complete analysis and refutation of Hume's argument, we can give but a passing notice to those few talismanic words, "no testimony can prove a miracle," at the mere utterance of which the terrible genii of the gospel mysteries vanish into air. The whole presumption against miracles, according to this famous argument, is founded upon experience; as if human experience were the standard for the admeasurement of divine power; as if this infantile experience of an ephem-

eral existence were competent to determine all the possible modes of divine operation. "The experience," says an original American writer, "which makes a man feel as if there could be no more miracles, seems to me narrow, and (if I may say so) provincial; like that which makes an ignorant and home-bred rustic feel as if every thing in the great world must be just like what he had seen in his father's house, and fills him with astonishment amounting to incredulity, at every thing new and extraordinary."

Hume's proposition, that "it is contrary to experience that miracles should be true, but not contrary to experience that testimony should be false," when subjected to a fair analytical investigation, appears as a most glaring instance of paralogism. "It is not contrary to experience that testimony should be false." That common rumor should be false, is not contrary to experience; but that the testimony of individuals of acknowledged virtue and unimpeachable integrity and judgment should be untrue, is at variance with universal experience. There are individuals on whom we would rely as much as on the testimony of our own senses. And as those who have testified to the christian miracles were men of unimpeachable virtue, with no conceivable motive to falsify in the case, it would be *contrary to all experience* if their testimony should be false; and to discredit their statement of these alledged facts on the principle of Hume's proposition, would be subversive of all the laws of human belief.

Besides, if the strongest testimony is inadequate to substantiate a miracle, because testimony has often deceived me, whilst nature has ever been uniform in its operations, then I could not believe a miracle, though wrought before my eyes, or attested by all my senses; for they have deceived me, whilst nature has proceeded with an unvarying constancy: and, consequently, I must not believe what one or more of my senses, under the most favorable circumstances, declare to be true.

The argument is a "*reductio ad absurdum;*" for, not to believe, in the case supposed, is impossible, and is instinctively pronounced absurd. It is, moreover, suicidal; for, to discredit the testimony of my senses, under favorable circumstances, would be subversive of that very order and uniformity of nature upon which his whole argument rests; for the only possible recognition of this uniformity is through the exercise of my senses and judgment, and if these are not reliable, in unexceptionable circumstances, "then their testimony to na-

ture is of little worth," and nothing is left but a universal skepticism.

So far, then, from admitting the proposition that "it is not contrary to experience that testimony should be false," we assert what we believe will be responded to by the honest conviction of mankind, that when the testimony is given by persons of unimpeachable character, with no conceivable motive for deception, then it would be contrary to the universal experience of our race if it should be any thing but true. The paralogism of Hume is obvious; he confounds "the *lowest degree* of testimony with the *highest*, and then draws his conclusion as if the lowest alone existed."

The other proposition is equally fallacious. "It is contrary to experience that miracle should be true." I cannot suppose that Hume meant contrary to personal experience of a particular fact. And hence Paley and others, who have answered the argument by a misconception of his meaning, seem to me to reason irrelevantly. Hume evidently meant, that it was contrary to the general experience of the order of nature—contrary to the experience of all mankind in all ages. What, then, is the nature of his argument? Why, he undertakes to prove that no man has ever witnessed or experienced a miracle, and his real argument is, that no one *has* ever witnessed or experienced it. "In other words, to *prove* that there has never been a miracle, he *asserts* that there never has been a miracle"—a most glaring and insulting instance of "petitio principii." The whole argument is a tissue of sophistical reasoning, which, in a mind of such logical acumen and discrimination as Hume's, is wholly inexplicable, except on the presumption of antecedent hostility to the religion which he sought to invalidate.

Mill, in his admirable system of logic, has placed the argument of Hume in its proper light. He says: "All which Hume has made out (and this he must be considered to have made out) is, that no evidence can be sufficient to prove a miracle to any one who did not previously believe the existence of a being or beings with supernatural power," (chap. 25: 2.) On the assumption that Hume was an atheist, it must be conceded that he reasons well, and has fully made out his case in accordance with his creed. But to those who acknowledge the being and perfections of God, controlling and subordinating nature to the higher purposes of his moral government, the whole argument is as futile, illogical, and inconsequent as it well could be.

To the devout theist, the wonder is, not that there are miracles, but that the great Author of our being so constantly retires behind the veil of his works, and does not oftener appear in the blazing bush and cloud-capped mountain. "I have wondered that the curtain of mystery that hides the other world were not sometimes lifted up; that the cherubim of mercy and of hope were not sometimes throned on the clouds of the eventide; that the bright and silent stars did not break the deep stillness that reigns among them with the scarcely fabled music of the spheres; that the rich flood of morning light, as it bathes the earth in love, did not utter voices from its throne of heavenly splendor, to proclaim the goodness of God. No! I wonder not at marvels and miracles. That scene on the mount of transfiguration—Moses and Elias talking with our Savior—seems to me (so far from being strange and incredible) to meet a want of the mind; and I only wonder, if I may venture to say so, that it is not sometimes repeated."[1]

*(c)* Another form of this prejudice against miracles appears in the modern interpreters, who consider them only as "seeming miracles—only apparent, not real, interruptions of the order of nature."[2] But how, then, could miracles confirm a divine revelation? This view abstracts from the miracle its supernatural element, and is virtually a rejection of the miracle altogether. For, if the alledged miracles were only such in appearance, because anticipations of developments in the kingdom of nature, and may yet become as explainable, if not as familiar, as any of the phenomena of nature, where would be the evidence of a special divine commission? Take a familiar historical illustration: the obscuration of the sun, at the very time previously designated by Columbus, was, to the untutored inhabitants of the New World, a *miracle*, and they recognised in the Genoese sailor a supernatural being. *Suppose Columbus* had founded a claim to be a divinely-commissioned messenger, and established a system of religion upon this apparent miracle? For a time the imposture might remain undetected, and the delusion be kept up. But what would be the inevitable destiny of such a system in after years, when the rude inhabitants, enlightened by civilization, and permitted to look into the sublime revelations of Astronomy, should

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[1] O. Dewey's Controversial Disc.

[2] "Sie sind zwar nothwendig begriffen im Naturzusammenhange daher nach diesem überall zu forschen ist, aber sie überschritten weit die Kenntniss und Kraft der Zeitgenossen."—*Hase.*

discover that what was imposed upon them as a *miracle*, was an intelligible and a common phenomenon of the solar system. Would they not disdainfully reject the whole system as an imposture? Would they not say, "We were deceived!" And would not this be the ultimate result in regard to the miracles of Christ, if, in any future developments of science, it should be ascertained that they belonged to the natural order of events? Would not the glory with which miracles invested the Son of God be diminished, with the gradual development of the mysteries of nature, until it would fade into the light of common day, and by its vanishing prove that it was only a delusive meteor? And would not the whole system be revealed to the world as a gross imposition, upon the credulity and superstition of an immature age? Such an explanation is utterly inadmissible.

Schleiermacher, in his "Glaubenslehre," which he sent forth to wrestle with the cold-hearted rationalism of the age, endeavors to guard this view from the construction of a total denial of the miracle. He says, "Christ had not only a deeper acquaintance with nature than any other that ever lived, but was able to evoke, as from her hidden recesses, her most inward sanctuary, powers which none other could; although, still, powers which lay in her already. These facts, which seem exceptional, were deeply laid in the first constitution of the law; and now, at this turning point of the world's history, by the providence of God, who had arranged all things from the beginning of the world for the glory of his Son, did at his bidding emerge. Yet simple and without analogy as they were, they belonged to the law as truly as when the aloe puts forth its flower, or is said to put it forth, once in its hundred years, it yet does this according to its own innermost nature."[1]

We cannot, for a moment, entertain this attempt to bring the miracles within the province of nature's hidden and undiscovered processes, because it is destructive of the distinctive element of the miracle, which is a fact referred to the omnipotence of God as its ultimate cause, and which must ever remain inexplicable by any law of nature. Whoever believes these divine facts of the Bible as absolute miracles, is grounded in the conviction that "they never can be derived from mere laws of nature, from a natural order, or from the powers of nature."[2]

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[1] As quoted by Trench.

[2] "Das sie niemals aus blossen Naturgesetzen, Naturordnung, und Naturkräften, werden hergeleitet werden können."—*Lisco.*

But *this theory*, even if *admitted*, leaves much that is unexplained, except on the admission of the supernatural. Take for instance, the tempest that was lulled at the words of Jesus. Admitting, according to this theory, the existence of latent powers in the tossing elements, though veiled from the inspection of man, which produced the sudden and wondrous calm upon the belligerent winds and water; still there must be assumed a miraculous knowledge in Him who "discerned either that power or the exact moment of its operation." So in regard to the sick healed or the dead raised, admitting a secret power in the diseased or dead body, suddenly to restore health to the one and life to the other; still, the knowledge of the precise moment when that latent recuperative or resuscitating power would be operative, must have been miraculous. So that every consistent explanation of the internal evidences of christianity, demands the admission of miracles as the simple and majestic seal of God to revelation.

(*d*) Omitting other manifestations of this prejudice against miracles, we have time merely to glance at its development in the rationalism of Germany. Shortly after the publication of the Wolfenbüttel manuscripts, in 1774, in which the miracles were assailed, a class of theologians appeared, who denied the miraculousness of many of the supernatural events of the Old Testament, and endeavored to explain them upon natural principles. Among the first and most distinguished of this class was Eichhorn. According to his view, as quoted by Strauss, all the wonders of the Mosaic history were resolvable into natural phenomena. The flame and smoke which ascended from Sinai at the delivery of the law, were merely a fire which Moses kindled, in order to make a deeper impression upon the people, together with an accidental thunderstorm, which arose at the particular moment.[1] With the same facility he disposes of the other miraculous occurrences of the Bible. His rationalistic system attracted great attention, and acquired an immense popularity. But it soon lost its hold upon the public mind by its obvious contradictions and glaring absurdities.

Strauss, who with a giant's thrust, threatened a total demolition of Eichhorn's system, introduced the mythical theory as applicable to the whole structure of the Evangelical history. According to his explanation of the miracles, they were nothing more than fabulous and fanciful embellishments of the Gospel history. He begins with the assumption that it is in-

[1] See Strauss' Leben Jesu.

credible that God should authenticate a revelation by supernatural agency. And having antecedently decided, in the spirit of the Spinozistic philosophy, that the miracle is impossible, he proceeds, with this prejudgment of the case, to a critical examination of the miracles in detail. And if in any instance he is baffled in disposing of these supernatural facts, according to his mythical theory, he at once reverts to his philosophic ground and exclaims, "But if we admit that it was thus, then we should have here a miracle, and we have started from the first principle that such is inconceivable."

This summary and unconditional rejection of the miracles, is at variance with the childlike and trustful, the expansive and unprejudiced spirit of true philosophy, and utterly inconsonant with the humility and teachableness that should characterize the successful student of the Bible, as well as of nature. With what philosophic forecast does Bacon portray the spirit of true philosophy when he says, that "The access to the kingdom of man, which is founded on the sciences, resembles that to the kingdom of Heaven, where no admission is conceded except to children." The humbling precept, "become as little children," is as true in philosophy as in religion. This precept Dr. Strauss has not obeyed.

Among the works elicited by Dr. Strauss's Leben Jesu, was Neander's Life of Christ. This work was not intended as a formal refutation of Strauss's false assumptions, and skeptical philosophy, but simply as a development of Neander's individual views of the great facts in the life of the Redeemer. A critical review of this work is a desideratum in this country, and one competent for the task could not make a more valuable contribution to our Journal than by preparing such a review. Much as we admire this work, there are some things decidedly objectionable, and, as we conceive, of injurious tendency.

In his prefatory address, he assumes positions in relation to the prerogatives of reason in its reception of the Gospel narratives, which appear to us too rationalistic. This assumption of the right to reject statements in the Evangelists, which are conceived to conflict with reason, if followed out to its legitimate results would be subversive of the whole christian system. There seems to us a serious misconception of the true office of reason, when it is expected to arbitrate "from their mere nature, whether the things recorded in the gospels are a revelation or not. It is as consummate a solecism as it were to ascribe to it the function of omniscience." And it is equally erroneous to make reason the exclusive arbiter of the

natural and supernatural facts by which a revelation from God is certified. In some of the miraculous attestations, reason, so far from being the exclusive arbiter, is subordinate in its decisions. Without entering, however, upon the analysis of his position, it is obvious that Neander assigns to the office of reason prerogatives, which, if exercised, would justify the rationalistic speculations, and vindicate the ultra-rationalists in their rejection of all the miraculous facts of the Bible. And this very principle has led Neander to interpretations of some of the gospel facts, which a mind uninfected with rationalism would not tolerate for a moment.

Look at his rationalistic construction of the narrative of the nativity, and its attendant wonders. The process by which he divests a part of the narrative of its supernatural features, would be equally legitimate in its application to the whole history, and result in the rejection of all that is miraculous in the narrative. His theory concerning the star is wholly inadmissible, and in the light of astronomical facts, "fraught with a stupendous impossibility."[1]

His views in reference to the Temptation, are equally objectionable. It is, according to his construction, as really a myth as in the interpretation of Strauss. And he can offer no reason for such a construction, in this case, that Strauss might not apply in vindication of his lawless crusade against all that is miraculous in the gospel narrative — striking them from the sacred record, and supplanting them by some rationalistic creation, or mere dream of the fancy; so that there is, in reality, (says a distinguished reviewer) no great diversity in their fundamental principles. Their difference is chiefly, that whilst Strauss is a rationalistic mythist throughout, Neander is sometimes a rationalist, sometimes, though less frequently, a mythist, and sometimes neither, but follows, as he should, the laws of philosophy.

We hope that some one adequate to the task, will prepare a critical review of this great and, in many respects, admirable work.

We have not entered upon the great questions involved in Apologetics. We have simply considered the preliminary ground of the argument for christianity. And this we regard as of great importance; for the evidences of a divine revelation are absolutely irresistible, if it were not for this presumption against miraculous attestations.

Let all unreasonable prejudice against the admission of

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[1] Rev. D. N. Lord.

miracles as the accrediting seals of a divine revelation, be removed; let the individual, freed from all prepossessions against miraculous agency, conducted by the miracles to the very feet of the Son of God, behold, with childlike humility and teachableness, the wonderful works of His hands, and the evidence will be absolutely overwhelming; and his heart will respond to the sentiment uttered by Nicodemus: "Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God; for no man can do *these miracles that thou doest* except God be with him."

And every subsequent examination of the history, doctrines and tendency of the revelation thus attested, would inspire the conviction, that no religion can be compared "with the pure and humble and beneficent religion of Christ, heralded by prophecy, sealed by miracles, and now, after eighteen hundred years, going forth with all its pristine vigor to bless the nations."[1]

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## ARTICLE IV.

### OUR OFFICE—AN EPISTLE.*

Translated from the German of Rev. T. F. Karrer, by Rev. Geo. Diehl, A. M., Pastor of Christ's Church, Easton, Pa.

My dear friend,

You have given me a pressing invitation to be present at your approaching Installation: and you purpose that we should then exchange the sentiments of our hearts on the subject of our common office. I deeply regret that I am prevented from accepting your kind invitation, so that, being present in person, I might receive some spiritual gift through you, and, if possible, be of service to you. This latter I mention, not in the spirit of vanity, but rather to avoid the pretense of humility. What I cannot do orally, I will accomplish by writing this letter. Silver and gold have I none, as you know; else would I gladly send you some other token of my regard; but that which I have, I give

For seventeen years a laborer in the vineyard of the Lord, and therefore not to be considered a novice in the office, I will now attempt a brief sketch of my experience in the sacred ministry. Examine, then, my statements, and take from

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[1] Pres. Hopkins.

* From the "Zeitschrift für die gesammte Lut. Theol. u. Kirche," 1849. I.

them whatever may appear valuable to you. I perceive also that my sentiments (if erroneous) might prove injurious to you, for there exists between us the highest mutual esteem. But for this very reason, I feel bound to open my heart the more freely to you. And I wish no one, not even yourself, to give my opinions more weight than their intrinsic worth demands.

Now to the point. Not a "*pastorale*" shall this be, but "*pastoralia*" would I give. Nothing less important is it, dear friend and brother; nothing less precious, which you desire, with your office, and which will soon be yours, than to be: *A servant of God, a servant of the Word,* and *a servant of the Church.*

Yes: our office naturally divides itself into these three grand topics, alike inseparably connected, and yet never to be confounded with each other — like the three persons of the holy Trinity, and the necessary consequence, the three articles of our christian faith. By this one expression, I have already indicated to you, the result of my observation and practice in the ministry. If I do not err, this view accords with the biblical representations of the prophetic, and likewise of the apostolic office, with the portraiture of the christian teacher in the earliest centuries of church history, as well as the opinions on the subject of the christian ministry, held by the reformers in general, and by the theologians of the Lutheran church in particular. It is not necessary that I should refer you to the import (in the original) of "the servants of the Lord" in the Old Testament. For example, (Isaiah 61: 6.) "Ye shall be named the priests of the Lord: men shall call you the ministers of our God."; — or the calling of the prophets to proclaim the divine word, as an example, take Jer. 20: 8, 9.: "For since I spake, I cried out, I cried violence and spoil: because the word of the Lord was made a reproach unto me, and a derision daily. Then I said, I will not make mention of him, nor speak any more in his name. But his word was in my heart as a burning fire, shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing and I could not stay."

I ought rather to refer you to the signification of the original of "the great congregation," (Ps. 22: 25.) and of "Zion," the type of the congregation of the saints.

When we examine the New Testament, on what do the apostles lay greater stress, than that they were "servants of the Lord," (δοῦλοι θεοῦ)? And does not St. Paul connect with the first division of our subject the second when he writes: "For God is my witness, whom I serve with my spirit in the

gospel of his Son." (Rom. 1: 9.) And could the service of the word be more strongly expressed than it is by the same apostle, in 1 Cor. 9: 16–18. "For though I preach the gospel, I have nothing to glory of: for necessity is laid upon me: yea, woe is me, if I preach not the gospel! For if I do this thing willingly, I have a reward: but if against my will, a dispensation of the gospel is committed unto me. What is my reward then? Verily, that when I preach the gospel, I may make the gospel of Christ without charge, that I abuse not my power in the gospel." And does he not unite the third head with the second, when he continues: 1 Cor. 19: 19. "For though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all, that I might gain the more."

The church at Antioch sent forth the apostle on a missionary tour, and when he returned he gave them an account of his labors. — The earlier church history does not, indeed, furnish me with materials for establishing the preceding assertion. Yet Augustine acquaints us with the fact that these three elements entered into his view of the ministry. So far as our church is concerned, it will be conceded that this three-fold division, *servus Dei*, *verbi divini minister*, *ecclesiae minister*, is prominently set forth, in private and public writings, as well as in the liturgical service of the office. It would perhaps lead me out of my natural line of thought, to remark, that among the earlier writers it may not have been designed that the servant of God was almost always named first, the servant of the word next, and the servant of the church last. But the expression of servant, in either division is comprehensive, and may be regarded as embracing the others; just as in the Apostolic benediction the love of the Father attracts to the grace of the Son and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit; so, likewise, the grace of the Son includes the love of the Father and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit brings and perfects the love of the Father and the grace of the Son. Thus, on the other hand, we are authorized to contemplate more closely these three points separately, that in their combined form they may make a deeper impression on our minds.

Servant and minister shall you be: thus saith the Lord. This is the keynote of all that the prophets and apostles have said on the subject, the keynote of the entire proclamation of the divine revelation to man. The Lord hath sent me: the consciousness of this gave Jeremiah courage to oppose the world with all its enmity, the mighty ones of the earth, and the prince of the power of the air. I am an apostle, a mes-

senger of the Lord — the consciousness of this was constantly in the minds of the apostles who overcame the world. This thought gives me power. The Lord, whom I serve, will not forsake a faithful minister. He will shield his servant. He will not suffer him to fall or perish. The Lord will not withhold his aid in the discharge of the duties of my office. In Him I have a power against all ungodliness. He will give me strength for every duty. If I am only found faithful — if He will only approve of my weak endeavors to serve him, I shall have sympathy and aid. Such thoughts give courage to the heart and energy to the mind. I speak and labor with the authority of God — the thought of this arms the soul against temptation, and preserves us from error in the appropriate functions of our office. To have the substance of a discourse accurately fixed in the memory — to have studied the sermon thoroughly (and I advise you not only to reflect much on your subject, but also to write out your discourse and commit it to memory,) is of much advantage. The consciousness of being well prepared gives the speaker confidence. But the influence of this is feeble when compared with the thought— "I am an ambassador of God." This faith in our high commission gives power to the soul. The thought that God exhorts through me; that through me He teaches, warns, persuades, entreats, is calculated to produce in my mind the tenderest love to my hearers, with a feeling of personal humility, but at the same time the most manly independence. The idea of serving God alone protects the minister from seeking the favor of man. It leads to a constant effort in small as well as in weightier matters, to be conformed to the will of God and the image of the Savior. If his mind be deeply penetrated with the thought of his responsibility to God, he will not aim at the love of man, or human applause, or earthly advantage. But he will walk in the footsteps of the apostle Paul, who says: "Do I now conciliate men or God? or do I seek to please men? for if I yet pleased men I should not be the servant of Christ." Gal. 1 : 10.

Let me here make a brief reference to your situation. If I am correct in my opinion of you, you are in little danger (the grace of God assisting you) from those men who take offense at the truth; who wish in every clergyman a preacher of natural religion; one who never alarms the sinner's conscience, but preaches a frigid morality. But that you may not come into danger in an opposite direction, I will point out a rock on which many zealous young men have been wrecked. I mean this: I know that there are in the church to which

God has called you, a considerable number of awakened persons, who are placing high expectations on you. So far as they wish, in you, to hear a man of God, one who will preach *not himself*, but *the Lord*, not his own wisdom, but that which comes from above — so far as they long after the secret consolation of the Gospel of the free grace of God in Christ, and willingly submit themselves to the rigor of the law, well and good. Here there is no danger. But when they desire that you should make a distinction between themselves and all others whom they do not consider as converted — that you should lecture others soundly from the pulpit, but spare them in their faults and weaknesses—that you should not proclaim the entire harmony of the gospel, but present a one-sided view so as to hold up their characters in the most favorable light — that you should extend your field of activity and labor among the members of other congregations; and they give you to understand, not by obscure intimation, that, unless you do all this, you are not a faithful servant of God. In these things you must not yield to their wishes; no, not even for an hour. This would only be another form of man-fearing, man-pleasing, man-service. It would be an injury to your sacred office, to yourself, to those simple-minded, pious souls, who are the strength of the church, those genuine christians, with whom religion does not consist in words, but in deeds and in charity, but also an injury to the presumptuous, awakened ones, whom the enemy has led into spiritual pride. If their wishes and prejudices were gratified, they would soon be ruined. Their presumptuous and uncharitable demands must be boldly resisted. By kindness and firmness you will be able to lead them from the error. The well-meaning ones will be reclaimed, and the insincere, who are not of us, will fall away. The youthful will grow in grace and the riper members rejoice. There is something sublime and glorious in thus proclaiming the truth, looking neither to the high nor to the low, neither to this man nor to that one, not even to him who wears the triple crown and whom they call holy, but to God alone, and preaching the pure doctrines of the Bible without any mixture of human prejudice or error. Will you not with me praise the Redeemer, and say, "Lord! who am I that thou hast counted worthy, permitting me to be thy servant in the gospel of thy Son?"

But the second is like unto the first. The service of the Word is sublime and glorious as the service of God. We can come unto the Father only through the Son. No man know-

eth the Son but the Father and he to whom the Father will reveal him. So we do not perceive immediaiely how we are to serve God, but from His revelation in the sacred Scriptures, in which we find Him, by whom the prophets and apostles spake, the Lord Jesus Christ. Is not the Lord Jesus Christ the Word, which in the beginning was with God, and which became flesh? So will the service of the Word be the intermediate member between the service of God and the service of the church. *Servant of the Word:* that is, the word is a master, a Lord, a teacher, an authority over you: — you, its servant, pupil, subject. Yes: let us never forget that we are in this service; and especially as so many are reluctant to it, and knowingly depart from the service of God, as so many speak against the Son of man, and against the Sacred Scriptures. They wish themselves to be the Lords of the word, that they may dispose of it, taking from or adding to it according to their inclinations. They do not recognize the word, as it really is, a sacred good entrusted to us: but they would be masters over it, and from them the apostles, not to say the prophets could learn much, at whose feet the sacred writers should sit and be taught how they should have written. As the heavens are higher than the earth, so the word of God transcends all human discourse. And do the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament show forth his handywork, and the precious stars make so beautiful a revelation of their Creator's power and wisdom? — so shine the lights which God has given to rule the night of the soul—the books and precepts of the Bible. If we will listen to their voice they will tell us all "that is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be thoroughly furnished unto all good works." Is it not to be esteemed a great blessing, preëminently enjoyed in the sacred office, to be permitted to look into the serene heavens of the Bible, opening to the view a celestial scenery, more glorious, more enrapturing than the clearest starry night does to the astronomer? What a privilege, to be a messenger of truth: to take into our hands heaven's revelation, and come before the people with "Thus saith the Lord:" not to bring forth our own unworthy thoughts, but to preach the high thoughts and ways of God! There goes forth from this word a power to quicken, a power to alarm and a power to heal. There resides in it an inward energy and a divine consolation. He who gives his whole soul to it, will enjoy it in its sweetness and its power. It clothes the minister with authority, and puts into his hand the sword of the Spirit. It entrusts

us with the office of preaching reconciliation and righteousness through the Redeemer. The inward conviction that we are the servants of the word, fortifies us against all the assaults of the natural man, and arms us with ability for the performance of our duties. It leads us to listen honestly to its voice, and diligently to search into its contents as for hidden treasures: to wish, to believe and say, only what the Scriptures say, to have our own sentiments harmonize and blend with the sentiments glowing on the sacred page: to hold as eternally settled whatever the Scriptures have fixed, and to reject unconditionally all that may be opposed to them: to speak forth in every discourse the sentiments of the Bible, and to make the sermon a development of the text. For example: if the text flow with honey — the honey of the divine love and mercy — we are not to embitter it, by holding forth the wrath of God; when the text threatens the sinner, so that one must shudder and tremble, we are not to mitigate the truth with tenderness; if the text treat of the holy mysteries of our faith — of the Trinity—of the incarnation of the Son of God — of justification through grace — of the gift of the Holy Ghost —we are not to discourse of this or that christian duty; when the text speaks of the fruits of the Spirit and the virtues of the christian life, we are not to preach of faith; when the text speaks of the depravity of man and the corruptions of the human heart, we are not to paint the joys of heaven; and when the text points to the rest that remains to the people of God, we are not to portray the torments of the lost. When the Scriptures present some important truths frequently you must not hesitate, through a false delicacy of taste, to utter the same again and again, as Paul's taste was not offended at writing the same over again. When the Scriptures present the new commandment, and bring forth out of their treasure things new, you are not to exhibit the old. And much more might be said in illustration of this principle. Thus you see, that, in my opinion, we fulfill our calling most completely and conscientiously, as servants of the divine word, when we open the text and explain it fully, whether our method be the analytic or the synthetic. Then, let the passage under consideration be fully exhibited to the congregation by a fair construction, and you will hold forth, in regular connexion, the entire harmonious system of divine truth for the edification of the church. This will also prove a security against all unauthorized interpretation.

Thus in all our ministerial acts the Bible is to control us: we are subject to its authority. The divine word is to be the

foundation of all our discourse, not only in the exercises of the temple of worship, but also in all those pastoral duties, to the performance of which we are called in the casualties and occurrences of life, among our people; for example, the occasion of a private baptism, the solemnizing of wedlock, the visit to the sick room, the occasion of overwhelming trouble which the minister is called to soothe, communion in the sick chambers, death in a family, a funeral, or an ordinary pastoral visit. On all such occasions, when the pastor is required to instruct, to comfort, to set the sanction and authority of his high office to the transaction, his main furniture must be the divine word. On some of these occasions, a passage or chapter can be read; or if not, the remarks of the minister should abound with sentiments drawn from the fountain of truth. Thus the word of God is placed as a candle on a bushel, and in the light that shines forth from it, we place the condition and circumstances of the person, that his feelings and purposes may be illuminated by it. The word of God thus consecrates every relation and occurrence of life.

If you will allow me to speak of myself, I thank my God that by an inward feeling (meine innere Führung) as I trust, I was led into the right path. Even at the University, when but poorly provided with theological furniture, I had a predilection for exegesis, so that I became exceedingly fond of philological studies. Already in the second year, and more thoroughly in the third, I read the New Testament without commentaries, and made a written translation of it. I thus became familiar with the Bible, and the sacred text was deeply impressed upon my memory. I look back upon those studies now, as the most blessed employment I was ever engaged in. Perhaps from the influence of it on my mind, it comes that in all my preaching, the leading feature is the exposition of the text as much as possible in scriptural language, illustrated by parallel passages. And this I intend to do (if God will give me grace) until the close of my life. I know that by many, with whom a more methodical plan is natural, my method of preaching has been condemned as too tame. Improper motives have even been ascribed to me. I am aware, too, that had I yielded to the intimation of friends, or aimed at the applause of my congregation, I should have adopted a different plan. But I repeat it: I heartily thank my God that I never permitted myself to be influenced by their solicitations so as to change my mode of preaching. Had I done so, it would now fill my mind with the keenest pain, under the conviction that I had fallen away from the service of the word.

It will not be sufficient, indeed, in a lifeless manner to read long passages from the Bible. What I mean is this: the minister must have his mind so thoroughly imbued with the divine word—with its living spirit, that scriptural sentiments warmed into life in his own soul, can be called forth suitable to every occasion. In the delivery of his message, in the peculiarities of his mind, disposition, mode of thought and style must appear. Otherwise it would be unnatural. It would have been a complete caricature of Melanchthon, if he had attempted to discourse with the power and prolific energy of Luther. It would have been his perdition as an author or speaker. And how much would not the church have lost, if Luther had attempted to speak in the chaste and beautiful style of Melanchthon. Each would thus have lost his peculiar power and skill. Even in the Bible, although the writers are under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they maintain, every one, the peculiarity of his own style and genius. Much more must we, in delivering the divine word. But while we maintain our own mode of thought and diction, the divine word when imbibed in the soul and then poured out with living power, is still the message of truth. The more simple our preaching (so that each hearer may think he could speak thus also) the better. We will, indeed, not be much troubled with praise. But do we preach for human applause? The best compliment that was ever paid me in my weakness, a compliment that strengthened my soul, was the following: The first year after I was licensed, I preached once in my native place. A few days afterward I visited an aged, pious farmer. He said to me, with grateful emotion: "But you have once thoroughly explained the gospel," ("aber er hat einmal das evangeli recht ausgelegt"). Perhaps you would ask me how I should do in emergencies? for example, at the funeral of particular characters? You can gather my answer from what I have already said. I will therefore merely add, that I always take a verse or section of Scripture as the basis of my remarks, explain the text and apply it to the case in hand. It requires, indeed, great familiarity with the Scriptures and a high degree of skill in the selection of appropriate passages. But so rich a storehouse have we here, that we can find every thing profitable, and adapted to every situation in life. At the funeral of a well known and eminently pious christian, we may appropriately select a passage like Jeremiah 3: 10., "Say ye to the righteous it shall be well with him," &c., and at the funeral of an infidel or immoral man, who died without any evidences of repentance, a passage from one of the penetential

psalms, expressing our fears of the doom of that man. By bringing forth choice sentiments from the divine word, every occurrence of life is sanctified. On joyful occasions, the boisterous mirth of the world is hushed, and the higher joys of a cheerful religion are tasted. On sorrowful occasions, even the most painful occurrences will be mitigated by a divine consolation. A light from heaven will shine into the darkest abode. The sting of the keenest anguish will be extracted, and the balm of Gilead heal the sorest heart.

Should we preach only what we have actually lived and experienced? My opinion is that this would be dangerous and prejudicial to the service of the word. The preacher must not yield his own subjectivity too much. Not himself (se) but for himself (sibi) should he always preach. His preaching must give a representation of his spiritual condition, not as it really is, but as it should be according to the requirements of the Gospel. Blessed is that man, who can always draw from his own heartfelt experience, whether he discourse of the pains of penitence, the conflict with sin and the triumph over it, the blessedness of faith, or the conversation in heaven. But where is the perfect man, so rich in experience as to subserve his purposes on all occasions and subjects? Shall we, then, since no one is, as he should be, mar the ideal of a perfect christian as portrayed in the Scriptures? But one may say, "would there not be hypocrisy in representing feelings and virtues which we have not apprehended in faith or in life?" The representation might be such as to involve the guilt of hypocrisy, but not necessarily so. Who requires you to preach what does not come properly within the sphere of the believer's exercises and duties? Although no one individual has been placed in every situation of life, so as to develope all the spiritual exercises of the soul, or call forth all the practice of all the duties of the Gospel. Were I confined to what I have actually experienced, I would soon abandon my office. I would scarcely have courage to rise before my congregation next Sabbath to deliver a solitary sermon. But shall a congregation be famished through the defective experience (subjectivity) of its pastor?

On the other hand, I doubt not that you have already felt, in devoutly and conscientiously elaborating a sermon, that you were drawing forth thoughts not out of yourself (for often as water in a deep well they would not flow,) but a divine hand presented to you the word itself, so that by a sermon, your own, and yet not your own, you gained the comfort of which you discoursed and which your own soul needed. Do I

praise myself? Yes, if this be self-praise when Paul says, "not I but the grace of God through me." Then will I plead guilty to the charge of self-praise, when I acknowledge from the heart, not I, but the word of the Lord hath done it.

In preaching the Gospel there are some fundamental truths that must necessarily be often presented: such as repentance, faith, human depravity, the righteousness and atonement of Christ, a holy life, the last judgement and eternal life.

I would here say a word about the gospels, epistles and collects (perikopen) for the day. Should we continue the practice of having particular passages and texts for specific days? I give my voice decidedly for retaining them. Experience in the sacred office has taught me, that by this arrangement, we present annually the whole counsel of God, *in nuce*, (in a nut-shell) and whatever is profitable. A whole system of divinity in its manifold and harmonious development, is thus placed in our hands, and human capriciousness and partiality avoided. For a great and comprehensive plan with an organic system lies at the bottom of the arrangement. If I do not err, faith in the Trinity, or the Apostle's creed, is the basis of the plan.

The first cycle or section embraces the time from first Advent to the last Epiphany; and mainly praises the love of the Father, who, in the fulness of time, sent his Son into the world: so also the Christmas hymns (Weihnachtslieder) preëminently ascribe praise unto the Father, for the sending of his Son to redeem the world. The preceding festival in the days of Advent and the succeeding in Epiphany, are celebrated in beautiful order. The second cycle embraces the time from Septuagessima till Jubilate (third Sunday after Easter), and praises mostly the love of the Son, who gave himself for our sins, and rose again for our justification. The festivals, prior and subsequent, proceed in regular order. The third cycle embraces the time from Jubilate to Whitsunday, and praises the love of the Holy Spirit, who came down into the souls of believers. In this period we have the former but no after festival. The festival of *Trinity* embraces all these united, and is the necessary conclusion to the preceding and also the beginning of what is to follow. The whole remaining period from the 1st to the 27th Sunday after Trinity, testifies how the entire christian life should be consecrated to the Triune God. Many of the epistles also refer, not obscurely, to the doctrine of the Trinity. Interwoven with this plan is a reference to the seasons of the year, and especially to the time of harvest. In this arrangement we have first the Gospels by themselves:

secondly, the epistles by themselves: thirdly, the gospel and epistle for each particular Sabbath placed in juxtaposition. On this subject I will, at present, merely add, that a regard for the arrangement of the church-year, brings to us, unsought, an abundance of material for the edification of the church.

But you may be ready to ask, would it not be rather uninteresting to hear the same truths so frequently? or difficult, travelling year after year over the same ground, to bring forth sufficient variety in our preaching? In reply to this I will offer two considerations:

The Lord requires of a good scribe that he bring forth out of the treasury things old: so if we present a truth that was presented to the people before, and is well understood, we do but obey the Master. But he requires also that the well instructed scribe bring forth things new. This can be done in two ways. The Bible contains an infinite variety in its mode of presenting and illustrating those grand truths. By our constant study and experience, and the knowledge we gather of the experience of the people among whom we labor, new light is constantly thrown on familiar subjects and old texts. At first view we do not always see that which is near at hand, or the simplest part of an object. No man can fathom a text of Scripture at first study. There is a grandeur of truth which profound and protracted pondering and light thrown from experience only can reveal. When you ascend some mountain summit—some Alpine height, and your eye takes in the prospect of valleys, rivers, lakes and hills, your soul is enchanted with the view. But you will go again and again to the same spot: and every time new beauties will be revealed to your gaze. Particularly will you find inexhaustible variety of scenery in the same grand landscape, if you change your point of observation. So the Scriptures view the grand themes, repentance, redemption, salvation, death and eternity, from so many points of observation, that the longest life may be spent in studying the Bible and new beauties will constantly rise to view.

I have painfully felt the want of one thing in our church service. It has been, with me, a *pium desiderium* (pious desire,) that the practice prevailing in the synagogues, should be adopted throughout the whole christian church, of dividing the Scriptures into sections, to be read in the regular services, every Sabbath, so that the entire Bible, if possible, and, at least, all of the New Testament, together with the Psalms, might be read once every year. Especially would I wish to see this in the Evangelical Lutheran church, which is grounded

preëminently on the word of God. In sacred places the Bible-word manifestly makes a deep impression on the mind. How often have I not felt inclined, when I had read my text, to close the Bible and sit down in silence, that the poor, pitiable discourse of man might not follow the mighty word of God! Or when I have had the privilege of being a hearer, how powerful has been the sound of that word to my soul! For example, the Epistle for the day Quinquagesima, (1 Cor. 13 ch.) before the sermon, has come with electric energy over my heart. I know there are hundreds with whom it is otherwise.

There is yet one circumstance connected with the service of the word, upon which I wish to touch. I mean the cause of *Tracts*, and the relation of the minister to their circulation and reading. A few years ago more importance was attached to Tracts, than at present. They have done good: reached the mind of one here and another there, but their value was entirely overrated. That they have also done harm, cannot be denied. How far, then, should a minister encourage the distribution and reading of Tracts? Great circumspection is required in this matter. We are not to repress, but rather regulate the thirst for reading. Hence we must take care that the reading of the Scriptures be not neglected for the sake of Tracts. In some quarters countenance is given to the error, that he who reads these extensively, is a true christian, but he who does not is destitute of vital piety, however devoutly he may study the Bible. Often have I heard it mentioned as sufficient evidence, that such a one is truly pious, that he is well versed in these little books. Too great a variety in diet and beverage is not conducive to health. Simple and nutritious food gives a proper and healthful relish for ordinary provisions as well as occasional luxuries. But the habitual indulgence of the use of highly spiced meats or strong drinks will render the taste morbid. So in spiritual things, indulging very extensively in the reading of injudiciously written Tracts, may take away all relish for the wholesome bread of the divine word. *Non multa, sed multum*, (not many things, but much). First of all, to read the sacred Scriptures frequently, to read a hymn-book, a volume of sermons, a prayer-book, the catechism (that every parent may prepare his children for the catechetical course with the pastor), and a few volumes of history for those who have more leisure and taste for reading, in the main, would be a sufficient course of reading for our people. Formerly I approved more highly of Tracts, and thought of distributing some among my people. But I would be very

slow to do it now. Especially must we be on our guard against the influence of English and American Tracts, as tending to foster a zeal without knowledge. It is incomprehensible to me how the Tracts of Abbot could be so highly praised as excellent for children, and so extensively circulated (twenty thousand copies). I cannot conceive how the mind of a child could be given up to their influence without having all the free, innocent joyfulness and vivacity of childhood destroyed. (Is this according to the Bible?) I should consider myself committing a sin, if I should recommend such a small work to a child.[1]

Lastly; a glance at one topic more under this head. I can give you no better advice, my dear friend, than that you should daily read one chapter in the Old Testament, and one in the New, in the original. This will not be a severe task for you in your retired situation in a country village. Every one may gain much information, also, by doing the same in his German Bible. At present, I cannot accomplish as much as I wish, in this way, on account of manifold labors (and I do not wish to excuse myself in so far as the *vis inertiae* is the cause), known to you who are so well acquainted with my present situation. From necessity, also, having only a small income and no property of my own, I perform the duties of a schoolmaster, giving some hours every day to this employment, lest I might fall under the condemnation of the apostle: "he that provideth not for his own, and especially those of his own house, is worse than an infidel." Therefore, in looking back upon my earlier years, when yet a candidate, and dwelling on the recollection of my daily employment in studying the Scriptures in the original languages, the words of the patriarch often come into my mind: "How blessed was I then!" We may loudly proclaim: "Great is the Bible of the christians." Do you read a treatise, or book, or dive into a system of philosophy, or theosophy, and are pleased with what you read?—it appears so beautifully and systematically arranged — it is necessary only that one clear passage from the Bible should come into your mind, and like the playhouse erected by a child, the structure of human science is prostrated. A pang may indeed dart through your soul to see so fair a work demolished; but you will have gained the clearer knowledge of an established position. Again, do you read another work,

[1] The author's views on the subjects of Tracts, are unquestionably in conflict with the sentiments of the churches of this country generally. But it is possible that he may not have been favored with specimens of the better class of our publications of this sort.

and wish the positions laid down by the author might be proved, and yet you have not sufficient evidence of their truth? Let one clear strong Bible-proof come into your mind, and the truth is established, firm as a rock. Are you constructing plans for your life, and one beautiful castle is nearly completed? One wave of divine truth comes pouring in, frowning upon your design; instantly your fair tower is swept away. But out of the ashes and dust of your demolished structure, there will arise the clearer knowledge of a scriptural position. Lastly, you form resolutions for your future improvement, but loiter and delay in executing them. There will come to your thoughts one sentence from the word of God; and immediately your heart is established. How precious the word!

In the works of creation we see a beautiful arrangement and system, understanding their organism and design, and knowing where a member of a body may be wanting. No stone will be passed by, by the mineralogist, or plant by the botanist, or animal by the zoologist. Each has its place and use. The naturalist will point out the benefits of every object, and the beauty of the entire arrangement in the works of nature. We may speak of the word of God as another creation. "And God saw every thing that he had made, and behold, it was very good." But men do not hesitate to sacrifice parts of this fair work of God. They leave the appointed teachers and stewards of the word, to proceed in great as well as small matters, setting aside this and establishing that, according to their own pleasure—an undertaking in which some who believe the Scriptures, have themselves participated. In theology that passes, as scientific, which in the natural sciences would, confessedly, be unscientific. But with us, my dear friend, it is not so. With us, the Bible is, and ever shall remain, a body from which men may not separate or tear asunder the members — a building from which one stone may not be taken, but every one, even the minutest, must remain in its place: much less may men according to their taste, tear down whole parts of the edifice. For this others may reproach us as literalists, unfree, fanatical, and the most stupid of men. Yes: as servants we will reverence, love and praise the word forever. To which may God give us grace in time and to eternity. So much upon the service of the word. Excuse me if my remarks have been too long.

## ARTICLE V.

### HOW SHOULD THE GOSPEL BE PREACHED?

By Benjamin Kurtz, D. D., of Baltimore, Md.

THE great American lexicographer is doubtless correct, when he derives the term *gospel*, from the old Saxon word, *godspell; god*, good, and *spell*, history, relation, &c. According to this etymology, the word signifies a history or narrative of something good, the announcement of agreeable information, a joyful message, or the communication of glad tidings. This definition answers exactly to the Greek term employed for the same purpose, viz. εὐαγγέλιον — *evangelium*, the literal meaning of which is, a good or joyful message.

But in the remarks we are about to make, we use the term in a more extended sense, implying a revelation of God to fallen man, through a Mediator, comprehending the whole scheme of salvation, at first faintly intimated to our first parents, then, by degrees and from age to age, more distinctly disclosed by the prophets of the old dispensation, and at last fully and perfectly unfolded by Christ and his apostles.

This gospel was preached to Abraham, Gal. 3: 8., being contained in the promise: "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed." It is called the Gospel of *God*, because it was originally derived from the Father; Rom. 1: 1. It is denominated the Gospel of *the grace of God*, because it proceeds from, and manifests his favor, and is the means whereby his grace is bestowed; Acts 20: 24. It is termed the Gospel of *Christ*, inasmuch as he is the immediate author, and the subject-matter of it. Rom. 1: 16. It is represented as the gospel of *salvation*, for it reveals salvation, explains the plan of salvation, and teaches how we may attain to salvation. Eph. 1: 13.

But, without detaining the reader on a subject which is generally understood by christians, we shall at once proceed to the consideration of the great question at the head of this article, viz., "*How should the Gospel be preached?*" We mean not, by what means shall it be disseminated to the ends of the earth, or what measures must be pursued in order to put it into the possession of, and bring under its saving influence all the nations and kindred of the earth? Doubtless this is a momentous interrogatory, worthy of the exercise of all our wisdom and benevolence, and of our most earnest prayers.

But for the present we have our mind directed mainly to the *manner* or *mode* in which the glad tidings should be proclaimed to those who assemble to hear them. In respect to this interesting question we remark, that it should be preached with —

I. *Plainness.* So Paul preached it, and his example has as strong claims on our imitation, as his authority has on our obedience. "Be ye followers of me even as I also am of Christ." 1 Cor. 11: 1. Paul was a *scholar*, and might have made a most imposing display of learning. A student of Gamaliel, initiated into the philosophic lore of his day, and acquainted with all its intricacies and high-sounding technicalties,— what a flourish he might have made! how he had it in his power to make the ignorant gaze and gape, and the learned wonder and admire! But not such a man was Paul, — not such a vain-glorious thing had been even Saul of Tarsus.— "And I, brethren," says he, "when I came to you, came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God;" (1 Cor. 2: 1.) i. e. not with the florish and arts of rhetoric used by your philosophers, who sought after gorgeousness of diction, rather than solidity of truth. It was well for his hearers that he thus eschewed all self-display and studied simplicity of speech, for in a contrary event the masses would not have understood him. But he assigns a different and still more cogent reason for his plainness. He says: "Christ sent me to preach the gospel, not with wisdom of words, *lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect*," (1 Cor. 1: 17.) i. e. lest the numerous conversions which followed and the wonderful ulterior results should be attributed to his learning and eloquence, and not to the working of the Holy Spirit. A distinguished and popular writer remarks, that, "In all the revivals of religion with which he was acquainted, God appeared to make very little use of *human eloquence*, even when possessed by pious men. His own nervous truths, announced by plain common sense, though in homely phrase, have been the general means of the conviction and conversion of sinners." Human *eloquence* and *learning* have often been successfully employed in defending the *outworks* of Christianity; but *simplicity* and *truth* alone have preserved the *citadel.* Luther once remarked, when in company with a minister who had been exuberant in rhetorical figures: We should proclaim the truth so plainly that the poor uncultivated peasant who stands behind the door with cap in hand, may know what we mean, and then we are sure that the learned will understand us. But if you must needs

make a parade of your erudition, wait till you return to your study, and there you may spout Latin and Greek and declaim in words so huge and lofty, and flights so towering, that even our Lord God himself shall be amazed at your learning!

It is the business of the christran minister to tell the people, in all frankness and simplicity, that they are fallen, hell-deserving and perishing sinners; that having broken the law of God, times without number, the law's heavy curse is upon them, and that neither they nor others can remove the curse or work out their deliverance; but also, that a free and glorious salvation has been prepared for them; that Jesus Christ who suffered in Gethsemane and was crucified on Calvary, is the promised Messiah, the eternal Son of God, the great Destroyer of the works of the devil, of the guilt, pollution and power of sin, and the Almighty Savior of all who truly repent, believe, and submit to his government and laws. These solemn and all-momentous truths need no artificial dress; the arts and trappings of mere human eloquence are thrown away upon them. As the ripe and luscious fruit requires no condiment to improve its taste, so the precious doctrine of the Cross needs none of the stratagems of dramatic exhibition to impart energy to it; or, as the blazing luminary of day scorns the pencil of the artist as a means to brighten up its effulgence, so the glorious tidings of salvation through Christ, can receive no additional lustre from the arts of human invention. They shine with the greatest splendor when presented in their unadorned but divine power, and permitted to glow and burn in their own native, heaven-born light.

Was the pulpit constructed to be made a theatre to show off our scholastic attainments and powers of oratory; to build up a reputation, obtain a name among men, and wreathe our own brow with laurels? Or, is it designed to afford an opportunity to proclaim the good news of salvation to fallen man; to point out the way of eternal life; to exhort, to support, and to cheer the suffering sinner? Are not these the glorious topics on which we have to enlarge — and do these need the tricks and tinsel of oratory, or the studied beauties of eloquence? Shall truths and counsels like these be couched in terms which the poor and ignorant cannot understand? "Let all eloquent preachers beware," said Kirk White, "lest they fill any man's ears with sounding words, when they should be feeding his soul with the bread of life! Let them fear lest, instead of honoring God, they honor themselves! If any man ascend the pulpit with the intention of uttering a fine thing, he is committing a deadly sin." Let all, however, remember, that there

is a medium, and that vulgarity and meanness are cautiously to be shunned. But, while we speak with propriety and chastity, we cannot be too familiar, or too plain.

Robert Hall once remarked, "I am tormented with the desire of *writing better than I can.*" He was one of the most finished writers of his day, and yet his ambition to write still better, to excel even himself, gave him a vast amount of anxiety and labor. Are not many ministers equally tormented to *preach* better than they can? And how often, when thus ambitiously aiming higher than they can reach, for their own glory, rather than that of their Master, does God leave them to their counsels, withholding freedom of thought and utterance, and permitting them to bring deserved reproach and mortification upon themselves? The swan cannot soar aloft with the eagle, nor can even the eagle tower higher than its pinions and the dazzling rays of the sun will permit. In either case disappointment and humiliation, if not something worse, will be the penalty of the vain attempt. Hence the force of the proverb: "Niemand fliege höher denn ihm die Federn gewachsen sind;" — i. e. let no one attempt to fly higher than his plumage will carry him.

"But I have no wish," continued the orator of Paisly, "to make *fine*, *pretty* sermons. Prettiness is well enough, when prettiness is in place. I like to see a pretty child, a pretty flower, but in a sermon prettiness is out of place. To my ear it would be any thing but commendation, should it be said to me: 'you have given us a pretty sermon.'"

Suppose a man were on trial for his life, and his advocate should amuse the jury with tropes and figures, burying his argument beneath a profusion of the flowers of rhetoric, how would the arraigned criminal feel? Would he not be tempted to break through the accustomed restraints of propriety, and exclaim, in all the agony of torturing apprehension: "Hold, man of vain words and self-renown! you care more for your own vanity than for my rescue. For pity's sake, put yourself in my place,— speak in view of the gallows,— remember, my very existence is in jeopardy, and let the thought of the scaffold and the rope take hold of your mind, and then you will forget yourself, and tell your story plainly and earnestly." There can be no serious objection to a lady's winding a sword with ribbons, and studding it with roses when she presents it to her hero-lover, but in the day of battle he will tear away the ornament and use *a naked edge* on the enemy.

We have already quoted Luther on this subject; let us hear him again: "Thunder and lightning, O Luther," said Me-

lanchthon, "are all thy words." One evening after tea, when the learned and eloquent Bucer was his guest, Luther paid a flattering compliment to his noble coadjutor in the Reformation. Bucer had delivered that day a profound and highly finished sermon, from Luther's pulpit in Wittenberg. Luther was liberal in praising it, on the score of learning and oratory; and *praise* from *such a man* was not a thing to be lightly esteemed. "But, after all," added the illustrious Reformer, "*I can preach better than you, brother Bucer.*" This sounded oddly enough, but Bucer took it in good part, and replied: "To be sure you can, brother Martin; every body knows that you are the prince of preachers."—"Do not, however, understand me," rejoined Luther, "as though I spoke merely in praise of myself. I am fully aware of my weakness, and am conscious of my inability to deliver a sermon so learned and eloquent as the one I have heard from your lips this afternoon. But my method is, when I enter the pulpit, to look at the people who sit in the aisle, because they are principally Vandals." (By this term he meant the common people, and alluded to the circumstance that that region of country had been formerly overrun by hordes of ignorant Vandals.) "I keep my eye upon the Vandals, and endeavor to preach what they can understand. But you shoot over their heads. Your sermon was calculated for learned hearers. My Vandals could not understand you. I compare them to a crying babe, which is sooner satisfied with the breast of its mother, than the richest confectionaries. So my people are more nourished with the simple word of the gospel, than by the deepest erudition, though accompanied with all the embellishments of oratory."

It would be well, if all ministers of the Gospel kept Luther's example, in this respect, constantly before them. The world at large need the "simple word of the Gospel."—This addresses itself directly to their religious nature — to the heart and conscience. It pretends not to philosophize. It appeals to the spontaneous conviction of the soul, and, applied by the Spirit, it satisfies its deepest wants. Were a severe and extended process of reasoning necessary to an apprehension of its doctrines, the uneducated would remain ignorant of them. But as it is, no one need be destitute of the gospel for want of capacity to perceive its truths.

Does not the word of God address all men as *Vandals*? Does it not find them all alike in the same condition, needing the same spiritual regimen? Is it not designed for the poor and ignorant and outcast, as well as for the more favored classes, the learned and cultivated of this world? Or are the

latter above the need of its helps, and capable of attaining the same ends in another way? No, truly, it makes no such distinctions. The man of the mightiest genius or the most accomplished intellect, must become a docile child, as well as the most uncultivated sinner and the rudest savage — or *never be spiritually renovated.* He possesses no vantage ground in respect to his spiritual destitution or necessities. He is the son of want, and must be fed from the same store-house, and with the same food, as the lowest of his fellow creatures. There is a strait gait of knowledge through which he must pass on entering the kingdom, and many of the results of his reasonings must be abandoned at that entrance, while he confesses himself a mere disciple all the way in his progress.

But, again, the Gospel should be preached also with

II. *Fervor.* If any preacher think that plainness in itself will supply the want of warmth of feeling, he will be disappointed. A deep experimental and abiding conviction of the truth of the Gospel will produce a glorious enthusiasm, and without a degree of enthusiasm no lofty and arduous enterprize has ever been commenced, much less consummated. If at any time, apathy or a dull prosy listlessness be inexcusable, it is when we are unfolding and inculcating the sublime truths of revelation; when we are endeavoring to persuade men to flee from the wrath to come, and seek an interest in the blood-purchased salvation proffered in the gospel. Surely, on such an occasion, our hearts should burn with a holy fire. We should speak as the anointed of the Lord, with a profound consciousness that we are embassadors from the court of heaven to a perishing, but still, salvable world, and also under a sense of our own responsibility and of the eternal consequences, for good or evil, that must result to those who hear us. It is only when *we feel*, that we can expect *others to feel;* when *our affections are moved*, that we are likely to influence *the hearts of our hearers.* Not that our zeal imparts a divine efficacy to the doctrines of the Gospel, but because it is in this way that God requires us to preach them; because this mode of preaching is in itself, humanly speaking, best adapted to the conformation of human nature, and has the promise that God will honor it with his blessing.

Peter was a man of quick and ardent impulses, and *three thousand* conversions constituted the rich fruit of a single sermon, delivered from the deep depths of his burning soul, on the day of Pentecost. That this glowing fervor was one of the chief elements in the character of Paul, is evident from the

spirit and manner in which he opposed the Gospel and persecuted the christians prior to his conversion; and who has ever been more successful in proclaiming the joyful tidings of the gospel? Luther's strongest characteristics were a zeal not to be chilled and an intrepidity that knew not how to cower, and God employed him to shake to its very centre the entire structure of papal abominations, and achieve the most glorious reformation in church and state that the world has witnessed since the apostolic era. So Whitefield, Davies, Payson, and numerous others who might be named, were all men of enthusiastic feelings, and preached with an ardor that was worthy of the solemnity of eternal interests; and we all know how signally God honored them as his instruments, and blessed their labors in the church. A minister of the Gospel asked Garrick "why it was that play-actors, who dealt in fiction, often moved their audience to tears, while men could sit under the sound of the Gospel without emotion?" "Because," replied the distinguished dramatist, "we actors present *fiction* as if it were *truth*, and you ministers preach *truth* as though it were *fiction*." This was a severe reproof, and though by far too sweeping, yet it must be confessed that there was too much ground for it to be regarded as wholly unmerited.

The Gospel is a divine revelation; it unfolds a scheme of redemption that was conceived in heaven by the Great God of the Universe; consummated on earth by the eternal Son of his love, at an expense of humiliation and suffering that can never be computed by finite intellect, it developes such a mysterious combination of unfathomable wisdom and stupendous love, that the most exalted of the created intelligences in heaven are inadequate to comprehend its heighth and depth and length and breadth. In it are bound up the ever-during interests and immutable destiny of countless myriads of undying souls! In this light we should regard the gospel; to the utmost possible extent we should learn to feel that such is its nature and high importance; and the fervor with which we preach it, should ever afford evidence that we thus *regard it*, and do thus *feel*.

Such convictions and feelings will inspire us with a *holy boldness*. Neither the hope of gain nor the frowns of the powerful, will betray us into a dereliction of duty. We shall feel strong in the God of our salvation, and fearless in the consciousness of the continual presence and protection of Him who has said: "Lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." Thus panoplied, we shall be ready, if duty call, to "go to Worms, though there were as many devils

there as tiles on the houses." We shall suppress no necessary truth; nor "shun to declare all the counsel of God," however unacceptable to the unregenerate and hardened sinner. If men take offense; if they decry us as zealots and fanatics; if they scoff, and persecute, and slander, speaking all manner of evil against us, it will be at their own peril, while we shall clear our skirts of their blood and save our own souls alive. We shall, "'mid dangers thick as thought can make them," be able to exclaim with the calmness and serenity of the apostle: "None of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God." Acts 20: 24.

Finally, the Gospel should be preached with—

III. *Prayerful dependence on God's Spirit.* Though *simplicity* and *fervor* are essential properties of the highest order of pulpit effort, yet, of themselves, they will not ensure success. However zealously the minister may perform his duty, ultimately his success depends upon the coöperation of divine grace. Without this he will preach to little purpose; his "labor is in vain and his strength is spent for naught." To the unconverted the gospel is "a sealed book," and none but Jehovah can "break the seal." "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them because they are spiritually discerned." 1 Cor. 2: 14. The two disciples to whom Christ joined himself, when on the way to Emmaus, remembered afterwards how "their hearts burned within them while he talked with them by the way, and *while he opened to them the Scriptures.*" Luke 24: 32. We all know that the Gospel was preached in vain to Lydia, until "*the Lord opened her heart* that she should attend to the things which were spoken of Paul." Acts 16: 24. It seems, then, that there is in the gospel, it matters not how preached, no inherent power to regenerate the sinner, and that so far as a thorough conversion is concerned, it is a "dead letter" until made effectual by the all-powerful working of God's Spirit. Hence says the apostle: "It is God that worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure." Phil. 2: 13.; and again: "I have planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase." 1 Cor. 3: 6.

If then the natural, i. e. the animal or unregenerate man, "cannot receive," that is to say, neither apprehends nor comprehends "the things of the Spirit," among which must be enumerated the sublime truths of the Gospel; if they "are

foolishness to him," until unfolded and made efficacious by the Spirit; if it be God's peculiar prerogative to "open the Scriptures," to "open the heart," to "work in us," to "give the increase;" then surely no degree of *plainness* and *fervor* will avail to the conversion of the sinner, unless accompanied by the energies of the Holy Ghost. Hence, the Gospel must be preached in humble reliance on the Spirit's aid; in other words, we must look to God in believing prayer for his blessing. Luther represented prayer as a ladder upon which the christian climbs up to heaven, enters the Holy of Holies, and takes from the fulness of God grace for grace to help in every time of need. A *prayerless*, *self-confident* minister, who depends wholly or mainly upon his own intellect, the extent of his learning, and the power of his eloquence, will prove a curse to the church; and in eternity, "all reeking with the blood of souls," damned sinners will heap bitterest maledictions upon his head; and a *prayerless* people may be "hearers of the word," but they never will be "doers." A minister may possess *great* learning and *great* eloquence, and yet not be a *great* preacher. These qualities may secure a high degree of reputation, and gather large and delighted auditories. But valuable as they may be esteemed, they are not sufficient to constitute a successful preacher. He alone is *mighty in the pulpit* who carries with him thither the strength he has acquired in the closet; who is accustomed in his secret wrestlings with the God of Israel to say: "How can I go unless thou go with me; how can I speak unless thou speak by me; of what avail will my embassy be, unless my commission have thy signature and be accompanied by the working of thy grace?" — He is uneasy unless he obtains an explicit answer, thus: "Lo, I am with you." Then he goes before the people, not to *entertain* them with "beauties and graces," not to elicit their applause for his talents and rich imagery, but to deliver God's message, which can be made effectual only by God's mighty power, to the discomfiture of Satan and the deliverance of the poor sin-bound captive.

But it is not merely the duty of ministers who *preach*, but also of those who *hear*, — *to pray*. To secure the divine blessing essential to the fullest success of a preached gospel, there should be a united "offering up of prayer and supplications, with strong crying and tears, unto Him that is able to save from death." Such dependence upon the Spirit; such appeals to a throne of grace, ascending from hearts knit together in love, enlist omnipotence in our behalf; bring down Jesus-Jehovah himself into our assemblies, whose presence

fills the house with glory and imparts a divine efficacy, which makes the gospel "a savor of life unto life," and "the power and wisdom of God to the salvation of them that believe."

O, if ministers truly felt and could habitually realize, that their strength lies in God, and their success depends upon his blessing; if the church were more prayerful, constantly looking up to heaven for the outpouring of the Spirit upon ministers and people, how much more powerfully and profitably the gospel would be preached! It would "run and be glorified;" sinners would be converted by thousands; revival would follow revival in quick and triumphant succession; all God's churches would become burning and shining lights; the heathen would speedily be subdued to Immanuel's sceptre, and the whole world be filled with the knowledge and worship of the true God in Christ Jesus.

In this paper we have aimed at no more than an unpretending, unvarnished exhibition of the *mode* of preaching the gospel; perhaps on a future occasion we may advert to the *subject-matter* of pulpit ministration. For the present we merely remark, that the grand theme of evangelic preaching must be *salvation through a crucified Savior*. In the days of the apostles "the Jews required a sign and the Greeks sought after wisdom," but Paul preached "Christ crucified," and determined to know nothing among the Corinthians but "Christ and him crucified." He, indeed, had in himself much whereof he might justly have boasted before men, and yet we hear him exclaiming: "God forbid that I should glory, save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world." Whatever others would do, or whatever they would exult in, *he* could not glory in any thing short of the Cross, which involves the great doctrine that justification and salvation are only through Christ crucified, Christ having made an atonement for the sins of the world by his passion and death. And the apostle gloried, also, in the disgrace and persecution which he experienced, through his attachment to this crucified Christ, as he might well do, since this was in his case a mark of his fidelity.

O, what a model for ministers of the Gospel! Would they be preachers like Paul, they must imitate this example. — Would they obey God's command and conform to the pattern set by all the other apostles; would they exhibit God's power in converting sinners; his wisdom and mercy in reconciling them to himself, in harmonizing the claims of eternal justice and boundless love in order to the redemption of an apostate and perishing world; would they be successful in winning

souls, in rescuing them from going down to the pit and bringing them back, from their descending, headlong course, to the fold of their Great Shepherd and Bishop!—O then they must preach "Christ and him crucified." Let Jesus, the mighty Destroyer of sin, the Lovely One of Calvary, and his salvation, be the sum and substance of all their sermons. Let him be all and in all to themselves, and through them, be made all and in all to their hearers, and then each attentive hearer, though the sound of the Gospel salute his ears for the last time, will sufficiently understand the plan of redemption to escape from hell and fly to heaven. It was said of Payson, that every time he addressed a congregation the thought came up to his mind, that there might be one or another present who would never again have an opportunity to hear the gospel, and that he therefore framed every discourse so that, in this event, the unconverted hearer might be at no loss to save his soul, *if he would.* This will be the character of every sermon if *Christ crucified,* if *salvation through the atonement of a suffering Savior* be, as it should be, its centre and circumference. But let this glorious theme, by all means, be proclaimed PLAINLY, FERVENTLY, PRAYERFULLY. Ministers who thus preach, God will bless more and more abundantly, and make them a rich and everlasting blessing to those committed to their trust, and to the world at large.

Would to the Lord! that all Christ's ministering servants could learn, when in the pulpit, entirely to lose sight of self; to hide altogether behind the Cross and so hold up Jesus constantly and evermore before their dying and yet undying audience, that they could see naught but HIM, and thus be constrained to *look* at him, *embrace* him, and *trust in him for salvation!*

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## ARTICLE VI.

### JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE FROM PHILADELPHIA TO EBENEZER, IN GEORGIA, &c., IN THE YEARS 1774 AND 1775, BY HENRY MELCHIOR MÜHLENBERG, D.D.

Translated from an unpublished German manuscript, by Rev. J. W. Richards, Pastor of St. John's Church, and Prof. of German in Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

(Continued from p. 419.)

WEDNESDAY, Oct. 19. Messrs. Kalteisen, Kimmel, Speidel and merchant May were engaged early in removing our

goods from the vessel; after much trouble they returned to our lodgings. Our host had overlifted and overheated himself and appeared to be getting sick which alarmed me much. I had yet one *pulvis solar.* remaining, which I gave him and he was restored. The so-called "German Benevolent Society" of this place, held a quarterly meeting to-day. According to Mr. Kalteisen, it was founded about eight years ago, January 15, 1766, and increased to upwards of eighty members, living in the town and country, of whom upwards of fifty are still living. The Society possesses good rules and regulations, and its object is to establish a fund from the interest of which its poor members, or their widows and orphans are to be supported as far as possible, and to be trained up as christians and good citizens. An annual meeting is held; also, quarterly, and weekly special ones, when every member must pay his dues and fines. During the past years they have funded on interest a capital of more than £400 sterling. The capital is to be perpetuated, and the interest is to be gradually applied for the relief of every such poor member or of his widow and orphans, as shall have been connected seven years with the Society, and have paid their contributions. This commendable society is in a measure the flower and crown of the German nation in this place. It has its officers, servants, and laws, and whoever transgresses grossly and carelessly against these, is either fined or expelled. The officers are a President, Vice President, the first and second Superintendents, the Secretary, the Treasurer and two Stewards, all of whom must live in town and be annually elected by a majority of votes at the annual meeting. The heads of this praise-worthy society honored me with a friendly and special invitation to dine with them to-day and attend their meeting. I did not decline it, as it would afford me an opportunity of closer acquaintance with the most refined and respectable members of our German nation in this place. The Vice President and Treasurer came for me at 1 P. M., and escorted me to the meeting, after I had first been shaved and my wig had been dressed. The principal part of the business had been transacted in the morning and nothing remained but the disposal of an application for membership by a German citizen. The President struck the table three times with his hammer, which was echoed by the Vice President's official hammer—all became quiet immediately; when the President stated that the applicant bore a good character, which was confirmed by the Vice President. A vote was then taken and the applicant was unanimously elected, and received the right hand of fellowship.

I was called upon to offer prayer both before and after dinner, and every thing was conducted in a friendly, orderly and quiet manner, for nature was busy laying in provision.

The members present were: Messrs. 1) Michael Kalteisen, President; 2) Henry Timrod, Vice President; 3) Henry Lindauer, 1st Superintendent; 4) Joseph Kimmel, 2d Superin't; 5) Abraham Speidel, Treasurer; 6) Charles Grüber, Sec'y; 7) Conrad Schleiffer, Steward. — Members; 8) Christopher Scheets, 9) Frederick Kreitner, 10) John Kirchner, 11) Michael Zeller, 12) Philip Meyer, 13) Christian Sigwald, 14) Paul Schmeiser, 15) John Deleke, 16) Michael Muckenfuss, 17) Ludwig Timmon, 18) Melchior Werly, 19) Dr. George Hahnbaum, 20) Jacob Willeman, 21) Francis Copia, 22) Louis Peterman, 23) Philip Girham, 24) Herman Nueffer, 25) Peter Meursat, 26) Michael Copia, 27) Philip Mensing, 28) George Jung, 29) Martin Müller, 30) Caspar Erhard, 31) Christopher Willeman, 32) John Freymuth, 33) John Fisher, the newly elected member. Immediately after dinner and prayer I took leave of each member present, and was rëescorted home by the Vice President and Treasurer. Of this S. T. Society it may be remarked that its rules have been increased from time to time, as may be seen in their Protocol, but which have not yet been printed, viz., Rule 33, a Vice President shall be elected at the annual meeting. Rule 34. The Secretary shall receive annually £52 Carolina currency, but be liable for his dues and fines, as other members. Rule 35. The funded capital dare not be touched, but a standing committee of five members shall be elected annually, which shall investigate the condition of the needy members applying, and of their families, and report at the meeting of the officers, and then it shall be decided whether, when and how relief shall be afforded. No relief, from the interest, is granted to any person who has not been a worthy member for seven years, except to poor widows and children of such as have been members for a less time. Neither is relief granted without application and without a majority of nine votes in a regular meeting. Rule 36. The officers to be called Stewards shall have equal rights with the other members.

Oct. 20. I received an agreeable letter from Rev. John George Fredericks, Lutheran minister in Amelia Township, one hundred miles in the country, dated Oct. 15, 1774, in which he states that he learned my arrival in Charleston, first from Rev. Hochheimer, who travelled through here, and was assured of it by letter of Sept. 20th ult., which afforded him very great pleasure and induced him to prepare for a journey

to Charleston, but that he was prevented by sickness and the fear of not meeting me here, especially as I had intimated in my letter that I intended, God willing, to continue my journey to Georgia in October. But that he would request my host, Mr. Kimmel, to inform him when I returned to Charleston, and then, if we lived, visit me, &c. &c. The person bringing the letter returning to-morrow, I answered my letter and sought to encourage him to fight the good fight, to keep the faith and to finish the course, &c. He sustains a good character for sound doctrine and exemplary conduct, among informed persons; he has no family and is satisfied with the necessaries of life. A laborer, standing thus alone in the wilderness among rude people, must be much encouraged when he receives unexpectedly a few lines of comfort from a fellow-suffering and tempted cross-bearer — as is manifest from his answer to my first letter. It is written, "woe to him that is alone!" Yea, also to him who standeth with another and can not bear with the faults of his pardoned fellow-laborer, and can not rejoice in his gracious gifts, but wishes to be beloved and honored alone and is not willing to love and honor. To-day my wife rode out again for the first time to breathe fresh air with Mrs. Kimmel. Towards evening Capt. Wright arrived here safely with his brigantine from Philadelphia. My host came home very pleasantly and handed me a packet containing the following: 1) a cordial letter from his reverence, Pastor Kuntze, dated Philadelphia, Oct. 10, a. c. 2) Three quarto pages of handsome white paper, and one page written full and hastily from my son Henry, dated Oct. 12, a. c., from which I could infer that many duties, want of time and strength prevented him from writing more. It afforded us much joy in a strange place to hear from our relations at home. The goodness and mercy of our Savior be humbly praised for protection and favor, for every, known and unknown, undeserved blessing. It being said that we would leave this week, I immediately wrote till midnight a whole sheet full of little matters to my children, and informed them, 1) of my wife and daughter's sickness; 2) of our intended departure to Georgia by sea; 3) of the state of the congregation in this place; 4) concerning Mr. Daser; 5) of an intended call to the venerable fathers in Europe for a preacher for this congregation, and concluded with many salutations to our children and friends; dated Oct. 20, anni curr. Mr. Michael Keller requested me to enquire after his brother, John Leonard Keller, who arrived here in America, with his parents and sisters, from Würtemberg, A. D.

1752. His brother Leonard is said to have turned his steps towards Virginia — and I am to enquire of Peter Mühlenberg.

Oct. 21. Last night, about 1 o'clock, I heard firing and beating of drums, but knew not what it signified until this morning, when I learned that it was an alarm of fire, the fire, however, having soon been extinguished. My host, Mr. Kimmel, was summoned to-day on a jury; two English carpenters having last evening practised the unchristian and irrational law of fisticuffs, time immemorial customary among them, and one of them having remained dead on the spot. The jury were assisted by an experienced physician who examined the corpse and ascertained that he had previously labored under disease of the spleen and lungs, and that the already weak building had been shattered and ruined by hard blows of the fist. After investigation the jury could not decide that it was a wilful and malicious murder, but rather an accidental and unintentional one, inasmuch as neither designed to kill the other, but merely to box and pommel each other and then to renew the friendship again over a bowl of punch. No trace of this is found in the law of nature or of nations, much less in the statutes of a higher revelation; on the contrary, the custom must have been derived from oxen and horses and other horned and cloven-footed cattle, who box, horn, kick and scratch each other until the weaker is prostrated and stretches out his legs.

In the afternoon I was requested to baptize the child of the son-in-law of the late Rev. Hahnbaum. The father is Monsieur Peter Meurset, the mother of the child is Aemilia Meurset; the child was named Aemilia Dorothea Magdalena, and born Sept. 12, 1774. The sponsors were widow Dorothea Schrad, widow Magdalena Swartz Kops, and Mr. Peter Horlbeck. Thence I visited Mr. Werley and his wife and took leave of them. In the evening I was visited by Messrs. May, Timrod and Kalteisen till 10 o'clock.

Oct. 22. In the morning I baptized a child which the parent had brought thirty miles from the country. As the father often drinks too much, no one whom he knew was willing to become godfather. But should a child, that without its knowledge and will was conceived in sin and born in the flesh, and also without its knowledge and merit, through grace, was included in the redemption through Jesus Christ, be excluded from the covenant of grace, because of its immoral father? Especially as the owner Himself pleads for babes and sucklings, and commands that they shall be suffered, and not forbidden, to come unto him, because of such is the kingdom

of God. And how can god-parents (or sponsors) promise much and perform their duties in the widely extended and continually changing relations of America, where either the parents and their children, or the sponsors, remove from fifty to one hundred, yea, several hundred miles from each other? It is not here like in Europe where civil or christian societies remain together in cities and towns, and can fulfill such promises; whereas, on the contrary, here migrations are subject to continual changes. My humble conviction is as follows: The child belongs to its proprietor who has created and redeemed and desires to sanctify it: give unto God what is God's, or dedicate and sacrifice the child, or plant it in the kingdom of grace of Jesus Christ; a thing so important should be established with the testimony of two or three witnesses; the duty and great responsibility of the parents, to train up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, remains, and if they neglect themselves and their children, the Lord will require the neglected blood at their hands! The minister commits [übergibt] the child to the Lord with prayer and the word of God, inculcates their duties upon the parents, and records the holy covenant-act, as is proper, and takes especial care to feed the lambs of Jesus in catechization! The parents of the aforesaid child were Robert Einsiedler and his wife Dorothea. It was born Sept. 18, 1774. I requested my host, Mr. Kimmel, to stand as witness, together with a friend of the parents, Elizabeth Carlin, and they named the child Joseph. Was visited afterwards by Mr. Werly—was informed also that the vessel could not sail for Savannah before next Monday. Our host received to-day a keg of saurkraut, sent him by his friend and correspondent, Mr. Memminger, of Philadelphia, per Captain Wright's vessel. Such things being rare and not being easily preserved in so warm a climate, this rarity caused a sensual gratification in the family, and I cannot deny that I participated therein. I have not yet arrived at that *Etat d'abandon* upon which, in my younger years, French and German fanatical moralists so earnestly insisted, and taught: that a man to be a perfect christian must progress so far in the self-denial as to be unsusceptible to cold and heat, and distinguish no difference in taste between sour and sweet, bitter and lukewarm, &c. It might hold good of those who are extremely sick, or of the dead; but as long as our rational soul is connected with a healthy body in possession of its organs of sensation, it cannot be true. It does not exist in the chosen Son of God, our most exalted, perfect and best Original; on the contrary, we find in Him the most acute,

keen, and pure taste and feeling in his humanity, in subordination, however, to the anointed superior faculties of the soul connected with the Divinity. I remember that a person professed to have attained the *Etat d'abandon*, and also instructed others therein. A number of persons having assembled in a large room, the moralist seated himself with his back against a lukewarm stove, and with an elevated mien and language taught them, that a child of God must be insensible to the difference between cold and warm, sour and sweet! In the meanwhile, the simple-minded maid in the kitchen, thinking to confer a favor upon the teacher and the audience, so increased the fire that the stove became very hot. The teacher, already warmed by his animated exhortation, feeling the very penetrating heat on his back, sprang from his chair and angrily exclaimed: "what senseless and ungodly fire-making is this?" An old man, sitting near, caught him by the hand, and said: "Sir, Sir, you were teaching us that we must be insensible to feeling!" But it was now too late, the milk was spilt, because theory and practice had no foundation, not harmonizing together.

Another pretender to holiness of the same caste visited a family in Philadelphia and was invited to breakfast with them. The mother of the family had placed a salt-cellar and a sugar bowl upon the table. The perfect guest dipped his morsel continually into the sugar bowl. The lady enquired why he did not prefer to dip his food into the salt? He answered: all creatures were alike to him; he was subject to self-denial. She could not believe him, and thought, if all things were indifferent to him, he might either have eaten his food without dipping it at all, or the salt or sugar, without food. It is even so; we imagine ourselves either to be entirely spirit, and forget that a body is still connected with it; or pretend to be entirely body and sensuality without an immortal spirit. "Happy they who know the golden mean!"[1] The way, the means and the order prescribed for us by the highest revelation, according to the plan of salvation formed by infinite love and wisdom, are the most attainable, correct and beneficial for our state and formation.

This afternoon I had an acceptable visit from the Reformed minister, the Rev. Theus, of the Congeries, [Kongaree] in South Carolina, one hundred and twenty miles from Charleston. His brother Thens, a painter lately deceased, received me as a stranger most kindly into his house, when, thirty-two

[1] Medium tenuere beati.

years ago, I travelled through here on my journey from Savannah to Philadelphia, and afforded me an opportunity to preach on Sunday to the then yet few German families. The Lord requite his love in eternity! The aforesaid pastor Theus came with his parents into this country from Switzerland as a candidatus Theologiae, was examined and ordained by the reverend English Presbyterian Ministerium, and since 1739 has performed the duties of the ministerial office in the scattered country congregations among the German Reformed and Lutheran inhabitants, and has conducted himself with the propriety and fidelity due his station, according to the testimony of capable witnesses. We had agreeable conversation, and he promised me a written account of church matters in these country congregations, which, moreover, he is best able to furnish, having lived longest in this country, and being an erudite man. He also furnished me with a more detailed description of the sect mentioned Oct. 5, the members living near him. At a certain time he came unexpectedly into their meeting, and found Jacob Weber contending that he was God; and the said Smith Peter [or Peter Schmidt] insisting that himself was Christ, and that the unconverted members must be healed through his stripes. Pastor Theus opposing such blasphemy, the leaders became enraged and threatened his life and counselled with their rabble whether to drown or hang him. He escaped, however, from their hands, fled to the river and fortunately found a negro with his canoe at the shore, sprang into it, and was conveyed across.

Oct. 23. The ship not yet departing, and I remaining here, I conducted divine worship again. I preached in the morning from the pericope for the twenty-first Sunday after Trinity, and in the afternoon from John 7: 37, 38. In the evening Esquire Miller, of Savannah, came and informed me that Israel Heintzelman had died from an unlucky fall from his horse, and was buried; he brought also letters from Philadelphia, given to him in charge by Captain Bunner. 1) one from Mr. Kuntze, dated Sept. 23, 1774. 2) a short letter from Mrs. Margaret Kuntze, to her sister Mary. 3) a letter from John Peter Muehlenberg, in which he communicates the death and burial of his first-born, a little daughter, dated Sept. 13, ann: cur: 4) a letter from Henry Muehlenberg, jun., dated Sept. 10 and 22, a. c. This evening I added a postscript to my letter of Oct. 20, and acknowledged the receipt of the letters from Philadelphia via Savannah, per Mr. Miller. Last night about 2 P. M., a fire occurred in the town, but was soon extinguished. On such occasions the military guard must turn out

under arms for fear of the negroes. The account of Israel Heintzleman's death[1] and some remarks in the letters from Philadelphia, caused us a sleepless night—because we cannot yet believe that all things work together for our good.

Oct. 24. Wrote a few English lines additional to Henry Mühlenberg, jun. This morning we had our baggage conveyed again to the ship, and we were told the vessel would sail with certainty at 3 P. M.—but we were disappointed again and are almost alarmed, for we cannot foretell, and do not know what it signifies. It is written: "Wait on the Lord: be of good courage, and he shall strengthen thine heart." It is said now, that the vessel will sail to-morrow evening. This morning a respectable English lady brought a widow of the Episcopal church to us, in a coach, and informed us that she would sail in our company to Savannah, and recommended her to my protection and attention. I was confounded, and told her we were only plain people, old and infirm, inexperienced in refined compliments, and unable to protect ourselves, being dependent upon the protection of a gracious God, and relying on the mercy of the Most High. As regarded attention, we would cheerfully do all that the grace of God would permit us. It is true, it appeared rather hazardous and alarming for me to protect and attend, upon a vessel tossed to and fro, and driven hither and thither by wind and waves, a lady accustomed to dress and live in the first fashion and style; especially as I am always troubled with sea sickness myself, have a sick wife to care for, and am utterly ignorant if any thing should be displaced among the ingenious head-dresses and innumerable folds. However, I promised that my daughter, if spared from sea sickness, should attend her.

Oct. 25. The owner of the vessel says we shall leave today, the Lord willing. An Elder of the congregation showed me an answer from Rev. Mr. Martin, in which he states that in compliance with the desire of the Vestry, he will serve the Evangelical congregation of this place one and a half years, and, Deo volente, will take charge the first Sunday in Advent. Thus, it appears, this object is gained, that the congregation will be supplied in the meanwhile, until it can be seen what will result from the critical strife between the colonies and their angry mother, and whether the intended call to our rev-

[1] Israel Matthias Heintzleman was a son of Rev. Matthias Heintzleman, of the Lutheran church of Philadelphia, who died Feb. 9, 1756. His mother was a daughter of Conrad Weiser, and a sister to Mühlenberg's wife, which no doubt was a cause of its affecting him so much. Israel was an only child, having been born a day after his father's death. He was the father of the late Dr. Heintzleman, of Philadelphia.—Tr.

erend Fathers for an ordained minister will meet with the desired effect. To-day the cannon on the batteries were fired, and the King's Officers ate and drank healths, in commemoration of his Majesty, George the III. attaining the throne.— Towards evening I was requested to bury a poor member of the congregation, who was confined four years to bed with sickness, and lost his sight the last two years. He is said to have had good theoretical knowledge of the truth, and to have gained experience through continued affliction, and to have desired his end, which I rejoiced to hear. My text was Psalm 23. Afterwards I bade adieu to a number of friends.

Oct. 26. At last the vessel is about to sail. A respectable English lady offered to convey us to the ship in her coach.— But we declined it politely, preferring to go on foot, as we expected to have sufficient undulating motion in our sea-coach. At 2 P. M., we took affectionate leave of our kind hosts, and were accompanied by them and their children, and also by Messrs. Kalteisen, Speidel, Kreutner, Dr. Günter, &c., to the shore, and suffered to depart with many wishes and tears.— The ship, called a Schooner, was to make, as I understood, its last voyage and then to be discharged, it having, like myself, become old and decayed. It was heavily laden with animate and inanimate creatures, namely: 1) with the English widow and her young son, mentioned Oct. 24. 2) with eight English male passengers. 3) with four German females from Charleston. 4) with new negroes lately arrived from Africa and sold. 5) with other burdens and baggage. The sailors were strong negroes. I immediately betook myself and sick wife and daughter, together with the English lady, into the cabin. There we found four bedsteads ingeniously contrived like cow-racks. One was occupied by the lady and her son, the second by my daughter, the third by an English gentleman, and the fourth remained for my wife and myself. An almost insupportable stench filled the cabin, as though rats had been poisoned and had putrified in their hiding places. We set sail at 3 P. M., were favored with a pretty good wind, and at 7 P. M. had safely passed the sand banks. The English lady and her son were the first in the cabin attacked with sea sickness, and my daughter next, and disgorged whatever they had received at parting from their friends the last few days. According to promise, I ought now to have attended on the sick, but was compelled myself to escape on my knees from the cabin, and seek in the dark, some opening on the deck, where the *invertus motus peristalticus* exercised me— for sea-sickness, like yawning, is catching. This act having

been played, sleep followed. Three other passengers sought the cabin, and reclined on chests and boxes. My wife and I had only a narrow trough left us; we therefore agreed to divide—she watched beside the rack from seven to twelve o'clock, and let me lie in it, and from twelve to six o'clock I watched and she lay on the bedstead. But we could not sleep, for independent of the overpowering stench, the musquitoes swarmed around our heads, and on the floor were innumerable cockroaches, a species of insects about as large, and formed like the beetle, black of color, which seek victuals, and gnaw at the clothes, and attack human beings asleep. I wished them in Europe in the insect cabinets. Beneath, above, and on all sides of the cabin, between the old wainscot, the rats and the mice were in motion, and fought and clamored; and the vessel tossed to and fro, up and down, like a drunken Frenchman dancing a country minuet.

Oct. 27. At 6 A. M. we lived to see the breaking day once more, after we had sighed "Watchman is the night nigh spent?" At 7 o'clock we had a heavy fog, and the Captain got lost in his course, the wind being pretty strong. The lead was cast and they sung out, five fathoms—they tried to avoid and found four fathoms, and still further only three fathoms. Suddenly a cry was heard—the Captain let down the sails hastily, clasped his hands above his head, and exclaimed, we are between rocks and sand-banks, and said we could expect nothing but that the ship would momentarily strike and founder. Some of the women wept, and the rest trembled. A few moments before my wife had struck upon a passage in the "Golden Treasury," [Bogatzky's Schatzkästlein[1]] which says: "The Lord went before them [his people] by day in a pillar of a cloud to lead them the way; and by night in a pillar of fire," &c. This was her anchor. I cannot describe all that passed through my mind and thoughts. In short, it is hard, when a man has his wife and child at his side, and he must think that he and they must perish violently, &c. I represented to myself the voyage on the Galilean sea, when the disciples cried: "Lord save us, we perish!" and thought of the reproof of our Savior: "O ye of little faith, why do ye doubt!" I desired strong faith, but could not apply the encouragement to myself, for the disciples were chosen and called to perform great things in the world, therefore they could not and did not perish in the storm. This did not apply to me,

[1] The book is in the translator's possession, and is filled with notes and other evidences of having been well read.—TR.

an unprofitable servant. I know well what the Lord can do, but know not what he will do; where, when, and how he will call away the children of men. It is, and ever will be a momentous change to depart from time to eternity! At $8\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock the sun peeped forth again, and the Lord opened a door for our escape, and we sailed along comfortably until 2 P. M., when we anchored safely before Savannah, and landed. An old sea captain, who had been a passenger on the ship, accompanied us to a wealthy German of the place, Mr. Stephen Miller, a member of our church, and of the State Assembly, a benevolent man, whom we had had the pleasure to become acquainted with in former years in Philadelphia, he having brought his oldest son thither to be instructed and confirmed by Rev. Kuntze. His reverence, P. Zubly, D. D., had already previously invited us most kindly, to lodge with him, and came immediately to our quarters, but found it with me advisable, that I should remain with Mr. Miller, inasmuch as some of Rev. Triebner's adherents had already intimated that Mühlenberg was not Lutheran but Reformed, and therefore incapable of concluding anything impartially; and if I were, in addition, to lodge with Rev. Zubly, the suspicion would be strengthened. Moreover, a member of Rev. Rabenhorst's party happened to be here, who offered to take some baggage with him and leave it with Rev. Rabenhorst, and I promised to stop first with him.

Oct. 28. In the morning I wrote a brief Journal of our voyage from Charleston hither, and sent it by mail to Charleston, to our friends, according to promise, as they were very much concerned to know how we would fare in our journey. According to invitation, I and my family dined with Rev. Dr. Zubly, and I spent the afternoon very pleasantly with him in his library and study. He is an experienced, influential, learned, prudent, and very industrious man, of a sanguine temperament. He has a larger collection of fine books than any I have seen in America. The external appearance of his library and study is not surpassed by the most superior in Germany. All the books appear like trees that lose their fruit and leaves in Autumn, so that innumerable printed leaves, whole and half tracts, manuscripts, &c., are scattered on the floor.—It reminded me of the polyhistorian Markosius, and our venerable Bogatzky, whose studies are said also to appear in such good order; the most noted housewife dare not venture to arrange anything in them, lest she should put them in disorder!

The worthy Dr. Zubly advised me not to remain at first with either of the pastors at Ebenezer, on the contrary, to invite both of them to meet me previously in private, which I did, as the following lines written alike to each of them, will show.

"Rev. Pastor—beloved brother in the Lord: Our venerable fathers, the chaplain Ziegenhagen, Sen. Urlsperger and various members of the venerable "Society for the promotion of Christian knowledge,"[1] have required of me, already for a year past, to visit, once more before my end, our beloved Ebenezer, and to ascertain whether the existing difficulties may not by the grace of God, be removed, and love and peace be restored between the respective teachers, and pastors, and congregations. The above mentioned beloved fathers have provided me with full powers for this purpose. Nothing but love has induced me to accept the paternal commission, and in the name of God to undertake the weary journey. After many difficulties I arrived yesterday here in Savannah, with my sick wife and daughter, and was received kindly by Mr. Stephen Miller. Inasmuch as I, one of the least of your brethren, wish to act with the greatest impartiality, and am accountable for it, and heartily desire to confer previously alone with my worthy brethren in the ministry, therefore I humbly request both the reverend pastors and brethren in Christ to favor me, an old and yet somewhat weary cross-bearer, with a visit, God willing, next Monday, Tuesday, or any other day, here in Savannah, at the house of Mr. Stephen Miller. I would prefer conferring not only with one, but with both of my beloved brethren at the same time, if circumstances will permit such a visit.—My reverend brethren will therefore please arrange with each other what day will suit them, and inform me, and in the meanwhile greet their respected families for us, who am, and hope to remain my reverend and much beloved brother's humble servant, Henry Mühlenberg, sen."

*Savannah, Oct.* 28, 1774.

The above lines I gave to-day to Mr. Ziegler of Ebenezer, for delivery, viz: one to Rev. P. Rabenhorst, and one to Rev. Triebner, and the above copy I kept for myself.

Oct. 29. This morning I was visited by a man of our confession, aged 70 years, who remembered with satisfaction, that about this time 32 years ago he rowed me and the late Rev. Gronau on the water to Ebenezer, and that on the way we sang, "Höchster Priester, der du dich Selbst geopfert hast für

[1] "Societas de propaganda cognitione Christi."

mich," &c. He has now resided many years in Savannah, and told me how he had fared bodily and spiritually these 32 years. I accompanied his narration with various remarks.—

(Memoranda: On my arrival in Charleston, I gave the helmsman, cabin waiter and others £1. 3s.; in Charleston for an umbrella, without which one cannot walk out and live, £1 10s.; for a pair of knee buckles, 10s.; to the poor widow of the late Mr. Theus, with whom I lodged here 32 years ago, 7s. 6d.; to the poor Reformed minister, Theus, who promised to prepare for me a narrative of the ecclesiastical affairs of the German Protestants in South Carolina, 15s. To the collection for Rev. Daser's departure, £2. 5s.; to the negroes and servants in our quarters where we lodged seven weeks, a present of £1; total, to the negroes who conveyed our baggage twice to the vessel, a gift 5s.; a cheese for our voyage, 7s. 6d.; writing paper, 4s. 6d.; on the trip to Savannah, to the steersman, 3s.; the cabin boy 1s.; fare for 3 persons from Charleston to Savannah, 3 guineas; amounts to £5. 2s. paid for us by Esquire Miller; additional in Charleston, for seven weeks to the barber and perruquier, 15s. 8d.; without calculating other small necessary items.) Saturday afternoon I read a tract borrowed of his reverence, Dr. Zubly. In the evening received the following answer from pastor Rabenhorst:

"*New Providence, Oct.* 29, 1774.

Reverend Senior, beloved pastor in the Lord; your most acceptable note of the 28th inst. was handed to me by Luke Ziegler; at the same time Mr. Rosberg arrived, to whom I communicated the contents, without being enabled to consult first with Mr. Triebner. We humbly thank our kind Father in heaven that he has hitherto led and guarded you, and those that are dear to you. Your arrival causes me both joy and sorrow. The concern manifested for Ebenezer by our worthy fathers and the venerable members of the Society, and your love and care in behalf of this vineyard of the Lord, and the gratification of seeing you, God willing; all this rejoices me. But the misery of my people and fold, and that scarcely a wise man should be found in Ebenezer to heal this breach so that an old and labor-wearied servant must journey many hundred miles to try and remedy the evil, &c. This troubles me in my very heart. "Be still, O my soul and wait upon the Lord," &c. In accordance with your desire, I shall visit you on the appointed Monday, and this the more readily, as I had already determined, D. v., to see you on that day, and to take with me to my home one of your family, so dear to me and my wife. I will inform Mr. Triebner of this ap-

pointment, that he may regulate himself accordingly. The Lord direct my way to you, and grant that we may rejoice together in him, and that our hearts may be glad! Without writing much at present with ink and pen, I remain, Rev. pastor, with cordial salutation, and desire from me and my wife to see you soon, and to have you with us, your most humble, sincere and lowly fellow servant,

Christian Rabenhorst."

Oct. 30. I preached morning and afternoon in the German Lutheran church of this place, from the texts, Matt. 18; 22–33, and Gen. 28. A tolerable number was collected, and was very attentive. About ten years ago they bought a lot for £150 sterling, and a wooden building (formerly a court house [Rathhaus,]) for £18 sterling, which they rolled to the place and prepared for worship, providing it with a steeple and bell, and were visited every six weeks, and served with the means of grace by Rev. pastor Rabenhorst, of New Providence, i. e. Ebenezer. They use the Halle hymn-book, sing in good order, though without a cantor or precentor, whose service the minister must perform in addition to his own. The people conducted themselves modestly, mannerly and friendly towards me, but I cannot judge of their spiritual state. Nevertheless, I am assured that the labor of their faithful pastors has not been without blessing and fruit among them, for the word of the Lord shall not return void, and he has promised to be graciously present where his comforting gospel is preached in his name, and the other appointed means of grace are faithfully used, and are illustrated with an exemplary life. The servants of Christ, with the help of the Lord, can only plant and water; the increase must come from the Lord. Rev. Dr. Zubly preached in the morning in his country congregation; in the afternoon here in English, and in the evening in German; so that the German inhabitants have an opportunity of hearing the word of God preached in the German language once every Sunday, and this is a great blessing for our Germans, scattered as they are among all nations, in this remote wilderness, if they will but properly apply and use it.

Oct. 31. Conferred with my host, Esquire Miller, concerning the external circumstances of the church of this place, and learned that six men purchased the ground and building and had the deed made to them and their heirs in fee simple. But they have not yet given a declaration of trust, that it is for an Evangelical German Lutheran church, because a debt of about £30 sterling still rests upon it, for which these six men are still obligated — therefore the ground and building, according

to the State laws, belong yet to these six men and their heirs. Were the members of the congregation to unite and pay the whole debt, then it would be the duty of these six owners to make a declaration of trust, or declare by document, that the ground and building is to belong forever to an Evangelical Lutheran congregation. But German heads will not, and partly cannot, understand and recognize the laws of this country, and self-interest and self-conceit are apt to be mingled up with it, viz.: *an itching for Episcopal rights and patronage.*[1] A visit from Mrs. Keller, whose mother and sister, viz.: the wife of Andrew Tag, were known to me many years in Philadelphia, but who moved together, in the Spring to Canecoshick.[2] Mrs. Keller fears God and seeks grace with her Savior; she has been tried by many a trouble, and has been trained by the Word and the Spirit. In the afternoon I had the pleasure for the first time in my life to see the two pastors of Ebenezer, viz. Rev. Mr. Rabenhorst and Rev. Mr. Triebner. I gave them the commission I had received from his reverence, Senior Urlsperger, and Court-chaplain Ziegenhagen, to peruse; and then read to them the double instructions given me by the venerable fathers, and enquired whether they acknowledged them to be authentic, and recognized me as empowered, and would permit me to act in accordance with my authority as far as God would enable me? Answer, yes. I assured them they would find me very imperfect, but without guile, and requested them to add their written ratification or approval to my commission. This was done and reads as follows: "I have read, Oct. 31, 1774, the power or commission, which by the wise providence of God, was given by the venerable fathers of Ebenezer to the worthy pastor Mühlenberg, and hereby acknowledge that I will cheerfully and most willingly yield obedience to it — to which I testify with my signature. Savannah, Oct. 31, 1774. Christian Rabenhorst."

"I, the undersigned, testify that I willingly agree to acquiesce in and obey the commission which their worthy reverences, Court-chaplain Ziegenhagen and Senior Urlsperger have given to pastor Mühlenberg.

Christian Fred. Triebner."

Afterwards I requested them, that in accordance with the second rule of my instructions, they should curtail as much as possible the number of their charges against eaeh other and reduce them to a few principal charges, and each party give them to me in writing. Then, God willing, a day might be

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[1] Pruritus pro jure episcopali et patronatus. [2] Conocogeauge?

appointed for the investigation of the matter and some of the vestry might be present. But I entreated that if important charges, calculated to affect their office and character, or congregations, were brought forward, that then credible witnesses should be produced and they must be qualified or put on oath. They promised to prepare their charges in a few days and hand them to me. I enquired where I could and should remain with my wife and daughter. Pastor Rabenhorst kindly offered that we should remain first at his house, and that afterwards further opportunity would present itself — and pastor Triebner also offered to receive us, and was willing to yield his dwelling to us and to remove meanwhile into another house. Mr. Rabenhorst will remain here to-morrow, and our kind host, Mr. Miller, will provide a chaise, so that we expect, D. v. to commence our journey to Ebenezer the day after to-morrow. To-day I received a letter from Esquire Treulein, in which he sorrowfully communicated that young Israel Heinzelman fell from his horse the 11th of last September, and died in consequence thereof, Sept. 12th. He stated that the lad had conducted himself well and orderly with him, and had endeared himself very much to him, and that the event troubled him very much! He says, that having loved him like his own child, he was willing to give him his daughter Rachel to wife after he had obtained his majority.

The ministers remained with me until evening, and Mr. Triebner tarried an hour and a half longer, and related to me the deplorable difficulty, but only one-sided. I could listen, but could not decide, because the other party was not present, and each party supposes itself right. One point, however, secretly alarmed me, of which, however, I am not yet certain, namely, the Jerusalem's church, the principal church in Ebenezer, is said to have received a grant from his Excellency, the Governor, and the Council in which the lot of ground and the building are assigned to the church of England, its Articles and rites. Should this be true and unalterable, and those of the High Church should obtain a footing, then Ebenezer and its appurtenances will fall into an entirely strange channel, and the many kindnesses shown and the earnest exertions made, &c., will be abortive. I fear it was missed in the cutting out. We poor ministers have enough to do with our important office, are not masters of the English constitution and laws, and cannot anticipate the consequences. In the beginning it would have been easy to secure a church-order, and to obtain a charter, &c., but who knows and sees all things in

advance? God grant it may be more favorable, and that my fears may be groundless!

Nov. 1. Visited by Rev. Dr. Zubly, who, in his kindness, went to the trouble of procuring for me, from the chancery office, an authentic copy of the grant of the mill place in Ebenezer. [5 s. sterling]. Rev. Rabenhorst, Triebner, and Dr. Zubly dined with me at my lodgings at Mr. Miller's. The Rev. pastors wished to take me with them to-morrow to Ebenezer. I thought it more advisable, however, to write first to the principal men of both parties, and meanwhile to remain here.

"To J. A. Treutler, Esq., Ebenezer. Respected Sir and worthy friend and well-wisher: your kind note of Oct. 29, a. c. was duly received by me, through Pastor Rabenhorst, and I thank you for the intelligence respecting the mournful occurrence with Israel Heintzelman. No sparrow falls to the earth without the knowledge and will of God, much less a human being, and there is "no evil in the city and the Lord has not done it," and with the wisest purpose, &c. I lay my hand upon my mouth and think, what God doeth is well done, and his will is just. God is faithful and there is no evil in Him, &c.

A great and important matter causes my arrival at this place. More than a year past, I was repeatedly requested by our venerable fathers, namely, Court-chaplain Ziegenhagen, Senior Urlsperger, and other worthy members of the venerable "Society for promoting christian knowledge," to visit Ebenezer, and to try whether, with the help of God, the alas! deeply rooted contention and disunion might not be healed and peaceably settled. For which purpose I have received powers and instructions from the aforesaid fathers, and, through the application of said Society, a recommendation from our Governor Penn, to his Excellency the Royal Governor of this State, in attestation of my powers. Having been instructed to act impartially and wisely to the best of my weak ability, and my sole object being to restore peace and reunion, and if possible to heal the schism between the pastors and the congregations, I requested, therefore, both the pastors, my brethren, to visit me in kindness. I gave them my credentials and instructions for examination, and asked them whether they acknowledged them to be authentic, and would testify their approval thereof with their signatures. They answered affirmatively, and in confirmation thereof were pleased to acknowledge my credentials. Having thus obtained their consent, I would now request the congregations and parties to appoint several sensible

persons, men of enlarged, peaceable and christian views, with whom I might confer; for it is impossible to arrange any thing with the people collectively, but it may be done if they appoint sensible representatives with whom to counsel. As a stranger, I would, therefore, humbly request you, who are a well-advised friend and well-wisher in the whole matter, to prepare in writing the necessary main charges and send them to my address before I come, that I may know beforehand what is to be transacted. And that I may not excite prejudice with any of the parties, I would prefer, for my humble self, to lodge at first with neither of the pastors, and therefore would ask whether I might not find a room somewhere in which I could confer with both the pastors, as well as the representatives of both the parties. As an impartial friend I shall write also to some one of Rev. Triebner's party and make a similar request. Finally, I add another request, viz.: that for the love of peace, you will please to give me your best advice, how to act most wisely in this matter — for I am anxious to make an impartial report of the whole procedure to the christian world. I shall remain here until I receive a favorable answer from your honor. In the meanwhile I remain, with cordial respects to your worthy family, your sincere servant,

*Savannah, Nov.* 1., *a. c.* H. Mühlenberg."

"To John Wertsch, Esq., Ebenezer. Respected Sir, although personally unknown, yet worthy friend and well-wisher: I take the liberty to inform you and Mr. Flörel that I arrived in Savannah last week with my wife and daughter, and have received authority from the venerable fathers and patrons of the Ebenezer congregations to investigate the sad disputes between the pastors and congregations, and with the grace of God to establish union. Through the intercession of the members of the venerable Society I have also received a recommendation from our Governor to his excellency the Governor of this State, which I hope, however, I shall not need. Desiring to act with the utmost impartiality, I requested a visit from both pastors. They were willing and came. I showed them the credentials and instructions I had received and they cordially and willingly consented. I would now request both parties to appoint sensible and peace-loving principals, as representatives, with whom I might investigate and consider the subject; for it is known that in general assemblies nothing can be properly transacted, because all either speak at once and overpower each other's voices, or all remain silent. But where there are representatives who understand the subject and investigate it orderly, there much good may be accom-

plished. I would therefore respectfully request you and Mr. Floerel to prepare your charges and send them to my address before I come, that I may know what is to be transacted. Further, I would be unwilling, before the termination of this matter, to take up my quarters with either of my respected brethren in the ministry, lest the weak should say I was partial and loved one more than the other. I would therefore be gratified if some central point could be found, where I could confer both with the pastors and representatives of the congregations. Finally, I entreat both you and Mr. Floerel to aid me with good counsel, and for God's sake to use all possible exertion and prayer that with the grace of God a christian and permanent reconciliation and re-union may be restored. The whole procedure, how and what each person does for or against, a reconciliation and peace will be impartially communicated to the worthy fathers and benefactors of Ebenezer, yea, to all Christendom by your well-wisher, for the benefit of the united ministers. H. Mühlenberg, Savannah, Nov. 1, 1774."

In the afternoon we drank a cup of coffee with Dr. Zubly, in St. Gallen, thus the extensive neighborhood is called in which he has his land and tenements. In the evening pastor Rabenhorst had divine service in the Lutheran church. I could not attend as I was compelled to write.

Nov. 2. In the morning Rev. Rabenhorst took leave, and also took my yet sick wife with him in a chaise, and my host kindly lent my daughter a horse that she might accompany them to Ebenezer. Rev. Triebner remained, ate with us at Mr. Millen's, and afterwards rode home. Before dinner he was with me alone upwards of an hour, read many papers to me which had passed between Rev. Rabenhorst and him, &c. &c., to all which I could say nothing, as I know but little in proper order. One thing, however, seemed very critical to me, namely: The larger party having, through its newly elected wardens, locked and secured the Jerusalem's church in Ebenezer against pastor Triebner, the smaller party broke open the church. But their opponents having locked it again, then Mr. Triebner with his adherents, said to number about one hundred, retreated into Mr. Wertsch's house and have held divine worship there up to this time. Mr. Triebner then sent a petition, signed by forty of his members, to the Governor and Council, seeking redress. The Governor is said to have answered, after some time, that he could not help them because the Jerusalem's church was not yet *constitutional*, and he knew not the nature of its order. *Observation.* —

Suppose the grant for the ground and buildings should be designed for a High or Established church (of which I am not yet certain) might not two things result therefrom? 1) Should it remain locked against Mr. Triebner and his party, then Mr. Triebner, if he had an elastic conscience, might easily have a petition subscribed by his members, and through a strong recommendation from his excellency the Governor, &c., to the Lord Bishop of London, obtain ordination from the latter, and be solemnly inducted as the first constitutional minister. Or 2) should this not be the case and the larger party keep the Jerusalem church locked, and the grant should be for a High [Episcopal] church, could not the Governor easily intervene and install a constitutional minister? I therefore searched in the Recording Office for the grant of the Jerusalem's church, but they could not find it, there being many books of Record; I must wait, therefore, until I see the original in Ebenezer at Esquire Wertsch's. The grant for the five hundred acres on which the mills are built and of which I have a certified copy, is as follows: 1) under George II., dated Aug. 7, 1759. 2) It constitutes Rev. Christian Rabenhorst, clerk, John Floerel and Lewis Meyer and their heirs and assigns, or to whomsoever they may convey it, the owners of five hundred acres of land, with all its appurtenances, *forever;* 3) "in free and common soccage"; 4) it requires, at the risk of forfeiture of the grant, a yearly ground rent of 10 shillings sterling to his majesty the King, that is, for one hundred pounds two shillings sterling; this is well enough. 5) It states that these three persons, their heirs and assigns, or those to whom they lawfully convey or assign it, shall keep and hold in trust, as it is expressed, "in Trust nevertheless." *Obs.:* Who has in reality given in trust, or entrusted it to these three men? Quis — the King, or Governor, or Episcopus Londinensis? Could and should it not have been briefly and clearly stated that the Reverend Court-chaplain Ziegenhagen and Senior Urlsperger (members of the Society) were the sources through which money and lands and mills &c., flowed to the colony in Ebenezer? 6) Who is to enjoy the benefit of the land and mills? In the grant it says: "to and for the only use and benefit of the publick Saw mills in the Town of Ebenezer, in our province of Georgia, and of the proprietors thereof, they the said Rabenhorst, Flerl and Meyer, their heirs and assigns." 7) If all this should be in fee simple, who can demand any thing from them, their heirs and assigns *ad pias causas*, (for pious uses) if no object is specified? Our dear Mr. Rabenhorst is infirm and has no

children. Mr. John Floerel is dead and his right has devolved on his son; Mr. Meyer is also dead and left issue, four children, and the son is not yet of age. The three proprietors ought to have given immediately after the date of the grant a counter-deed or declaration of trust, and to have assigned their right and title to the venerable fathers in London and Augsburg as members of the incorporated "Society for promoting Christian knowledge," and their assigns, and with their counsel and approbation to have designated the special object for which it was originated and to which it should be applied. Then the venerable fathers, as trustees, could have appointed their agents, or attornies, who would have been accountable. If such a declaration and special designation be not made in the beginning, it becomes more difficult in the future, the more heirs there are, and those scattered abroad, seldom all of age or willing to assign their right, and thus they retain their proprietary right and claim to the property which the venerable benefactors bestowed *ad pias causas*, (for pious uses) but which are specifically designated and secured for the intended object of the benefactors. The heirs can assign their claim as they please if no counter-deed or declaration of trust exists. A closer investigation will reveal the real state of things. If the land upon which the churches &c. should stand is not designated and secured for the Evangelical Lutheran congregations then I am here for nothing.

Nov. 3. Jacob Mack took our baggage with him on his waggon to Ebenezer, to Rev. Rabenhorst's house. Visited by Mr. Morgan who sailed in the same ship with us from Philadelphia to Charleston. Also a visit from old widow Burghalter, the step-mother of Matthew Meyers' wife. Received a letter from Rev. Rabenhorst containing the agreeable intelligence that he arrived safely at home yesterday with my wife and daughter, my wife having been once sick on the road — also, two letters from Charleston, one from Mr. Kalteisen and one from Mr. Kimmel. Yesterday evening and this morning I wrote a sheet full to Rev. William Pasche, in London, and dated Nov. 2, a. cur., having heard that a vessel would leave here soon for London. I gave him a hint of our departure from Charleston to this place, and short remarks of what occurred till the 3d of November, and finally informed him of the deceased Swedish widow Van der Spiegel, and that I was indebted yet £7 currency to the Halle Missionary Treasury, as would appear from the account I left behind me in Philadelphia.

Nov. 4. In the morning I visited the widow of the late Capt. Holst, whose husband and child lately died. I married them in Philadelphia in 1771, and they moved hither. She was a lover of the word of God, frequented public worship, Bible and Prayer meetings in Philadelphia most regularly. She told me she desired to return again to Philadelphia that she might have an opportunity to edify her soul. Thence I visited Mr. Schick, a German family of Evangelical religion, having nine living children, which is here a rarity, parents not retaining many children alive on account of the climate. On the 18th and 20th of October last, his Excellency the Governor, Sir James Wright, and Honorable John Stewart, Esq., superintendent, held a Congress here in Savannah with the chiefs of the Creek Indians and made peace. In the afternoon I went to Mr. Dressler's house to visit him, but did not find him at home; I conversed a while with his wife. The remainder of the time I wrote and read, and commended my letter of the 2d inst., written to Rev. Wm. Pasche, to the care of my host Mr. Millen, to transmit with any vessel sailing for London.

Nov. 5. Received by express the following from Pastor Triebner, viz.: 1) the original grant to the Jerusalem church, and 2) a writing dated Ebenezer, Nov. 4, 1774: Tit. "Wishing you most cordially the divine power and blessing for your important undertaking, I take the liberty to inform you that I delivered your letter to Mr. Wertsch, who would not have failed to answer it, if he had not undertaken a journey yesterday to Tukasa King. I have therefore duly to report in behalf of him and the other representatives on this side, Mr. Floerel, Christopher Krämer and John Rottenberger, that with entire approbation they will conform to the credentials given to you by our venerable fathers, and will aid all they can, according to their weak ability, to promote peace and good order as far as possible. Secondly, I would request you to be entirely unconcerned about all that regards the residence and entire provision for yourself and your worthy family while in Ebenezer. Mr. Wertsch has not only offered the upper part of his house with all it contains, but I have also cleared my dwelling in case it should please your reverence to be satisfied with it. In the meanwhile I will occupy a part of the house of my wife's mother, so that in this respect your reverence can be free from the supposition of an offense or prejudice with the weak. To-morrow, God willing, some of the members of this party will meet me to confer about the general complaints against the other party, when I will endeavor that

they shall be only such as shall concern the welfare of the congregation in regard to its spiritual and temporal circumstances. You will receive herewith also the Grant as a copy of it cannot be obtained in Savannah. A certain friend and well-wisher in Savannah, Mr. Joseph Ottolenghe, told me repeatedly already before your arrival, that our dispute could be settled more suitably and impartially by some gentlemen in Savannah than in Ebenezer — what, if any, use your reverence may make of this suggestion I leave entirely to yourself. Mr. Ottolenghe desired me to present his compliments to your reverence, with the request that your reverence would visit him as an old friend of Ebenezer, and especially of its departed ministers; he is acquainted with many of the circumstances of Ebenezer in former days. Yesterday I visited your worthy wife and daughter at Rev. Rabenhorst's, with the request to honor me with a visit. I trust your reverence will not be ashamed of me, an aggrieved, oppressed and deserted being, which may the Lord, for his name's sake, record as a blessing to you and yours. I remain, for life, with all respect and obedience, your obliged and humble, Christopher Frederick Triebner.

N. B. Next Monday, God willing, I will come to Savannah with a chaise to fetch you."

The express waiting for an answer and informing me that he would pass the dwelling of Rev. Rabenhorst, I could only hastily write the following few lines: 1. "To the Rev. Mr. Triebner. I have only time hastily to acknowledge the receipt of your favorable letter, dated Nov. 4, a. c., and to inform you that I cannot go to Ebenezer as early as next Monday, but have resolved to visit it next week with a friend, D. v. and thus cause my worthy brethren no further expense and trouble. Let my Rev. Brother be assured, it shall be my endeavor to act, as before the all-seeing eye of God, according to justice and equity, truth and love; to which may God give me grace. With affectionate salutation to your worthy mother-in-law, your worthy family and friends, I remain your obliged servant, H. Mühlenberg.

*Savannah, Nov.* 5, 1774.

N. B. I expect, consequently, no chaise from Ebenezer, on the contrary, D. v., I will come up next week from here, visiting first my family and then yourself."

The express promising to leave a few lines also at Rev. Rabenhorst's, I wrote the following hastily: "Your cordial letter of Nov. 3d, a. c., rejoiced me, especially to hear that you arrived safely at home, and that my wife and daughter

are enjoying good spiritual nurture and otherwise. Pastor Triebner kindly informed me that he would come for me in the chaise next Monday. But I declined it, as my host Esq. Millen promised and resolved to convey me there himself on Tuesday or Wednesday of next week. I shall then, D. v., visit first the Senior pastor, and likewise the family, and afterwards pastor Triebner and widow Lemke. I would therefore request that no one will trouble himself to come for me. With respects and greeting in the Spirit, I remain in the Lord your unworthy servant, Mühlenberg.

*Savannah, Saturday, Nov.* 5, 1774."

Afterwards I examined the *Grant* to the Jerusalem's church. On the outside at the top is written: Grant, To John Wertsch and others in Trust, Town lots, church lots and cemetery St. Matthew, dated April 2d, 1771. Georgia Register of Grants Office. Registered in Book H folio 56, April 9th, 1771.

Thos. Mooder, D. Reg'r.

Below is written: Auditor's Office. A memorial hereof entered in Book A fol. 685.

William Handley, for Dep. Aud'r.

Inside is written: "Granted 1st, two town lots, two church lots and two acres of land in the parish of St. Matthew and Town of Ebenezer for the use of the inhabitants of Ebenezer and Parish of St. Matthew. 2) Granted unto John Wertsch, Christian Rabinhurst, clerk, John Flerl, Joseph Shrubdine and Conrade Rahn, their heirs and assigns. 3) Quit-rent a peppercorn. 4) Granted to the above said five persons their heirs and assigns forever in free and common soccage. 5) In trust nevertheless, and it is the true intent and meaning of these presents that the said two lots of land first above mentioned shall be to and for the only proper use, benefit and behoof of two ministers of the Gospel residents within the parish aforesaid, using and exercising divine service according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England within the said Parish and their successors forever, that the said two church lots of land herein before granted shall be deemed church lots, and the buildings thereon to be erected set apart as houses or places of divine worship for the only use, benefit and behoof of the parishioners of the parish aforesaid, and all others resorting thereto, in order to hear divine service, and that the said two acres of land herein before granted shall be to the use, benefit and behoof of the inhabitants of the said parish as a Cemetery or Burial ground within

*Note:* This grant, &c., is copied as written in English in the Journal.–Tr.

the same, and to and for no other use, intent or purpose whatsoever, they the said John Wertsch, Christian Rabinhusrt &c. their heirs and assigns yielding and paying therefore yearly a peppercorn, &c. April 2, 1771."

In the warrant or order for the survey it is written: "Georgia, Pursuant to an order from his excellency the Governor in Council directed to the Surveyer General, Sept. 6, 1768, he has caused to be admeasured and laid out unto John Wertsch, Christian Rabinhurst, clerk, John Flerl, Joseph Shrubdine and Conrade Rahn, two town lots in Ebenezer in trust for the use of two ministers of the Gospel, also two church lots and two acres of land for a burying ground also in trust &c., which have such forms and marks natural and artificial as are on the above plots thereof expressed and delineated. Certified Feb. 1, 1759. Thos. Muder, Dep. G."

Consequently the order of the Governor in Council was given Sept. 6, 1768; the land was surveyed Feb. 1, 1769, and the Grant was executed April 2, 1771.

Now, there is an end of it. I see no help. Church and land, parsonages and cemeteries in Ebenezer belong to the jurisdiction of the Church of England since April 2, 1771. Any English or German minister of the established church has the power and right to hold divine service in the Ebenezer church. The Rev. pastors Rabenhorst and Triebner are as yet Dissenters or Non-conformists, and have no authority and right to hold divine service in the church or to live in the parsonages until they shall have been created Deacons and Priests by the Lord Bishop of London in England, have sincerely received the Thirty-nine Articles, &c. &c., and use here the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. The parent church in Ebenezer being thus lost, the children, or *under parochial* churches have no foundation. Oh! that from 1768 to March 1771, men had been here possessed of wisdom and spirit to conduct this matter properly! A few words would have been sufficient. "For the only proper use, benefit and behoof of two ministers of the Gospel being Protestants according to the Augustan Confession, and their successors forever," &c. Had I known this beforehand, I would have remained at home, or returned from Charleston. I do not regret going to Charleston, for there, with the help of God, an Evangelical Lutheran church and congregation according to the Augsburg Confession may yet be gathered and sustained with but little expense. Most probably John Wertsch, Esq., the brother-in-law of Rev. Triebner, is the author of the above mournful condition of things, and has involved the Rev. Ra-

benhorst in it, he being yet unacquainted with our intricate laws. The same Mr. Wertsch is now conducting the matter before the authorities in order to bring it more speedily to a close. For after the majority had locked the church in Ebenezer against Mr. Triebner, his brother-in-law Mr. Wertsch, first supplicated the Governor for help, and when he could not help, then he put it into the hands of the King's attorney. And probably the advice will be that Rev. Triebner receive orders, or as it is here called the gown, from the Lord Bishop of London, and be inducted; after which poor pastor Rabenhorst and his large party will not run far. But should pastor Triebner be too orthodox and stiff and not follow the advice, the King's Attorney will soon find a third and induct him into the church and its appurtenances, which, according to the grant of April 2, 1771, belong to the jurisdiction of the Established church, and then wo unto our two poor non-conformist brethren. If no division had occurred between ministers and congregations our Evangelical Lutheran establishment might have continued to exist and to prosper. This is a dark, sad and grievous day for me! Alas!

Sunday, (Nov. 6,) 26th past Trinity. Slept but little last night on account of anxiety. In the morning I held divine service in our German church and preached from the pericope Matth. 22: 15, &c., especially from the words: "Render unto God the things that are God's." In the afternoon I catechised for an hour in the church the young people on the article of the creed, and afterwards preached half an hour, and then bade farewell. In the evening I wrote a sheet full to the Rev. William Pasche, informing him that I received yesterday the original grant for Ebenezer, and found its contents alarming; furnishing him with some extracts from it and directing his attention to the consequences which would result from it. I communicated also an extract from pastor Triebner's letter to me, dated Aug. 4, 1774, and dated my letter Nov. 6, 1774, having finished it at midnight. How rapidly the time of man flies; how swiftly we hasten to eternity!

## ARTICLE VII.

### FLEMING ON PAPACY.

By Rev. J. A. Seiss, Cumberland, Md.

*An Extraordinary Discourse on the Rise and Fall of Papacy; or the pouring out of the vials in the Revelation of St. John, etc.* By Robert Fleming, V. D. M. New York. p. 230.

With a brilliant essayist, and most fascinating historian, we agree, that there is not, and there never was, on this earth, a work of human policy so well deserving of examination as the Hierarchy of Papal Rome. Viewed merely in its historical associations, it is an object of intense interest. The line of its pontifical succession runs back beyond the rise of our proudest nations, or the most powerful of our royal houses.—The influences of that august establishment are wrapt up in the whole history of modern civilization. As a system of wise and far-reaching policy, it is a subject of profound astonishment. It is the real masterpiece of all human ingenuity. Like Napoleon's hollow square, it is guarded equally on all sides, and apparently invulnerable at every point. When we consider the mighty shocks which it has withstood, we are overawed at its power. And when we consider that this wonderful institution is the dangerous and abhorred Babylon of prophecy—the great Antichrist of Holy writ—our interest deepens into most painful anxiety. We are ready to ask with mingled feelings of sorrow and alarm, "*can this be truth?*" We can hardly realize that an establishment which is the grief of the pious, and the burden of heavenly malediction, should have lived so long, and risen so high. And when by a diligent interrogation of the Divine oracles, we are compelled to regard it as the abominated murderer of the saints, we tremble to know *when*, and in what way it is to come to an end.

The book which we have undertaken to review, is an old, but interesting little work on this painfully interesting subject. Its author, Robert Fleming, was the son of an eloquent preacher of Scotland, of the same name, and the great grandson of the illustrious John Knox. His descent from the Scottish Reformer was through the female line. He was born in Scotland in the year 1660, and died in London 1716. He was

educated at Leyden and Utrecht. He first entered the pastoral office at Leyden, whence he transferred his labors to Amsterdam, and thence to London. He was the author of several sermons and tracts which are said to evince vigor and cultivation of mind, and strong love and zeal for the truth.—His principal work, entitled "*Christology*," he did not live to complete. As he left it, it occupies three vols. 8vo., and contains "many valuable thoughts set in a striking light."—His production on the Rise and Fall of Papacy was originally drawn up in the form of sermons, which were several times repeated from the pulpit prior to their appearance in print. The urgent solicitations of his hearers and friends to have them presented in a more durable shape, induced him to throw them into an *Epistolary Discourse*, which he gave to the world on the first day of January, 1701. Very little interest seems to have accompanied its advent. A second edition was not undertaken until 1808. And probably very few of our readers would ever have heard of it, had not the events of that *year of wonders*, 1848, brought it to the notice of the London Standard. It has recently been reprinted by the American Protestant Society, and is now rapidly circulating through the world. A *Postscript* accompanies it, in which the author sets forth some sensible views respecting the date, authorship, and general character of the Apocalypse. The editor has also added an *Appendix*, furnishing remarks from Knox, Bishop Newton, Bishop Brown, Dr. Owen, Archbishop Usher, Sir Isaac Newton, *etc.*, which are valuable as showing how the most eminent christian teachers since the Reformation agree in opinion respecting the destinies of Papal Rome.

The manner in which Mr. Fleming undertook to deal with Popery, is worthy of all praise. He not only comes up to the great question with an humble and devout spirit seeking for truth, and "industriously avoiding that fatal rock of positiveness, which so many apocalyptical men have suffered themselves to split upon;" but he comes with the Bible in his hand, and determined to be controlled only by what the Bible teaches. His principles of interpretation may in a few instances have led him astray, but he certainly struck the true path when he made Revelation the sole arbiter in the question which now divides Papists and Protestants. We have often thought, that there is nothing gained, either to morality or religion, by those indecent exposures of what are called the "abominations of Romanism." If the Protestant cause had itself never run into error, if its advocates were all free from such abominations as are charged on the papal system, there

might be some hope of success in this mode of procedure.—But alas for the Reformed churches if they have no other recommendation than their freedom from error and sin! Alas for their hopes of triumph over that system which they so bitterly denounce as Antichrist! The weapons usually employed by protestant controversialists on the papal question are of a character to do *too much* execution. The rebound is often severer than the blow. They are like the stings of bees, which, while they inflict smarting to the foe, bring death to the possessor. In trying to divert us from the corruptions and usurpations of Popery, they tend to shake our confidence in all religious systems and institutions. Whilst they disgust us with Rome, they alienate us from Christ. They address our vulgar passions and prejudices too much, and our religious emotions and judgment too little. Veneration cannot be controlled by ridicule, nor the biases of education by bitterness.—We are disappointed and hurt by the raillery and sarcasm of Breckenridge, and our sympathies are with his opponents. We feel as unsafe under the self-sufficiency, looseness, and flippancy of Kirwan, as under the unauthorized rule of Bishop Hughes. We need a more sober, earnest and solemn mode of grappling with this question than has been given it since the days of Luther and Melancthon. We need a deeper penetration into the real difficulties of it, and of the amazing consequences that are involved in its decision. We cannot take the perfection and infallibility of Protestantism for granted.—We are not on a sure foundation whilst we have the least leaning on the blind hostility which the multitude may bear to the papacy. The Scriptures are our only reliance. To them we must devoutly go, and, interpreting them in the best light of history and biblical science, with their decisions we must abide.

The discourse under review takes as its leading subject "*That Grand Apocalyptical Question, when the reign of Antichristianism, or the Papacy, began?*" And after resolving this inquiry, it proceeds to improve that resolution "both *theoretically*, as a KEY to unriddle the dark Apocalyptical times and periods, and *practically*, to the regulation of our thoughts and the government of our lives." The thoughts which our author gives us on these points, are advanced in the unpretending form of "*conjectures.*" There is no such labored effort as we would be likely to expect from the manner in which the subject is announced. There is nothing remarkable in the discussion, save that almost intuitive directness with which he lays his hands on the strong features of his subject. Laying down among his settled *postulata*, that the Mystical Bab-

ylon, or the great whore of the Apocalypse, "doth signify Rome in an Antichristian church-state, and that Rome *Papal* and not Rome *Pagan*," and furthermore, that the seven heads of the Beast, or the seven kings, "are the *seven forms of government* which obtained successively among the Romans," five of which had already passed away at the time of the vision, he proceeds to determine the rise of the *eighth* or last species of government among the Romans, (that which is so specially styled The Beast or Antichrist,) as follows:—

"The *seventh head*, or king of Rome, whose character is, that he was immediately to succeed to the imperial government, and to continue but a short space, (Rev. 17: 10,) this government can be no other than that of the Ostrogoths in Italy. For it is plain, that the imperial dignity was extinguished in Italy, and in the western parts of the empire, by Odoacer, the king of the Heruli, who forced Augustulus, the last sprig of an emperor, to abdicate his throne and power in the year 475, or 476, as others say. And though this Odoacer was soon destroyed by Theodoric, the king of the Ostrogoths, yet the same form of regal government was continued by Theodoric and his successors. And though this kingdom continued for near eighty years, reckoning from Odoacer to Tias, yet the angel might call this a *short time*: for so it was if compared either with the preceding imperial, or succeeding papal government. . . . And surely this kingdom was sufficient to constitute a new head of the Roman people, seeing Rome and Italy were subjugated entirely to those Gothish kings, and that they not only acted with the same authority that the emperors had used before, but were owned by the senate and people of Rome as their superiors, yea, by the emperors of the East also. Whence it doth plainly appear that this kingdom of Ostrogoths was the seventh head, that was to continue a short time. Hence it follows, that the change wrought by Constantine the great, both as to the seat and religion of the empire, could not be looked upon as a new head; seeing the old government in all other respects was continued. Neither can any person justly suppose that the form of government was altered when the empire was divided into the East and West; seeing, in all other respects also, the imperial authority and rule was preserved. It follows also, that the Papal government was not regnant until the destruction of the Gothish kingdom in Italy; for there could not be two supreme heads of the church of Rome at the same time. We may then conclude that the last head of the beast, which is the papal,

did arise either immediately upon the extirpation of the Gothish kingdom, or some time after. But it could not rise to its power immediately after, seeing Justitian did, by the conquest of Italy, revive the imperial government again there, which by that means was healed after the deadly wound which the Heruli and the Goths had given it. ... Therefore we may justly reckon that *the papal head took its rise from that remarkable year*, 606, *when Phocas did in a manner devolve the government of the West upon him, by giving him the title of universal bishop.*" (Rise and Fall of Papacy, pp. 25, 26, 27, 28.)

Thus dating the rise of the Papal authority in the year A. D., 606, our author calculated its downfall to occur in the year A. D., 1848. But he does not claim that the Papacy came into complete power until the year 758, when Pepin gave the Pope the solemn investiture of supreme authority, and seated him on the throne which Charlemagne afterwards confirmed to him. And so he does not calculate the final and complete overthrow of this monster to take place before A. D. 2000, when Christ himself is to abolish him by *the appearing of his own presence.* The method by which these computations are made, is deserving of notice, as it is probably the most remarkable thing in the whole book.

"I take first," says Fleming, "that the *three* grand apocalyptical numbers of twelve hundred and sixty *days*, forty-two *months*, and *time, times and a half*, are not only *synchronical*, but must be interpreted *prophetically*, so as years must be understood by days." His reason for taking these three prophetic numbers as designating one and the same period, is thus expressed. "It is clear that the Gentiles treading down the holy city forty-two months, (Rev. 12: 2,) is the cause of the witnesses prophesying for twelve hundred and sixty days in sackcloth, (v. 3,) and that the woman, or church's being in the wilderness for the same term of days, (Rev. 12: 6,) is only another representation of the witnesses prophesying in sackcloth." The reason assigned for interpreting the days to signify years is, that "so many great and wonderful actions as are prophesied to fall out in that short time, could not happen during the space of three solar years and a half;" and further, that the whole duration of the Papacy is described in these numbers, which Papacy, according to other Scriptures, is not to be totally abolished prior to the final coming of Christ.

The second observation made by our author respecting the interpretation of prophetic numbers is, that we must reduce the *prophetic* years to *Gregorian.* He considers that the

compass of a prophetic year is given us in the synchronous numbers above cited; and that it is determined by these, that thirty days make a month, and twelve of such months a year. According to this computation, a prophetic year would consist of but 360 days, being a fraction more than five days *less* than the year of our modern calender. In 1260 years this difference would of course make eighteen years. By adding, then, 1260 years, the time designated by prophecy as the period through which the Papacy is to endure, to 609, the time when the Papacy took its rise, and deducting eighteen years, the difference between 1260 *ancient*, and 1260 *Gregorian* years, we are led to the year A. D. 1848 as the time Divinely allotted for the downfall of Papal Rome.

To substantiate more fully what has thus been advanced, as well as to improve what has been said by way of "unlocking the dark apocalyptical periods and times," our author now proceeds to interpret the Seven Seals, Trumpets, and Vials. "These," he says, "are joined together by the link of the seventh seal, and seventh trumpet; so as the seventh seal doth as it were produce or include the seven trumpets, and the seven trumpets the seven vials in the same manner." This "threefold septenary of periods" is laid out and verified in history with very great apparent success. The first septenary of seals is made to relate "to the christian church during the state of the Roman Empire." The vision of the first seal represented Christ going forth upon his conquests over Jews and Gentiles; the second, the bloody wars and persecutions which raged from A. D. 66, to the end of Hadrian's wars, A. D. 138; the third, "the excellent reigns of the admirable Antoninus Pius and Philosophus; the fourth, the terrible barbarities which occurred under Septimius Severus, Macrinus, etc., up to the year A. D. 250; fifth, the exceedingly languishing and melancholy condition of the church in consequence of the severities of Roman emperors up to A. D. 306; the sixth, God's gracious answer to the prayer of the slain witnesses in the destruction of Pagan Rome; and seventh, "the short breathing of the church and peace of the christians under Constantine," from the year 313 to the year 337.

The second septenary of trumpets, according to our author, gives "an account of the state of the church in relation to the gradual growth of her anti-christian enemies, though in a way also of judgment upon them." The details of the interpretation do not vary essentially from what may be found in the majority of protestant commentaries on the passages in question. The seven trumpets are made to apply in successive

order to the usurpations of Magnentius and the persecutions of Constantius and Julian the Apostate, the invasion of the Goths and Vandals, the fall of the Western Empire, the decay imperial power and authority by the Lombards, Mohamedanism or the curse of Saracen locusts, the Turkish entrance on the stage of the Roman empire, and the Reformation.

The third septenary of vials, being the last plagues and judgments on papal Rome, brings us down to the scenes of our own time. They are intended merely to set forth the final results of certain presupposed struggles and wars between the popish and reformed parties. The first vial is interpreted as denoting God's judgments on the foundation of the papal power which succeeded the rise of Luther, Zuinglius, and the reformers; the second, the miserable effects of those wars which were commenced between the king of Spain and the States of the Netherlands in the year A. D. 1566; the third, the bloody religious wars which crowned the armies of Gustavus Adolphus with victory over papal rule, and ended in the peace of Münster, A. D. 1648; the fourth, the humiliation of the houses of Austria and Bourbon, and other popish princes, ending with the massacre of the Queen of France in 1793. The fifth vial, which is to be poured out on the seat of the beast, that is, "the dominions that more immediately belong to and depend upon the Roman see," is applied to the occurrences of the first half of the 19th century, especially to the revolutionary events of 1848; the sixth to the destruction of Mahomedanism; and the last to the final destruction of all anti-christian powers, when the nations of this world shall be added to the glorious kingdom of the Son of God.

We have thus given, as we think, a correct representation of our author's views and mode of interpreting the Scriptures. For their correctness we are not willing to be held responsible. The skilled student of prophecy will readily point out several inconsistencies in his manner of decyphering symbols. Upon the whole, however, the Rise and Fall of Papacy is an interesting and vigorous performance, which will be read with pleasure and profit. Considering that it was written a century and a half ago, we are surprised at the accuracy with which he calculated upon events that have transpired since his day. The distinct manner in which he pointed to the destruction of the French monarchy in 1773, the obscuration of the Papacy in the beginning of the present century, (which was effected by the imprisonment of Pope Pius VI. by Napoleon,) and the final overthrow of Papal Rome in 1848, is so very

remarkable, that we are compelled to award him praise for *extraordinary* insight of the mysteries of unfulfilled prophecy.

Ever since the Apostles' days, christian people have very naturally been curious to know who is Antichrist whom the prophets so significantly speak of. Their opinions, too, have been almost as various as their curiosity has been intense. But since the ecclesiastical commotions of the sixteenth century, men's minds are gradually settling down in the belief, that *Papal Rome*, if not itself *The Antichrist* of Scripture, is yet the leading representative of all antichristian powers. The great mass of Protestant commentators find in the Papal Hierarchy the most striking exemplifications of all that Daniel prophesied of the little horn and the blasphemous King, or that Paul says of the Man of Sin, or that John revealed of the ten horned beast and the false prophet. Indeed, the case is becoming so clear by the light which every passing year is increasing upon it. that there is scarcely room left in which to gather up a doubt of the correctness of their reasoning. We may be loth to adopt the bold conclusion; we may tremble to apply such terrible titles to a church which traces its history back to the days of Paul, Peter, and John; but alas, how shall we avoid it!

The little horn of Daniel was to grow out of the last of four kingdoms, the first of which was Babylon. History decides that kingdom to be Rome. The kingdom from which the little horn was to spring was to be divided into ten parts; and so was Rome divided after Odoacer among the Huns, Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Franks, Vandals, Sueves, Burgundians, Heruli, Saxons, and Lombards. The little horn was to pluck up three of these horns or kingdoms; and so the popes of Rome possessed themselves of the territory of the Heruli, the Ostrogoths, and the Lombards. The characteristic number of the beast is set down 666; and by this Rome is designated in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin by the numerical letters required to make 666; yea, and the title VICARIUS FILII DEI, (which the popes have assumed and inscribed over the door of the Vatican,) when decyphered according to the numerical signification of its constituent letters, also brings out exactly the same number. The ten-horned beast had a scarlet color, and the woman seated upon it was "arrayed in purple and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls;" and agreeing to this, the pope and his cardinals make it a badge of their distinction to wear scarlet and purple robes, with profusion of the most costly jewelry. The great Adulteress was to be seated on seven mountains; and such pre-

cisely is the location of Rome. Antichrist was to be a great apostate from christianity; and so we have in the church of Rome a commencement "*in the spirit*," and a gradual departure from all vital christian doctrine until she has ended "*in the flesh.*" This apostate was also to "give heed to seducing spirits and doctrines concerning demons," the blasphemous king was to honor *Mahuzzim*, or gods-protectors, and a god whom his father knew not. And so the Roman church worships angels and departed saints, and honors them with costly offerings, instead of the worship of the one true God through the one true Mediator. This same Apostate was also to forbid marriage, and require abstinence from meats, and the blasphemous king was to disregard the desire of women; and this same church demands celibacy from her clergy and nuns, and crowds the year with days and seasons of fasting. The little horn was to be characterized for pompous and arrogant assumptions of power and dignity, he was to speak very great things — great words against the Most High, and his look was to be more stout than his fellows; the ten-horned beast "had a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies;" and the impious Apostate was to oppose and exalt himself above all that is called God, and to sit in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God. And of all powers that have ever existed on earth, the Papacy has claimed the most. Arrogating to himself the infallible headship of the church, and the universal sovereignty of the world, the Papal See is addressed as "his holiness" — "our Lord God, the Pope" — "God on earth" — "Lord of the Universe" — "King of kings and Lord of lords;" and the most exalted of his subjects bow to kiss his feet reverently exclaiming, "*venite, adoremus.*" The foul Apostate of prophesy was to come "after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness," and they that dwell on the earth were to *wonder* when they beheld the beast who is said to appear like a lamb and speak like a dragon. And so the "bishops and other clergy" of Rome, receiving among their settled principles that the end justifies the means, have not scrupled to take advantage of the credulity and weaknesses of mankind, or to practice the most revolting frauds and villainies in order to promote their own cause.

But of all the traits of Antichrist his persecutions of the saints are set forth the most conspicuously on the inspired page. The little horn was to make war with the saints and prevail against them, and they were to be given into his hand

for a time, times, and half a time, and they were to be worn out by him. Babylon the great, that *mother of harlots*, John saw drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus; and in her was to be found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth. And oh! the blood that marks the path of papal history! By the hand of the Papacy the blood of more than a million of Albigenses and Waldenses was given to the thirsty earth. A million and a half of Jews were butchered by its bigoted minions in Spain because they rejected its superstitions. When the papists gained ascendency over the descendants of the Moors, more than two millions perished at their hands for a similar cause. On the eve of August the 22nd, 1572, from fifty to one hundred thousand innocent Protestants were slain by the popish party. In forty years after the institution of the order of Jesuits, nine hundred thousand perished at their hands. The Inquisition in thirty years put to death one hundred and fifty thousand christian professors. Adding to these all that were slain in the Irish rebellion, in the later persecutions in France and Piedmont, in the Palatinate and Hungary, and those that have perished in the gallies, or in the deserts and mountains whither the cruel hand of the papacy drove them, we are made dizzy by the amazing calculation of blood for which Papal Rome is answerable! *O mystery of mysteries, iniquitous mystery!* The shepherd has become the devourer of the flock. In profession owning God and Jesus Christ, humility and justice, truth and love; and yet, under this profession covering up blasphemy and pride, injustice and falsehood, abomination and cruelty, intolerance and blood. Horrible scheme! Dreadful religion! Surely it deserves no better name than *Adulterous Babylon — Murderous Antichrist—Mystery of Iniquity—Son of Perdition.* "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues."

What, then, is to be our conduct towards this Man of Sin, and towards those of our neighbors who are yet blindly contenting themselves under his burdensome rule? 1st, We must be kind and tolerant. Harshness and proscription can never do any service in the present posture of affairs. 2nd, We must fortify ourselves in the Holy Scriptures. It is through the Spirit of God's mouth that the monster shall be wasted. 3d, We must have confidence in the Providence of our God. He who framed the skies and dug the seas will one day resume all his usurped honors and prerogatives, and reign God over all and blessed forever. 4th, We must pray for the re-

velation of Jesus Christ. It is in answer to the prayers of the saints that the woe trumpets sound and the wrathful vials are poured out. 5th. We must labor diligently for the spread of the pure Gospel. And finally, we must endeavor to improve in personal holiness, that our enemies may be disarmed by our docility and uprightness. Following these precepts, we have scriptural hope of success and final reward — the hope that God who has now shaken the papal Beast from his old seat, will, ere long, overtake him with His consuming judgments, and that, by the time the present century shall close, shall we hear the triumphant and thundering shouts coming down from the heavens, and echoing round the world, "ALLELUIA! FOR THE LORD GOD OMNIPOTENT REIGNETH!"

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## ARTICLE VIII.

### REFLECTIONS ON THE STATE OF THE CHURCH IN NORWAY.*

REMINISCENCES OF A VISIT TO THAT COUNTRY IN 1847.

Translated from the German of Dr. C. Sarwey, late Vicar of Kirchheim. By Rev. B. M. Schmucker, A. M., of Martinsburg, Va

### ARTICLE I. *General Condition.*

AT a late meeting of the Scandinavian Society at Copenhagen, the opinion was expressed by Provost Wieselgren, a Swedish divine, that it was the mission of Scandinavia, in friendly co-operation with Germany, not only to transplant the civilization of Western Europe into the spiritual wastes of Sclavonia, but also to protect the protestant church against all unprotestant opposition—whether from without or from within. While it cannot be denied that the Ev. Lutheran church of Scandinavia differs much externally from the church in Germany, it has ever been acknowledged and treated by it as an organic member, in living union with the church of Christ.—Hitherto this feeling has manifested itself too little. From the earliest times every circumstance occurring in the church in England, has excited an abiding interest in Germany. The ocean has not set bounds to this sympathy—the church in America has participated in it, and of late it has even extended to the formation of an Evangelical Alliance. But the Scandinavian church, although much more nearly allied to us by

*From the Studien u. Kritiken Jahrg., 1849, Heft 2.

creed and constitution, has been but seldom noticed, and only in scattered essays. Among the occasional efforts which have been made to direct the attention of evangelical christians in Germany to the sister church of the North, those in the Berl. Repertorium, and in the Evangelical Kirchenzeitung deserve honorable mention. The latter, during the year 1843, published an article of considerable length on the condition of the church in Norway, embracing, however, merely its past history. It may be urged by some, in justification of this comparative want of interest in the transactions of the Scandinavian church, that its own condition was the main cause, as presenting few circumstances worthy our consideration, while the church of England has ever exerted a wholesome influence on Germany. But this aspect of the case is not entirely correct; partly because that church has been advancing in its course of development, slowly and silently indeed, but therefore the more permanently, and is now prepared for further progress; partly because even in its tranquility it merits consideration as much as any member of the confederate church, exerting, it is true, no great influence on its growth, or its disturbance, yet a component part of its unity, For who can deny that the churches of Scandinavia are members of the body of Christ? Even were we to suppose that their development has been attended by more obstacles, and is therefore more imperfect, may they not perhaps be considered as a salutary counterpoise, intended by the great Head of the church, who appoints all things in nature, and grace, to counteract the more excitable, and therefore more varying life of the German church? I, at least, must confess, that it was my sojourn for a considerable time in the church of Scandinavia, especially in Norway and Denmark, which first made me fully conscious of what it was to belong to an established church which decidedly acknowledged the symbols of its faith. The church of Scandinavia exhibits that firm and heavy character, in which the objectiveness of its existing relations, and particularly to its symbols, overbalances the feelings of the individual, and which now after a fuller recognition of rights, in which personal piety was not overlooked, renders it necessary to be cautious, lest in its constancy to its Lutheran confession, it overlook or neglect the confession of the Scriptures, or even the confession of Christ Jesus in sincerity of heart. I have come to this conclusion from conscientious observation, and think it will be verified by the following pages. Probably this characteristic of the Scandinavian church accounts in a great measure for the remarkable fact, that the commotions which

at present are convulsing our German church, and which place its constitution in a precarious position, have not as yet found entrance there. Unless we consider the unsuccessful attempts to introduce the higher criticism of the later Hegelian school, or the principles of the friends of light, nearly related to it, into Denmark, Sweden and Norway as commotions. The preponderating objectiveness of the Scandinavian church, has by no means become a torpid lifelessness. No! it is a silent inner life, which to a certain extent perceives the opposition it must meet from the individual conscious of his rights, and desirous of taking part in the affairs of the church, as the following representations will sufficiently show.

If we compare the three Scandinavian national churches together, the Norwegian and Danish will appear at first glance to be most nearly related, and both separated by distinctive differences from the Swedish. In its forms of worship, and of organization, the relationship is so striking, that the Norwegian may well be considered as a copy of the Danish, and the history of the church in the two countries, has from its commencement been very nearly allied. But if we examine more closely the point of view with reference to which the comparative importance of the various doctrines to the christian church is decided, the mode in which they are discussed, the position which their leaders or ecclesiastical representatives have assumed toward other religious communities, we will correctly conclude that in both the northern churches, the Norwegian and the Swedish, there still remains a more abiding and firmer allegiance to the Lutheran confession within the church, and a more rigid exclusion of loose conceptions of the symbolical books, than in the Danish. In the church of Denmark, although of late for certain reasons she tries to exclude every German influence, the proximity of the German church, enjoying generally fuller liberty of thought, and admitting individual examination and explanation of the truths of Scripture, begins to be felt. I say begins to be felt, for it is only here and there in the Danish church that we can notice the freer beating of the pulse, this fuller measure of liberty, life, and expansion of soul. I cannot, on the other hand, deny that in the tranquil firmness with which the ministry of Norway cling to the symbols of the Lutheran faith, and in the clearness with which they confess them, there is manifested a natural and healthy condition of religious feeling, which rejoiced my inmost soul. It seems to contain the germ of a new and beautiful development of spiritual life. So that it may perhaps be reserved for the church of Norway, although

it does not embrace so much intellectual power as the sister churches, to rise above them into a new and higher sphere of church life, and by a happy reaction on Denmark, repay her church the debt long owed her for the gift of the Reformation.

We will now direct our attention to the most northern of the churches of Scandinavia—the Norwegian—the condition of which shall be the subject of consideration in the sequel.—The church in Norway is entirely independent of that in Sweden, the two having, as in the union of the civil governments, nothing more in common than their united head—the king as *Summus Episcopus.* This resemblance between the civil and ecclesiastical constitutions of the united countries appears, farther, in the fact, that the rights of the sovereign, even in ecclesiastical affairs, are controlled to a considerable degree by the representatives of the people in the Storthing. In a country separated by its geographical position from the rest of Europe, we would expect to find the old Lutheran church just as in the time of the Reformation it was moulded by the hand of the great German Reformer. It was with such an anticipation that I commenced my journey thither. But a sketch of its past history, with which I had not hitherto been fully enough acquainted, which a Norwegian divine gave me before leaving Germany, and a glance at its present religious and ecclesiastical relations corrected my impressions, and presented the Norwegian church to me as a communion which could no longer lay claim to the honor of having kept its Lutheran confession undefiled, but that in the painful consciousness of its loss, was now striving to regain that which it had forsaken.—The national character of the Norwegian undeniably bears enstamped on it the impress of the country he inhabits. In the high mountain vales of Norway, vegetation grows but slowly, but when it has reached a certain stage of development, expands with extraordinary rapidity and perfection. So the blood courses but slowly through the Northman's veins. It requires time before he apprehends a subject. But when his soul has once grasped it, it is carried out with energy and ardor, and held firm as a rock against every attack, as the rock-bound coasts of his native land lift themselves firmly against the unceasing lashings of the tempestuous surge. Hence it follows that in the Norwegian church there are many peculiarities to be found thar carry us back to the times of the Reformation. The form of worship, and the creed have remained almost unaltered. Many of the religious customs of the people bring back a vivid remembrance of the troubled times of

the Reformation. The church constitution presents a picture almost correct, of the formulas of government of the sixteenth century. But they have all long stood as venerable walls, pointing the beholder to the beauty and evangelical purity of the past, while everything but the walls had crumbled to decay. The external form remained, but the spirit of the Reformers was well nigh gone, and the very form of the past was becoming dishonored for its emptiness, until at last it pleased the Lord to restore the inner building, to which it must be acknowledged, the old walls were now no longer entirely suited.

If we would obtain a correct view of the existing relations of the Norwegian church, it will be necessary for us to examine the circumstances under whose plastic influence it has been moulded. It might be important to furnish a historical sketch of the Lutheran church in Norway from the Reformation onward, which again would demand a review of the times before that period. This review would be the more interesting, as there are still religious customs found among the people which could easily be traced to a heathen origin. But such a review, however compressed it might be, would swell these remarks so much that they would fail of their design of awakening an interest in behalf of the sister church of Norway. The omission is the more excusable, as other magazines published a few years since a tolerably full history of the Norwegian church from the times of the Reformation. It appeared from these how wondrous a plan the Lord of the Church had chosen to revive within the church the christian life which had become extinct. It is indeed edifying to be permitted to see again how manifestly all things must work together when the Lord has determined to visit a part of his vineyard with the workings of divine grace.

There were three causes to which the ever-deepening regeneration of the church in Norway is more particularly owing: the religious popular movement set on foot by Hans Nielsen Hauge — the change effected in the clergy by the founding of the University at Christiana in 1812 — and finally, the civil transformation produced by the separation from Denmark, and the alteration of the Constitution in 1814.— The first factor served to revive, particularly among the laity, a religious life which had become extinct, and to direct their christian consciousness to the want of faith and duty. The second factor, the founding of the University, and especially of a theological faculty, at Christiana, and the appointment of able, firm, and decidedly evangelical men to the professorial chairs, was calculated to exalt the deeply sunken ministerial

office, and to introduce not only more thorough theological attainments, but also to revive the forsaken faith of the church, and the Bible. The last cause was, and still is destined to deliver the church forever from the pernicious and paralyzing influence of a foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction, that had no immediate interest in the weal or woe of the church. And in addition, to direct the nobler powers of the nation, conscious of its liberty and its efficiency, to higher interests, and to make them more fully conscious of their commission to provide for the temporal and spiritual interests of the people, by a more thorough organization of the relations of social and private life, as well as to furnish the soul, filled by the workings of the Holy Ghost with heavenly aspirations, a suitable form of church life. Under the guidance of divine Providence these three factors operated at the same time, for Hans Hauge attained his greatest influence at the commencement of the present century; so they commonly exert a correct, wholesome influence when they operate unitedly. If any one of them should exert its influence alone, their religious church life would almost necessarily be swayed to unhappy extremes. And their influence would unavoidably begin to be felt singly, for each was destined to obtain power, and must become conscious of the especial office to which it was called. It would not then have been difficult to re-introduce that which has been least agreeable in the Norwegian church, even since its regeneration. The lay-preaching that had originated in an over-wrought personal consciousness of the peasantry, and was continued by many of meagre ability, and a few more prominent men of the same class, if it separated itself from the regular ministry, or opposed it, might effect a division of the church life, and thus alienate the separate influences from each other. Or if it failed to accomplish this, would produce incorrect views of religion even among truly awakened persons and societies, which would manifest itself, either in a contracted, stubborn, evangelism and antinomianism, or in a bigoted legalism, formalism, self-righteousness, spiritual pride, and similar feelings, even though conscious personality, which at first aroused them, had exercised a transforming influence on their life and faith. This condition of mind would be much controlled by the original organization of the individual, and therein by the creative work of Divine grace, by the circumstances under which this personality was developed, and lastly, by that for which the individual might be contending as particularly necessary.

All these influences, which when united produce a peculiar state of piety in the soul, and a peculiar conception of christianity itself, well fitted to bring others into sympathy with it, combined to produce in Hans Hauge a predominantly legal inclination. His natural character, in as far as it can be ascertained apart from the influences under which it was formed, was marked by an earnest energy of soul that ever sought to manifest itself in action. The ordinary amusements of youth had no attraction for him. At an early age he criticised the conduct of men with acuteness and severity. As a boy, he was daring and enterprising. The society and circumstances amid which he grew up, tended to increase his spiritual fervor. The family from which he was descended, was one of those honorable families that had kept the faith handed down from their fathers, that feared God, reverenced the Lord Jesus, improved the means of grace, and received and rendered obedience to the Christian religion as a new law. His rashness brought him once when young, to the borders of the grave; as he was crossing a lake, the boat upset, and he was taken, with life nearly extinct, from the water. The character of the people to whom he belonged, as was appropriate to the country they inhabited, the many bold Sinai's that studded the land, was active, rigidly virtuous, loving noble and bold deeds. Christianity owed its introduction into Norway to the heroic acts of pious kings. The books to which he had access were principally ascetic, and directed his mind to the exalted moral purity of Christianity that earnestly demanded a holy life. No unclean person shall enter into the kingdom of heaven. It was principally the works of Spener, Franke, Arndt, Pontoppidan, that were his delight. With reference to the third circumstance—that which would strike him as particularly wanting—the marked absence of religious life must be nearest the heart of one who had himself felt the workings of divine grace, the decline of piety, which, notwithstanding the constant preaching of morality, was fearfully extending. The sword of the spirit was wanting to the preaching of the times, which alone can sever the chains of sin—the grace of God, manifested in redemption, as revealed in the Bible.

It was the question, 'why is the condition of the poor Norwegian people constantly becoming worse?' that roused the soul of the youth, and of the man. He returned the only answer which one could give who asked the books which he was accustomed to read, who asked the Book of books, which he began to read so diligently, that much of it was impressed

on his memory. From the pulpit, and at the confessional, through the length and breadth of the land, there was nothing preached but the wisdom of men; not the word of God, not the command, "Repent and believe on the gospel," but do this, and do that, that thou mayest be saved. Such was his answer. The condition of his suffering people, and of the suffering church to which he was united in the ordinance of holy baptism, and for which he felt under obligations to offer up his life-blood, deeply affected his heart. Although he constantly said to himself, 'the work is not appointed unto you, but unto the ordained clergy,' every year the call came more loudly, at last irresistably; "Before I formed thee in the belly, I knew thee; and before thou camest forth out of the womb, I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations. Say not, I am a child; for thou shalt go to all that I send thee, and whatsoever I command thee thou shalt speak. Be not afraid of their faces; for I am with thee to deliver thee, saith the Lord." Jer. 1: 5, 7, 8. He was thus naturally led to turn his eye to the wounds of his people, wounds which he was called to heal, the wrongs and errors which he was to uproot, scatter and destroy; in short, that he should become a preacher of repentance in the wilderness, a weeping, reproving Jeremiah on the smouldering ruins of the venerable Lutheran church of his native land. But if he assumed this character, his conception of Christianity, and his mode of representing it, would necessarily exhibit that aspect of it which was conformed to the teachings of the Old Covenant, and have a legalizing tendency. The truly experimental Christian, who has within him the living witness that the preaching of repentance can accomplish nothing except it have connected with it the setting forth of divine grace; who feels that the declaration, "God so loved the world," &c., is the most effective preaching of repentance, can never forget, or undervalue the evangelical aspect of Christianity. But there was danger, from the legal character of his sermons, that those whose feelings alone had been moved by him, would consider the form in which Hauge presented Christianity as its only admissable form, and a faithful portraiture of its true nature. If this were the case, the forsaking of the world and its lusts would be made the principal article of the christian faith, a holy life be exalted above its proper place, and a door be thus widely opened for the entrance of self-righteousness and spiritual pride. Or if the evangelical aspect of religion, not yet entirely separated from the legal, was not so far forgotten, the germ of dissension would be introduced into the community of the

faithful, and would occasion the most unhappy dissensions in the church. If an unnatural importance had been conceded to a holy life, the most strenuous demands for such holiness would have been made by the church, and the ministry. If such expectations were disappointed, as would necessarily be the case, not only would harsh judgment be exercised toward the existing church, but even the means of grace proffered through it, be united with it in the same contempt. Were this to have occurred, the movement which at first promised well to the church, would have become injurious; not reforming, but destroying, or at least dividing; not building up, but tearing down. It is freely conceded that Haugeanism, even in its extreme, never erred so far. Examples are, however, not wanting, to prove plainly its tendency to legalism. I might merely mention his distrustful course toward the Moravians, and also a secret distrust toward the established church, or rather its representatives, the clergy, although they were partly carried away by the legal spirit of Christianity, that found so forcible an exhibition in Haugeanism. Thus much, at present, concerning Haugeanism, or the religious movement among the Norwegian laity, aroused by Hans Hauge, as the first great factor in the religious reformation of the church of Norway.

It has exerted its influence, both beneficial and injurious, during the past; it is now working, leavening the present; and is destined to form an important element in the future alterations of the ecclesiastical constitution, and legislation, unless it should unhappily separate itself from the other two factors mentioned. For it is only in connection with a regenerated clergy, and the higher sense of freedom and self-consciousness generally awakened by the new civil organization, that it can work advantageously. In harmony with these, it is, and will remain the vivifying and purifying element in the religious life of the people, and the conservative element in ecclesiastical life. In the former respect, as the reciprocating, religious activity of the people, it furnishes the necessary, and for Norway particularly important complement of the spiritual activity of the Pastor. In the latter respect, Haugeanism, or regular lay-preaching in general, places under advantageous restraint the clergy who from their training are more liable to change and advancement. But if it separates itself from the clergy, or sustains an inimical relation to them, they would naturally be compelled to ward off the attack, and to restrain the otherwise salutary efficiency of the lay-preachers, and thus the faculties which the Lord of the church had intended to

work together for good, would destroy each others influence. The relation it sustains to the third factor is very much the same. If Haugeanism takes part in the vigorous measures which the newly awakened consciousness, and sense of freedom of the nation is agitating, and which have already affected, and will affect the interests of the church, it will exercise a strong conservative, evangelical influence, keeping the other progressive elements under due restriction. And it will, on the other hand, represent the popular religious interests, inasmuch as it holds fast to the consciousness of a universal priesthood, the peculiarly precious treasure of the protestant church. But if it have no sympathy with the manifestations of popular consciousness, it will only be a drag on the active salutary development of the church, and in the end prove a diseased member of the church organization, corrupting the whole. It would then neglect the commission assigned it, of assisting to accomplish the regeneration of its native land, and bury its popular influence, as a useless talent in the earth.

But if we proceed to the consideration of the second factor, the clergy, reformed by the influence of the University founded at Christiana, we shall find it true as in the former case, that its influence will be salutary in coöperation with the other two, but injurious if separated from them. The first members of the theological faculty at Christiana were two decidedly evangelical men, whose names, although ten years have already hallowed their graves, are always mentioned by the ministry and the laity with the most profound reverence, showing how unbounded the influence of able Professors in a University may be for the public good. Svend Borchmann Herzleb, and Stener John Stenersen answered Spener's requisition, inculcating by their life a *Theologia regenitorum.* The former was intimately acquainted with the Old Testament, held the revelation of God contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments in humble reverence, and was a particular admirer of Arndt's theology; he bound the hearts of the students to him. The latter, Stenersen, was a zealous and able advocate of the Lutheran confession, to which he felt peculiarly attached, because he believed Luther's writings to have been mainly instrumental in his conversion; the students were attached to him by the strength of his mind, and he led their wills captive at his pleasure. It was but natural that the young men of Norway, grateful that they need no longer go abroad, but could prepare for the ministry of the Gospel in their own country, should meet these first laborers in the cause of the liberal sciences in Norway, with zealous enthusiasm and en-

tire confidence. It was natural that the solemn truths they delivered should be received with respect, and with no carping spirit of criticism, or fault-finding, and the more so as the irreproachable personal character of these men commanded universal esteem. They exerted an extraordinary influence on the academical students of their day, as well as on the present condition of the church in Norway. The students have left a delicate proof of the strength of their respect and love for their teachers that still exists. They united together to have the portraits of both painted. As I entered the hall of the University, accompanied by the Professors of Theology, my eyes fell upon two expressive oil-paintings that hung in a prominent part of the hall, representing two men in ecclesiastical robes. To my request for an explanation I received the answer, that they were the portraits of the Professors mentioned. I asked whether there was a fund that provided for painting the portraits of the members of the theological faculty. No, they answered; the students had those painted, through their affection for them. Truly the dead bones of the Norwegian clergy have been moved! The theological students trained under the instructions of Herzleb and Stenersen, and their successors of like spirit, have entered the service of the church, and by the manifest steadfastness of their determination to return to the old fixed faith of the church, and to confess it in opposition to the existing rationalism, have carried many of the clergy of different inclination with them. Among the influential, and zealous but independent scholars of these two venerable men, Wilhelm Andreas Wexels deserves mention as one who by his writings, as well as by his personal labors at Christiana since 1819, has done much toward the reformation of the Norwegian clergy. But if we call to mind the opinion before expressed, that each of the three factors maintained and followed singly, would prove deleterious to the healthy development of the work of regeneration, which the grace of God had commenced, it will be found the case in this instance. The two one-sided, and therefore dangerous principles, which have united to produce the reformation in the Norwegian ecclesiastical affairs, so blessed on the whole, places the latter, conscious of the highness of its commission, under solemn obligation not to assume an exclusive position toward the other two factors—the regenerate religious popular life, and the nobler sense of freedom and self-consciousness of the nation. The two earliest Professors of theology, who moulded the future, had the honor of arousing the future ministry of the Lutheran church in Norway to a clearer per-

ception of what they must teach in future, as well as to a fuller consciousness of their high calling. They were both convinced that the only means which could save the church of their fathers, was to lay hold anew, with vigor, on that faith which they had formerly professed. This produced, particularly in Stenersen, a contractedness of judgment with regard to more liberal religious bodies who were less strict in their adhesion to a confession, as well as a cautious rejection of all religious and philosophical opinions that were not in accordance with the symbols of our faith. But this restorative tendency in the case of these truly regenerate men by no means became one-sided. They fully distinguished between the Bible and symbols, between the word of God and the word of men; and although inclined to strictness in their reception of the Symbolical Books, as there was abundant cause in the condition of the church at the time, they never in their evangelical position yielded their Gospel liberty. But, as is always the case, the spirit of the teacher was not received with his doctrines by all his pupils. Many of them began to consider christianity merely as a matter of the understanding, and this feeling gradually extended to the larger part of the Norwegian clergy, and exposed the church anew, to the danger of falling, like the Swedish church, into a condition of torpor and lifelessness. I cannot call this inclination a desire to be true to the Symbols, but a strenuous crying of orthodoxy. Others of the pupils received the christian faith, or rather the church faith, as demanding their whole heart. They were fully conscious of their responsible calling. They felt that they had been selected and appointed by the Head of the Church zealously to guard the pure doctrines of the church, and to direct their religious life, as well in the heart of the christian, as in the communion of believers. But unless the hidden stubborn roots of sin and of selfishness were thoroughly eradicated from their hearts by a transforming change, another one-sided and dangerous inclination would result. The more vivid their conviction of their calling, the stronger would be their zeal and desire to fulfill it by laboring in their various spheres of action, and therefore the more unwelcome to them every thing that was done apart from their labors, even when for the same object; for their own efficiency would seem to be hindered and diminished in this way, under the pretence, indeed, that if christians, who were not ordained, should preach and watch over souls, they could have no security that the doctrines of the word of God would be proclaimed in their purity, and in accordance with the Confession of the

church, over which they truly felt themselves called to watch. In addition to this, it should be mentioned, that Herzleb was intimately acquainted with the Old Testament, and yielded it implicit reverence, he delivered stated exegetical lectures on it, and was Professor of doctrinal theology, and it may be that he may, to too limited an extent, as Schleiermacher about the same time at Berlin, to too great an extent, have separated the Old Testament from the New. If this was the case, which the writer cannot positively assert, as he met with no lectures of the deceased Professor, who left no purely theological works behind him, we can the more easily understand how there should be a party among his pupils, whom, in order to describe them in a word, we shall term the hierarchical party, in the best sense of the word. A feeling of this kind has been manifested in the conduct of some influential members of the clergy toward the Moravians, who confessedly take opposite ground, toward the religious movement among the people, toward the government, in as far as it was concerned in church affairs, and toward the question about church government. It appears also, in certain doctrinal views, particularly concerning ordination, a universal priesthood, and the position of the Reformed church, which, with the Moravians, is opposed to such views. It appears in an aversion to the Quakers and Anabaptists, who do not recognize the distinction between the clergy and the laity; and finally in a preference for Romanism or Puseyism. But this, as well as the former inclination, will be prevented from exerting any thing more than a salutary influence, if the second factor of the ecclesiastical regeneration of Norway remains fully conscious of the fact, that it is only when in friendly coöperation with the other two factors, the religious life of the people, and the newly awakened national consciousness, that it can accomplish any good. If it is conscious that the doctrine of a universal priesthood of every believing christian is truly protestant, that the laity possesses the clear right to exercise this priesthood, and, in addition, that the want of general spiritual edification, over and above the ordinary public worship, begets a right to supply this want, within certain ecclesiastical restrictions, by meetings for social singing, prayer, the reading and explanation of the Scriptures, there is nothing to fear from a hierarchy who would permit the religious church-life to be ministered only by their own hands. Thus the inclination produces nothing more than a conviction of the necessity of church system, and a paternal care that in the mutual edifying of the laity nothing untrue, impure, or of human authority insinuate itself. If, in addition, the clergy

coöperate with the last factor — the national consciousness of liberty and self-sufficiency awakened by the separation from Denmark and the formation of a very liberal constitution — the other inclination to one-sided, contracted confessional obligation, will be suitably restricted. It certainly cannot be the interest of a community enjoying political freedom, and already of age, to desire the introduction of a church system, which places them again under guardianship, and it is equally little the interest of the clergy, who form part of the civil community. However fully the clergy may be convinced of the value of the Evangelical Lutheran confession, and even because thus convinced, they will acknowledge, that by laying undue stress on a creed, once received, and officially acknowledged, they only burden the conscience, and instead of producing a healthy, active, religious life, introduce an orthodox stagnation and lifelessness, which must be detested by every christian. Have not all the ordinances of the Danish Cabinet, in the last century, for the maintenance of orthodoxy, resulted in that miserable diseased condition from which it has just been resuscitated? They must acknowledge, that, as since the political independence of Norway every individual feels more concern about the state organization, and the mass of the people is in a healthier state than before; so also with regard to the church, a settled evangelical freedom can be only beneficial, which, while it firmly requires the preaching of the gospel truth, permits every one to exercise his own judgment.

We now proceed to the consideration of the last of the three factors which have partially effected a reformation of the church in Norway, and have opened the way for a still greater and more thorough renovation — the national consciousness awakened, and elevated by the separation from Denmark, and the formation of a liberal constitution. Thus far its operation has been merely preparative, and even unfavorable to the formation of a proper church-life. Unfavorable, because it has labored singly, and not in connection with the other two factors, the awakened religious feeling of the community, and the regenerate clergy. It is true that the country clergy have been admitted to a participation in the election of the legal representatives of the popular voice, and have even themselves been elected as such; but they have obtained the former privilege, not as clergymen, but as officers of the government, and the latter as distinguished citizens. As a general rule, the Bishops have been the only representatives of the clergy in the Storthing. But they are by no means entitled

by their office to a regular seat in the Storthing, but have been elected by the popular voice because they possessed the confidence of the community. Apart from their precarious, dependant position, their labors are necessarily divided by their participation in the diets (Landtagen). As men of honorable position in the state, and being personally acquainted with most of the Representatives, they have ordinarily been elected President; Bishop Ridderwold, of Trontheim, was for a long time the worthy President of the Storthing. Being almost constantly occupied by civil interests, their attention can be but seldom directed to the affairs of the church. And in addition to this, their position — being elected and appointed by the King — compels them to represent the conservative principle in the church, and therefore they are the less inclined to bring church questions before the higher legislative authority of the land. The partial representation of the popular interests, when circumstances demanded that the desires of the nation should find expression, and be complied with, was attended with danger to the religious church-life. There was a fear that its affairs would be neglected, not only in the Chamber of Deputies, but also in the higher body by which the national interests were decided. There was also danger that the differing parties would have their attention turned from those things which were of the first importance, and be more concerned about such questions as these; who would be elected in the Storthing; how many members will the opposition number; what measures in regard to the external, and internal relations of the state will probably be proposed to the Chamber, than with such questions as affected their own salvation, and that of their brethren, or the welfare of their common religious life, or of other religious communions, connected with the Norwegian church. I remember that the proposed election of members of the Storthing was the only subject of conversation at a parsonage at which I spent a Sabbath, in discussing which all the assembled guests spent the remainder of the day after the morning service. Another result of the partial representation of the popular element, is that the clergy necessitated as officers of the state to take part in the elections, will become entangled in civil and worldly affairs. Apart from these evil tendencies, and notwithstanding them all, the formation of the Norwegian state constitution, and the elevation of the national consciousness, will exert an incalculable and happy influence in the renovation of the church-life. By the separation of Norway from Denmark, the Norwegian

church has not only gained the plainly apparent advantage that it need no longer be under the direction of a church across the sea, but it has had the way opened for it to circumstances, which, when they have accomplished their full work, will obtain for it the priority over both the other Scandinavian sister churches. The people have learned to consider themselves as a united whole, in whose weal or woe every individual has an immediate interest. They have learned to sacrifice self-interest to the common advantage of the country, to look at and examine the existing institutions and relations in sensible sober judgment, and fearlessly and firmly to pursue that course which promises most for the advantage of the whole. They have discovered, that on the one hand, a fixed and regularly administered form of government was necessary to the existence and prosperity of a community, and that on the other hand, a suitable degree of freedom must be allowed to every individual. And thus they have become better qualified than the Germans, or any other people, to form a church which shall correspond externally to a christian communion of believers, where each is a member, on equal footing, of the body, of which Christ is the living Head. But as long as the majority of individual members are filled with the spirit of the world more than with the spirit of Christ, they are surely not prepared externally for so perfect a form of church constitution. But the ablest representatives of the two other factors, the lay-preachers and the clergy labor incessantly that they may gradually attain this end. And we conclude that the arousing of national feeling, as manifested in civil and political life only attains a full consciousness of its vocation, and becomes a desirable coöperator in the reformation of church life, while it remains in connection with and does not restrain the operation of the other two factors, the popular religious influence and the clergy; although it opposes the former and places the latter in a subordinate and dependant position, (as the Danish government has long done, and as according to the existing constitution of the Norwegian church, the representatives of the King may still do. It is only when embracing the other two elements in itself, it unites with the King, and advises, and proposes for royal sanction such measures as are most advantageous to the external and internal life of the church, that it contributes to the coming of that kingdom which the Lord has appointed as the end of every religious society.

The nation, through their representatives, have, by two late decisions, practically acknowledged their vocation, a vocation

that can only be responded to by a cordial co-operation with both the other factors. The one has reference to lay preachers, and the other to the relation of dissenters to the established church. A law has existed in Norway since 1741, which forbade, under heavy penalty, all public or private preaching of the gospel, and particularly of regular itinerant preaching, by christians who were not regularly authorized. When Hans Nielsen Hauge had excited the enmity of many influential men, and some of them clergymen, by his zealous confession of religion, this law, which had fallen into disuse, was revived. In accordance with this law, as is well known, he was subjected to ten years imprisonment, and heavy fines. It is no wonder that the greatest opposition was aroused against so unchristian an ordinance, and that afterward it could only be enforced with great caution. Lay-preaching, and the spiritual edifying of the laity, whose general influence was only blessed, was branded by it as illegal, and deprived of its influence.—The Storthing, mindful that it should go hand in hand with the religious part of the community, and make their wishes its own, proposed, in 1836, the removal of the ordinance, but it was not ratified by the king. Nevertheless, it was determined at its next meeting, in 1839, to renew the measure, and the government, as the thing was involved in a third proposed alteration of the constitution, was inclined to take the matter in hand. For this purpose, it was made obligatory on Klaus Winther Hjelm, Professor of Law, to prepare a proposition from the king, which should not only embrace the irregular meetings of members of the established church, but also the case of dissenters. The matter was submitted to the congregational authorities of the country, for their advice. Remonstrances were sent in from every direction. When the government could no longer hope to secure so conservative a measure, a new commission of S. A. W. Sörenson, frequently President of the Storthing, J. F. Dietrichson, Professor of Theology, and Pastor A. Wexels, were appointed to prepare a new proposition. By this, unauthorized itinerant preachers were permitted, under certain restrictions, women and youths were plainly forbidden to preach, and transgression was punished by fine. But even this failed in 1842 to pass the Storthing. The unconditional removal of the law of Jan. 13th, 1741, was for the third time concluded, and became a part of the law of the land. Lay-preaching, and the spiritual edifying of the laity, is therefore permitted, and in this the nation has shown its harmony with the first factor. It was reserved for the next Storthing to pass a resolution which was

designed to exalt the established church from the unbecoming position which it had hitherto occupied, according to law, and which should have interested the clergy, had they been conscious of their high vocation. According to the old ecclesiastical and civil laws, which have been in force in Norway from the time of the Danish superiority, the established church was so intimately connected with the state, that they seemed to be one, even to such an extent, that he who forsook the state-church, was treated as a military deserter, and he who neglected the ordinances of the church, as a civil criminal. For instance; he who was accustomed to neglect public worship, was placed under the eye of the police; if a man did not partake of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, at least once a year, and after being admonished, refused publicly to confess his sin, he was deprived of the privilege of communion, and unless he repented within a certain time, was banished from the country. And in addition, public worship according to any other than the service of the Lutheran church, was only permitted to a few religious societies, for especial reasons, as the Moravians and the Quakers, under the strictest prohibition of proselyting, and only at appointed places. In this manner the established church became a place of compulsion, or even a house of correction, and its members were not free children, but unwilling slaves. It must have been painful to a pious minister, to see that many of his members only remained such because compelled so to do, and would gladly send their children to catechetical instruction to another minister than himself. And if he saw no such exhibitions, he could not fail to see that the true character of many hearts would only appear when external hindrances were removed. And the more fully he was convinced of the sanctifying power of that faith which he proclaimed, the more must he feel inclined to show to those who were weak in faith, how much power of truth the established church still possessed, so that were the doors once opened, a large majority should prefer to remain in the house of their fathers. The reflecting and evangelical clergy, could not but receive the edict of toleration, proposed by the Storthing, and ratified by the king in 1845, with satisfaction, and even rejoicing. Every religious sect might not only be introduced into the country, but could hold public worship; the civil disabilities which had hitherto attended a change of church connection, and the disadvantage of belonging to any other confession than that of Augsburg, were removed. The church of Norway, has by this law, lost at one blow much of its worldly power, but it has gained proportion-

ally in purity, and inner power, and has made an advance before both the other Scandinavian churches, which they will scarcely be able to overtake. The confidence which the national church has placed in the inner spiritual power of its members has not been abused. It is true that a Roman Catholic church has been established at Christiana, but it has not increased, and indeed is on the decline; a Reformed church does not as yet, to my knowledge, exist in Norway; the Moravian societies have had no increase; Quakers are unknown in Norway. In short, there exists at present no other religious community of importance in Norway, except the Evangelical Lutheran church. It may truly be said that in both the above mentioned decisions of the national assembly, the interests of active piety among the laity, as well as those of the clergy, have been secured. It will be another question, whether this will be the case if it is proposed at the next Storthing to remove the civil disabilities of the Jews. There is no doubt that the question will be introduced, as I was informed by a member of that body. It is true that the indefatigable defender of the cause of the Jews, the poet Wergeland, is dead, but others will not be wanting to take his place. The Jews of Hamburg should erect a monument of gratitude to his memory, in the cemetery at Christiana. Hitherto Jews have been forbidden to remain in the country, and if one was seen, the police were required to transport him from the country. More favor was shown, however, to Portuguese Jews. They now speak, not only of admitting them to residence in the kingdom, but of granting them equal civil rights with other citizens. If this movement succeeds, (according to the latest accounts it has failed,) a radical separation of church and state would be introduced. It is still a question whether this would be for the advantage of the church, whether it does not require the protecting, authoritative hand of the state, and whether the state is not under obligation to acknowledge the church of Christ as the basis on which it must build, and therefore to uphold it in its distinct form. It is also a matter for discussion whether in Scandinavia, where the community is disposed to respect the laws, the established church should not remain as an instrument in fulfilling the laws, and of punishment, within which the truly regenerate can unite into voluntary combinations, until they can gradually succeed in banishing the impure and worldly elements from the church. In order that the nation, and its representatives, may not act hastily in this matter, and under the influence of a false liberalism, or national vanity, or any other impure motive, the other two factors,

which have coöperated in the regeneration of the Norwegian Church, and thereby in the advance of the nation generally, must not be set aside but permitted to have their due influence.

I will here close my reflections on the present general condition of the Norwegian church, and on the manner in which it has been developed under the various moulding influences of the past. I had thought to compare it with the condition of an individual regenerated by the Holy Ghost, and I have not exhibited the factors which have accomplished its regeneration, in order to apear to limit or lessen the effectiveness of the Spirit of Christ, but that I might the more fully show the means by which the effectiveness of the Spirit has manifested itself, and which the Lord of the church, who ruleth over all, has used as the conscious or unconscious instrumentality of his Spirit. One who is acquainted with the condition of the Norwegian church would probably notice among the factors introduced as causing its regeneration, the omission of the newly and actually awakened missionary zeal. It has not only served to awaken both clergy and laity to a proper sense of the unspeakable blessings which they have unconsciously possessed in christianity, while millions of heathens have been going down to death without them; but it has also drawn Pastors into bonds of nearer communion with their congregations, uniting them by the living ties of common prayer and meditation and mutual manifestations of their love. But however clearly the influence of Foreign Missions on the inner state of the church may be seen, it must be acknowledged that the newly awakened missionary zeal owes its origin to the previous regeneration of the established church, and is one of the branches which the revived and vigorous tree of a regenerate church has sent forth, and is one of the manifestations within itself, and externally, of the reality of its change.

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## ARTICLE IX.

### THE NEW GERMAN HYMN BOOK.

*Deutsches Gesangbuch für die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten. Herausgegeben mit kirchlicher Genehmigung.* Philadelphia L. A. Wollenweber, 277, N. Third St. 1849. [German Hymnbook for the Evangelical Luth. Church in the U. S., published with the approbation of the Church.]

We hail with sincere pleasure the appearance of this book, which the church has so long needed, and so anxiously expected since the committal

of the preparation of the work to the hands of the distinguished Chairman of the Com. of the Pa. Synod, Rev. C. R. Demme, D. D. Of the qualifications of Dr. Demme for this work, no one acquainted with his refined taste and fervent admiration of German Psalmody, could for a moment doubt, and the result shows that this confidence was well merited.

The principles by which the Committee (representing the three large and respectable Synods of Pennsylvania, New York, and West Pennsylvania,) were guided, are so clearly, and even eloquently announced in the Preface, that we are sure we cannot give a better idea of the spirit of the book, than by inserting its prominent points. Before explaining the reasons which rendered a new Hymnbook necessary, they say: "It has long been a subject of regret, that our old Hymnbook was supplanted in most of our congregations by other works; for the church did not gain, but lost by the change.—Dear and precious to her might well be a book, which was prepared and introduced by the Fathers, the preface of which bears the honored and beloved name of Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, which at once refers us to the time of her planting and propagation in this western world, and by which the churches were edified for half a century. Not so lightly should a book have been given up, which, to be sure, like everything human, had its deficiencies, but still maintained a respectable rank among the various hymnbooks that have since made their appearance in this country, yea, had decided advantages over most of them, so far as contents and a church spirit are concerned."

After stating that the principal objections to the book thus referred to were, its great size and consequent high price, the great length and unusual metres of many of the hymns, which, together, prevented nearly one-half of the book from being used, whilst, on the other hand, hymns were wanting upon many topics, the Committee proceed:

"The only thing that could be done, under such circumstances, was to attempt to preserve to the church the pith of our old book, by the publication of a new one. Several synods united in this object, and the book which is here present is the fruit of their common labors.—Those entrusted with this work, desire in this preface, briefly to express the *principles* by which they have been guided, and which have received the sanction of the Synods concerned. They could take no other position than that of fidelity to the church and her Confession. This was demanded by them, alike by duty and by affection, and they are conscious that they have never intentionally swerved from this. There is a great variety of hymns, but in none of them is wanting the doctrine or the spirit of our church. It was our aim to give the whole a clear and decided tone, and however different the hymns may be in value, it will be difficult to find one by the singing of which the heart of the christian will feel rather empty than full. Censure in this direction, will undoubtedly come from those only who in heart no longer belong to us, or from such brethren as think that the improvement of the church, for which we would hope and labor with them, can be only a repetition of what existed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

A church hymnbook should contain *church hymns*. There is indeed a difference of opinion as to what a church hymn properly is; but all are agreed in this, that it cannot be the voice of individual members of the church merely, but that of the congregation generally, as built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner stone, i. e., every evangelical christian must understand, believe, feel and wish it, and be able to sing it in his heart and before the world. It must therefore contain scriptural truth in a scriptural form. The best church hymns will therefore be such as treat rather of the great doings of God, who is true and real, and abideth forever, than of the little acts of man, his resolutions, feelings, desires, purposes, &c. We may therefore designate as the necessary qualities of a hymn, distinctness and simplicity in the confession of faith, depth and purity of feeling, clearness and force of language; harmonious coöperation of the matter and the melody is likewise desirable."

These principles must commend themselves to all who reflect upon the subject, and we are happy to find that the Committee have faithfully and successfully carried them out in the preparation of the book. Taking as its basis the *Lieder-Sammlung*, above referred to, published in 1786, the preface to which was one of the last earthly labors of the venerable *Mühlenberg*, for the edification of our American church, to which his whole life may be said to have been consecrated, this work retains the great body of what the church has hitherto prized in that book, and adds to it only such other hymns as have either long been dear to the children of God, or as are required by the expanding benevolence of christian effort, or called for by the peculiar circumstances in which the church is here placed, or by the new duties to which she is here called. But this is a work of no small difficulty, not on account of the deficiency of suitable hymns for all the purposes indicated, but in order to decide, first, what should be rejected, and secondly, what should be substituted in its place. The first point is difficult, because the great mass of the hymns contained in the old book, are undoubtedly of high value, and most of them dear to those who have been in the habit of using them. Dr. Mühlenberg has (in his preface, where he exhorts ministers and churches to introduce and use this book,) well described it as "a precious treasure of choice hymns, both old and new, full of pith and power, drawn from the undefiled fountain of God's holy and revealed word, prepared by pious poets, according to the measure of their several spiritual gifts, presented as healthful milk for babes, and strong meat for youths and full-grown men in Christ, as also for the awakening of careless sinners and hypocrites. They contain the great doctrines of our faith that are essential to salvation and the duties of life, show the plan and means to be used on the pathway to eternal life, and accompany docile and obedient souls throughout their period of probation even to the kingdom of glory. Musical composers have used their best efforts to prepare tunes adapted to their sacred truths, so as by means of the ear to impress them most deeply upon the heart." In regard to hymns of this character, he might well say: "Dearly beloved, sing and make melody unto the Lord, who has bought you with his blood, sing in public and in private, and with your hearts," and "transmit this treasury of hymns to your children and to your children's children, so that they may not at the great day of judgment rise up against you, and say, "you did indeed provide food and raiment for our bodies, but you neglected and made no provision for the safety of our souls." To take away from such hymns, thus commended to us is, we say, a serious matter, and no easy task. But, as already intimated, the committee have, we think, discharged this part of their duty with success, retaining the body of those hymns so justly dear to the church. So far as we have yet examined we miss but few that we should have been anxious to see retained. One or two, however, we do notice. For instance, Paul Gerhardt's "*Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld.*" It is true, this hymn is very long, but we should have been very glad to see some stanzas, at least, retained, though in this we may be influenced by our partiality for the great high priest of sacred poetry by whom it was written. We should also have hesitated to reject John Angelus' "*Die Seele Christi heil'ge mich.*" We also miss "*Dir, dir Jehovah will ich singen,*" "*Gott will's machen Dass die Sachen,*" and some others. Still, we find here the great body of those hymns that Mühlenberg so well describes as "a precious treasure," and also many others that deserve this appellation no less than those collected in the old hymn-book.

But this substitution of other hymns in the place of those rejected is, as we have said, the most difficult part of the work which the committee were called to perform. The cause of this is very different from what it would be in English. In our language the difficulty is to find good hymns. ... But how different is it in German? There we have upwards of 70,000 hymns, well ascertained, which, at an average of fifty to each author, would give fourteen hundred writers of hymns, which is not, perhaps, half the actual number of those who have made the attempt thus to edify the church. And

these hymns, written by the most distinguished authors of every age, from the Reformation to the present time, and proceeding out of the very inmost soul of the church, seem to express every feeling that the christian heart requires, not only for the public and common worship of God, in the church, in the prayer-meeting, and in the social circle of friends, in the school and family, but almost all that private devotion itself calls for. Of a large body of these hymns it is difficult to say whether the form or the contents is more perfect. Written by such men as Luther, Hans Sachs, Paul Speratus, Matthisius, Graumann, Gerhardt, Rodigast, Rothe, Woltersdorf, Francke, Spener, Allendorff, Gellert, Klopstock, Spitta—we need only mention these and a host of other names, to remind those who are acquainted with the subject, of the manner in which German hymnology has been gradually developed, and of the perfection, richness, depth, beauty and power to which it has attained. All these treasures it is, of course, impossible for any single book to contain; but as they are not, manifestly, of equal value, nor all equally adapted to all times and circumstances, it becomes, as we have said, a most perplexing question how to select those that are required for any particular church or age. Hence the many collections of German hymns. But here we entirely approve of the principle of the Commmittee, "impartially to unite the best of every age. Let the new lovingly unite with the old, as with every commencing morn the new goodness of God unites with the old. Thus we honor the manifold gifts which still come from the same Lord, and bear in them the same spirit. Thus we here enjoy the apostolic promise: "All is yours," whether Luther, or Gerhardt, or Gellert or Spitta." Undoubtedly we could wish to see some hymns in the book that are not in it—some of Luther's, some of Gerhardt's, some of Woltersdorf's, some of Allendorff's, but we cannot have everything, and we find nothing in this book that we would desire to exclude from it—if there is anything that does not exactly suit our taste, we know that it has long edified the church, and doubtless suits others.

There is one point upon which we are less disposed to agree with the committee than in anything else, though we doubt not that their views will meet with more general approbation than our own. We refer to what they say relative to the selection of hymns with a reference to what they call "*the singableness (singbarkeit) of their tunes.*" So far as a hymn is written in a style not adapted to vocal music this is very well, and we also agree fully with Luther's decision: "Give us rather a poor hymn with a good tune, than a better hymn with a poorer tune." But there is no occasion for this either. If the hymn is good, a good tune may be found for it. But how many good tunes are there that are "unsingable" because people do not know them?—How few of our American congregations have ever heard "*Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*" sung?—all to their own loss and shame, and not because the tune is a difficult one. But we are glad to find that the committee practically disregard this rule, and point out the proper remedy for the evil by referring to good collections of *tunes* which are accessible enough, and if they were not could easily be made so. And that the church should have a good selection of tunes *adapted to all her hymns* is, we think, just as evident as that she should have the hymns themselves.

With respect to the *changes made in the hymns* we are very well satisfied with the position taken by the committee. Hymns certainly are not, as they very properly observe, "to be regarded as having a canonical character, or as taking rank along side of the Confessions of the church, or left behind them by their authors as gifts that should not be touched." Their changes we think are generally judicious, and some of them made with extraordinary skill. One of them, however, we must confess, does not please us. We refer to No. 282, which is Luther's hymn "*Christ, unser Herr zum Jordan kam.*" We will not quarrel with the alterations in the first verse, for they do not alter the sense, and make the language smoother. Nor will we object to the omission of the 2nd, 3d, 4th and 6th verses, for we think that their great length is the great fault of German hymns generally, and we wish the committee had curtailed more of them. But we do object to the changes in

the last verse, which, as will be seen by the following comparison, are very great:

| *Luther.* | *Hymn-book.* |
|---|---|
| Das aug' allein das wasser sieht, Wie menschen wasser giessen, Der glaub' im geist die kraft versteht, Des Blutes Jesu Christi, Und ist vor ihm ein rothe fluth, Von Christi Blut gefärbet Die allen schaden heilen thut, Von Adam her geerbet, Auch von uns selbst begangen. | Mehr sieht das aug' im taufen nicht, Als blosses wassergiessen; Der glaube sieht durch höh'res licht Das blut des bundes fliessen. O heilige, o theure fluth, Wasch unser krank gewissen! O Geist, durch's wasser und durch's Blut Lass auf uns gnade fliessen Und mach uns rein von sünden! |

We admit that this new version is very good, but we still prefer the old, which we regard as remarkable among Luther's hymns for its smoothness and beauty.

The changes in the hymn "*Christ lag in Todesbanden*" are also made with great skill, but we wish that the committee had given us the hymn in its original as well as in its changed form. Our choirs and organs (and every well established Lutheran church ought to have an organ) would soon learn to sing it and its lofty melody.

With the arrangement of the book we are perfectly satisfied, and hope that this will exert a happy reflex influence upon the general order of our church services, and promote a return to the better observance of all our church usages, festivals, &c.

Most gratefully too, do we recognize in this work the service that the committee have done the church in presenting to it as they assure us was their object, "a hymn-book in which christianity in all its bearings upon the heart and life, is exhibited in testimonies alike precious, faithful, powerful and consolatory;—a hymn-book in which the church's life of faith is expressed, and by which it may be upheld and propagated, quickened and strengthened in our beloved congregations." And most heartlly do we unite with them in their pious wishes; "May this object be attained! May this book aid in bringing about among us that our singing, that audible prayer of the congregation, that living confession, that which is, alas! the only part of our public worship in which the congregation still acts for itself, may again from every heart and tongue resound before the Lord in fuller, purer and happier strains! May it assist in promoting among us the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace!"

Our limits permit us only to add our most cordial concurrence in the wish which the committee express before the passage that we have just quoted, viz: "*that our church (in this country) may have but one German and one English hymn-book.*" And we will venture to add our conviction, derived from no light examination of this subject, that in order to keep our church one, both in German and English, it is of no small importance that the hymnbook as well as the liturgy should be essentially the same in both languages. Every one who has the interests of the church at heart, acknowledges how much the church has lost in Germany by the alteration of our church hymns, emasculating them of their distinctive doctrines for the sake of a factitious union, or still further, unhallowing them of all that is precious and glorious in christianity in favor of a self-complacent Rationalism that would know more than God himself. What a loss then must it be for our English church to be deprived of these hymns entirely! Nor do we think that any one who is familiar with the hymns of the two languages can believe that the hymns that now exist in the English language will ever be an adequate substitute for our German ones. The difference between the two is radical, no less in doctrine and in spirit than in form and poetical character. Unless therefore we can infuse a new life and spirit into our English hymns, so as to assimilate them more to the genius of our church, it seems to us that the development of our church life must forever be greatly retarded, in this direction, at least, and perhaps in others still more important. R.

## ARTICLE X.

### NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

(1.) *Barnes' Prayers for the use of Families.* "*Prayers for the use of Families, chiefly selected from various authors; with a preliminary essay, together with a selection of hymns. By Albert Barnes.* PHILADELPHIA: Thomas, Cowperthwait & Co., 1850." This is a very neat volume, and a valuable addition to our manuals of devotion. The prayers are taken chiefly from those well-known and deservedly popular authors, Jay and Jenks, though many excellent selections are gleaned from other sources, and Mr. Barnes' additions are by no means inconsiderable. The collection of Hymns, also, contains many of the best hymns in the English language, adapted to family worship. We have read the Preliminary Essay with peculiar interest. It is written in the plain and forcible style which distinguishes Mr. Barnes' writings generally. The appeal made to parents in favor of the regular and faithful discharge of this duty, is well-timed and well expressed, and cannot but benefit all who peruse it. We are pleased to see among the "Prayers for particular occasions," two for Christmas (morning and evening.) This shows that the practice of our church in the celebration of this and other Festivals, is steadily commending itself to pious and reflecting minds in other communions. Similar prayers for the other Festivals would undoubtedly have added to the interest and variety of the work. Why should not the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ be commemorated on Good Friday and Easter, as well as the Nativity on Christmas? Nor can it be doubted that they furnish themes for meditation equally calculated to excite devotion.

(2.) *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, D. D., L.L. D. By his Son-in-law, the Rev. William Hanna, L. L. D. In three Vols.—Vol. I.* NEW YORK: Harper & Brothers, Publishers. 82 Cliff St. 1850.—We have received the first volume, the only one yet published, of the work named above; but we feel sadly at a loss how to word a notice of it, as brief as our limited space requires. To commend the work, would seem like attempting to gild refined gold. It seems almost sufficient simply to inform our readers, that they may now obtain a voluminous memoir of Dr. Chalmers, written by Dr. Hanna. The biography of such a man, written by such another, offers to all the higher faculties of man a feast, such as cannot often be enjoyed. Dr. Chalmers' fame is world-wide, and to all who desire minute information respecting his noble character, his useful life, his brilliant career, we need only say, that here they will see, portrayed by a

master-hand, that distinguished servant of God, as his mind and character were gradually developed, as he lived, and prayed, and labored, for the good of his race, and the praise of his Lord and Redeemer. The importance of these memoirs to the philosopher, to the divine, and to the intelligent christian, can scarcely be overrated. They embody a vast amount of matter instructive and invigorating to the intellect of all, edifying and encouraging to the soul, and precious to the heart, of the believer. Reverently as we have ever regarded the name of Chalmers, we now feel as though we had seen, and known, and admired, and loved the man. His own copious journals, here presented, with all their searching self-examination, their severe self-rebukes and self-tutorings constitute a most important and interesting portion of the work. It is scarcely possible for the most thoughtless and trifling, to read such a life, related as this is, without becoming sobered into serious thoughtfulness; but preachers of the Gospel, and christians generally, cannot otherwise than derive from its perusal unspeakable delight, and immeasurable good. Of Dr. Hanna's qualifications for writing the life of Dr. Chalmers, whom, as his father-in-law, he intimately knew, highly revered, and sincerely loved, and whose character, in all its phases, he is perfectly competent adequately to appreciate, it is needless to say any thing. He has, ere this, given ample evidence of superior abilities, devoted to the highest interests of man. None who can afford to purchase these memoirs, should deny themselves the pleasure and the benefit, which they cannot fail to derive from them.

(3.) *Notes on the Miracles of our Lord. By Richard Chevenix Trench, M. A., Professor of Divinity, King's College, London; Author of "Notes on the Parables of our Lord," etc. etc. Reprinted entire from the last London Edition.* NEW YORK: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. PHILADELPHIA: Geo. S. Appleton, 164 Chestnut St. 1850. — We have carefully, and with deep interest, read considerable portions of this work, an 8vo. vol. of nearly 400 pp., and so far as we are thus enabled to judge, we are prepared to recommend it, as one of the most able and valuable contributions to theological literature, which has, of late years, proceeded from the English press. The author is evidently a profound and accomplished scholar, and he makes a judicious and skillful use of his learning; he is very extensively read in German theology, as he often refers to the theological writers of Germany, and makes frequent quotations from their works — from those of Luther, and the modern schools: he often cites the views of the more prominent rationalistic writers, including Strauss, whom he combats with great ability, and confutes with distinguished success. The work opens with a preliminary essay, of which the first chapter discusses "the names of the Miracles;" the second, "the Miracles and Nature;" the third, "the authority of the miracle;" the fourth, "the evangelical compared with other cycles of miracles;"

the fifth, "the assaults on miracles;" the sixth, "the apologetic worth of the miracles." The fourth of these chapters treats, 1.) "of the miracles of the O. T."; 2.) "of the miracles of the apocryphal gospels"; 3.) "of the later, or ecclesiastical miracles," which are affirmed by the Romish church, and have, of late years, found strenuous advocates at Oxford, but the falsity and worthlessness of which are here most clearly and fully exhibited. Under the "assaults on the miracles, we have, 1.) the Jewish: 2.) the heathen (Celsus, Hierocles, and Porphyry): 3.) the pantheistic (Spinoza): 4.) the sceptical (Hume): 5.) the miracles only relatively miraculous (Schleiermacher): 6.) the Rationalistic (Paulus): 7.) the historico-critical (Wolston and Strauss). The subjects of these several chapters are discussed with the most dispassionate calmness, with great ability and sagacity, and with the most satisfactory results. In the treatment of the several miracles themselves, many points of great moment, and deep interest come up for discussion. Thus, in the fifth chapter, which treats of "the Demoniacs in the country of the Gadarenes," we have a series of admirable prefatory remarks on the general "subject of the demoniacs of Scripture," in which the cavils of infidels and the views of modern rationalists are triumphantly set aside, many important and striking facts are stated and ventilated, and "the scriptural doctrine concerning the kingdom of evil, and its personal head, and the relation in which he stands to the moral evil of our world," are very fully and searchingly considered. The work, especially in the marginal notes, is very rich in patristic lore, there being copious, apposite, and interesting citations from the Greek and Latin Fathers. Altogether, the work bears ample witness to the intellectual ability, the sound judgment, the careful and thorough research, the extensive scholarship, and the perfectly evangelical position of the author. It fixes at once the attention of the serious inquirer after scriptural truth, and will, we are confident, be much used, and greatly valued, by ministers of the Gospel, of whom none should be willing to be without its learned and satisfactory discussions in this highly important department of Biblical study.

(4.) *The early Conflicts of Christianity. By the Rev. Wm. Ingraham Kip, D. D., author of "The Christmas Holydays in Rome," "The double Witness of the Church," "The lenten Fast," The early Jesuit Missions in North America:" &c. &c. &c.* — ἐξηλθε νικων καὶ ἱνα νικήσῃ. New York: D. Appleton & Co, 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: G. S. Appleton, 164 Chestnut St. London: Longman Brown, & Co., Paternoster Row. 1850.—The design of this work is, to give "a clear idea of the difficulties to which our faith was subjected in the earliest ages of its existence," and of "the severity of the conflict, through which it was obliged to pass." Its principal antagonists, and the peculiar character of the obstacles which they respectively opposed to its progress, the author discusses successively, under the following five heads: I. Judaism:

II. Grecian Philosophy: III. The licentious spirit of the age: IV. Barbarism: V. The pagan mythology. — These subjects are elaborately and ably treated, and the picture which the whole discussion places in a clear light before us, enables us to form a pretty just estimate of the violent opposition, which christianity met with from these, its bitter enemies. We find but very little in the book to which we would take exception. In a very few instances, the views of ecclesiastical polity, peculiar to the church with which the author is connected, protrude; but, on the whole, the subject, being one in which all christians have a like and equal interest, is treated in in its general aspects and bearings, without reference to sectarian peculiarities. Had Dr. Kip written the two additional chapters, on the Middle Ages, and on the Reformation, which he says in his Preface remain to be written, we should, doubtless, be at open issue with him as regards the latter subject. As it is, the work displays extensive research and sound reflection, is written in a lucid, attractive, engaging and impressive style, rich in beautiful and animated description, and sometimes truly eloquent. The book will be welcome and valuable to others beside theologians.

(5.) *Morton Montagu; or a young Christian's Choice. A narrative founded on Facts in the early History of a deceased Moravian Missionary Clergyman. By C. B. Mortimer.* NEW YORK: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. PHILADELPHIA: Geo. S. Appleton, 164 Chestnut St. 1850.—This work presents an authentic account of the early life of a Moravian clergyman, long and extensively known, and highly esteemed for the gentleness, the dignity, and the general excellence of his character, from the pen of one, than whom none could have known or appreciated him better.—The style in which it is written, shows, that the author has not much experience in book-craft; but the work will be read with pleasure by those who take an interest in the Moravian denomination, of whose early history it gives a brief sketch; and to those who have had the privilege of personally knowing the venerable subject of this memoir, the narrative will be peculiarly interesting. No part of the work is to be regarded as fiction, the design of the author merely being to intermingle with the history of the Rev. gentleman's early life, other Moravian facts not necessarily connected with it. There certainly is much in this history, that is remarkable rnd striking.

(6.) *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey. Edited by his Son, the Rev. Charles Cuthbert Southey, M. A., Curate of Plumbland, Cumberland. Parts I & II., to be completed in six parts.* NEW YORK: Harper & Brothers, Publishers; 82 Cliff St. 1850.—The first two parts of this delightful work have been sent us by the publishers, and we take great pleasure in commending it to the notice of our readers. Robert Southey has so long been an object of deep interest to the reading public, that this, his "life

and correspondence," cannot otherwise than meet with a most cordial reception. The work will, at once, take its place by the side of Boswell's Johnson, of Lockhart's Life of Scott, and other kindred productions. Southey's life was, in many respects, a most remarkable one, and, in every respect, highly interesting: its various vicissitudes, its diversified experiences, are adapted to suggest to the observant and reflecting much profitable thought, many salutary lessons; it is profoundly instructive and interesting to converse with so extraordinary a personage, as we are here permitted to do, in the privacy of his retirement; to follow him through the many distractions, dreamings, schemes, and speculations of his earlier years, the many splendid achievements of his genius, accomplished, in his maturer age, by his iron and indefatigable industry, down to the mournful obscuration of his active mind, in the decline of his days. Like Lockhart's life of Scott, the work opens with a brief autobiographic sketch of his infancy and boyhood, which is so admirably written, that we have nothing to complain of but its brevity. Yet, as far as the work has advanced, the illustrious poet is permitted to be almost entirely his own biographer, as his extensive and spirited correspondence with his friends, among whom were some of the most distinguished men of his time, is merely arranged and duly connected, in the concise narrative of his son. Altogether it is one of those fascinating books, which, while we rejoice at the ever-increasing number, we would fain hope will eventually supplant, in a great degree, the vast amount of worthless fiction with which the world is absolutely flooded.

(7.) *A system of Ancient and Mediaeval Geography, for the use of Schools and Colleges. By Charles Anthon, L.L. D. Professor of the Greek and Latin languages in Columbia College, N. York, and Rector of the Grammar School.*

> Omnia mortali mutantur lege creata,
> Nec se cognoscunt terrae vertentibus annis.—MANILIUS.

NEW YORK: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff St. 1850.—This is truly a noble work, and in every respect worthy of its distinguished author. Our readers will be able to form some idea of the amount of matter presented, when we say, that it is an octavo volume of nearly eight hundred pages. The work has been elaborated with the author's wonted industry and research, and bears witness of his vast learning. The mass of literature bearing in in any respect upon the subject in hand, that has been laid under contribution and consulted with the acutest sagacity, is enormous. We may, we think, safely venture the assertion, that there is no work for ancient and mediaeval geography extant, that can at all compare with this, as respects completeness, — in the comprehensiveness of its plan, and the fullness and accuracy of its details. On referring to the list of works, from which the materials for the volume before us were obtained, it will be found that many are

old, others comparatively so; while some of the most recent and valuable German, English, and French works consulted, either refer only to some particular portion of the subject, or are in one respect or the other, limited in their scope. Here we have the whole ground most thoroughly surveyed; and the author has the advantage of being the latest in the field, with the discoveries and labors of all his distinguished predecessors before him. It is well known that the East, embracing a large portion of the terrain of Ancient Geography, has only of late years again become open and easy of access, and the discoveries of modern travellers have thrown much light upon many points of interest and importance in ancient geography, and corrected many errors, which had, for centuries, been stereotyped. We need instance, in this connexion, only Robinson's Researches in Egypt, Arabia Petraea, and the Holy Land, Dennis's Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, and Layard's Nineveh and its Remains; which, with their valuable discoveries, are all recent. Every modern publication of this kind, that presented any thing of importance, Dr. Anthon had before him in the preparation of this great work, and those who are acquainted with his other and numerous publications, know with what skill he avails himself of his materials, so amply supplied by his own library, which, in every department of classical literature, has not its equal in this country. When advantages and resources like these are at the command of one, who masters every subject with which he grapples, it is only what might be naturally expected, that the results exhibited should be, in every respect and in the highest degree, satisfactory. And it will, doubtless, be acknowledged by all cognoscenti, that the matter culled from such vast stores of literature, and presented in the volume before us, has been selected with great sagacity and discrimination, most thoroughly digested, and arranged with admirable judgment and skill. The book should find a place on the shelves of every man, who makes the least pretensions to scholarship. It is most creditable to American literature, and an honor to the American press, that a work like this has appeared this side the Atlantic.

(8.) *A copious and critical English-Latin Lexicon, founded on the German-Latin Dictionary of Dr. C. E. Georges. By the Rev. J. E. Riddle, M. A. and the Rev. T. K. Arnold, M. A. First American edition carefully revised, and containing a copious Dictionary of proper names, from the best sources. By Chas. Anthon, LL. D.* NEW YORK: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff St. 1849. Our limits do not admit of our presenting in the present No. of our Review a tithe of what we feel disposed to say in reference to the valuable and important work of which we have just given the title. The Harpers have done much for the advancement of liberal studies and classical literature in the United States, but, perhaps, nothtng that is more likely to exert a happy influence

than the publication of this much needed work. Every teacher who has undertaken to promote accurate scholarship and to give his pupils a due command over the Latin language, knows by sad experience how deeply deficient, not to say utterly worthless, are the English and Latin Dictionaries to which recourse has hitherto been had in our English and American schools. At almost every attempt at independent translation the scholar is compelled to say, 'I could not find any Latin word for that idea,' and this not only for idiomatic phrases, but for individual words. And where no such complaint was made, what provoking nonsense has, time and again, been presented as the rendering into Latin of some of our most familiar ideas! We do not argue the necessity of such translations from English into Latin. With Dr. Anthon we agree, that "It seems unnecessary, at the present day, to say anything in favor of frequent practice in Greek and Latin composition," and that "No one can be an accurate scholar without it." A good work of this kind is, therefore, an absolute necessity. And that this want is, in a great measure, met by the Dictionary before us, we are well satisfied by the character of the gentlemen who have prepared it, as well as by our own examination, so far as we have hitherto carried it. Dr. Georges has long maintained a high rank among more recent German lexicographers, and it is only of late that his Latin German Dictionary begins to be superseded by the more philosophical one of Freund. Messrs. Riddle and Arnold have for some time been before the English public as successful laborers in various departments of classical literature, whilst Dr. Anthon is "*facile princeps*" among the classical scholars of our country, and his recommendation of a work, even without any labor of his own having been bestowed upon it, is *prima facie* evidence of its value. Comparing the work with the "English Latin" part of Ainsworth or of Leverett, its superiority is manifest, as we might easily show by a few extracts taken from almost any part of it, which, however, the necessary brevity of this notice precludes. But we may upon another occasion resume and discuss the whole subject at greater length. The book, however, we doubt not, is destined, without any commendation of ours, to take its place as the standard work in this department of literature.

(9.) *The Works of Horace, with English Notes, critical and explanatory. By Charles Anthon, LL. D. A new edition, corrected and enlarged, &c.* New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff St. 1850.—This work has so long been before the public that its character is generally known. It is, perhaps, the best of all Dr. Anthon's editions of the classics, and, we should infer from internal evidence, his favorite field of labor. He seems never to tire in his efforts at improving it. And, after all that he has effected in his former very valuable editions, we find no small amount of additional matter and of well applied labor. The new text from

Orelli pleases us much, for we never were satisfied with that adopted in former editions. The Excursions from the first and larger edition will be highly acceptable to all who have not access to that work, and the biographical sketches of Horace and Maecenas will be acceptable to teachers, even if students think them too long to read. — We differ from Dr. Anthon as to the amount and character of *notes* desirable for *students* in our Grammar schools and Colleges, but nevertheless cheerfully acknowledge his thorough mastery of his subject and the soundness of his criticisms generally. He is "a good, ripe scholar," and the prince of pedagogues in this country, and no teacher nor student of the classics who aims at a thorough mastery of Horace, a nice perception of his beauties, a keen relish for his wit, and a full understanding of his strong common sense, can afford to do without his able commentary on this poet.

(10.) *Elements of Natural Philosophy. Designed as a Text-book for Academies, High-schools, and Colleges. By Alonzo Gray, A. M., Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy in the Brooklyn Female Academy, and author of "Elements of Chemistry," &c. Illustrated by three hundred and fifty Wood-cuts.* NEW YORK: Harper & Brothers, Publishers; 82 Cliff St. 1850.—We have examined this book sufficiently to satisfy ourselves of its superior excellence. We have no hesitation in pronouncing it the best text-book for this most important branch of study, that we have met with. It steers equally clear of two extremes which are frequently found in books of this class: a method too abstruse, and therefore dry and difficult, and a mode of instruction too peurile, or childish; its style is easy, appropriate, and clear; in statements it is full and lucid; in explanation, simple and quite sufficiently elaborate; in illustration, ample and very happy. Among its peculiar features are, the analysis given, in the form of propositions, at the head of each section, and the introduction of examples, in the form of problems, to be wrought out by the student himself, and thus enabling him to make, immediately, a *practical application* of his knowledge. Being, moreover, a very recent publication, it is, perhaps, the only work of the kind that is entirely up to the present state of the science, a position which no scientific work can long maintain in this age of progress. Hence the sections on the steam-engine, and on the electro-magnetic telegraph will be particularly satisfactory to teachers. We cordially recommend the work to all, who give instruction in the department of knowledge, the study of which it is designed, and so well adapted to promote and facilitate.

(11.) *Sketches of Minnesota, the New-England of the West. With Incidents of Travel in that Territory during the Summer of* 1849. *In two Parts. By E. S. Seymour. With a Map.* NEW YORK: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff St. 1850. — To every intelligent and patriotic citizen of these States, the work before us

will be a welcome and valuable acquisition. It communicates, in a simple and unaffected style, a large amount of important and interesting information respecting the early history, and the present state of Minnesota; and although Geography, Geology and Statistics occupy a sufficient proportion of space, to satisfy those who make these the subjects of special inquiry, the book is by no means dry or tedious; it abounds with incidents of travel, both entertaining and instructive, and with anecdotes, both grave and amusing: the account given of the several Indian tribes that still rove over that vast region—of their history, their condition, their customs, and their relations towards each other and the white settlers, is exceedingly interesting, and, in divers particulars, as mournful as it is interesting. The map is large and well executed. As the result of the personal observation and research of an enlightened traveller, this book commends itself to the attention of all who take an interest, as patriots and christians, in the present and future welfare of the Great West, and of our country in general.

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## ARTICLE XI.

### LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.—We regret to see the announcement that *Prof. Dr. Tholuck's* paper, the "*Literarischer Anzeiger*," (Literary Intelligencer), has been suspended for want of adequate support amid the recent excitement of German revolutions and reaction. This has long been one of the most important literary organs of the religious party to which Dr. Tholuck belongs, and it is a matter of regret that they should lose it just at this time when Dr. T. seemed prepared to take a more decidedly orthodox position than he has hitherto maintained, although in Germany he was for a long time considered one of the leaders of orthodoxy. It cannot be denied that he has rendered the church most important service in opposition at least to Rationalism and infidelity, and we most sincerely sympathise with him in the trials through which he has, within the last two years been called to pass.—*Dr. Neander* has just brought out a third (improved) edition of his Life of Chrysostom, and a second edition of his "Antignostikus" or Spirit of Tertullian, which also contains an introduction to the writings of that Father. We also notice the appearance of what we suppose is, a sermon for the times by the same author, under the title "Das Reich Christi" &c., that is, "The kingdom of Christ the kingdom of true freedom and equality."—*Dr. Fricke* of Leipzig has just brought out the first volume of a new Manual of Church History *(Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte).*— *B. Tauchnitz* at Leipzig announces the appear-

ance of a new edition of the Hebrew Bible, on the text of Van der Hooght, edited by Prof. Theile.— *Otto von Gerlach's* edition of *select works of Luther* is now complete in twenty-four volumes 8vo. Being accompanied with historical Introductions, notes, and indexes, this is, perhaps, the best work of the kind that has yet been published. It gives a very fair specimen of the literary labors of the great Reformer in every direction. Each volume costs 10 sgr. (about 25 cts.).

America.—We are highly gratified to learn that the Rev. J. W. Richards of Easton, Pa., proposes publishing a translation of the "*Hallische Nachrichten*," or "*Notices of the United German Evangelical Congregations in N. America, especially in Pennsylvania.*" This work is of the deepest interest to the Lutheran churches in this country, as it throws great light upon their early history, and especially upon the labors of the first German Missionaries, commencing with the patriarch *Mühlenberg*, among them. It is also an important source for the authentic history of morals and religion generally, in this country, during the period to which it refers, viz: from 1742 to 1781. Nor is this work a mere diary of events, or history of the times, or ordinary Missionary Journal, but its prefaces, written by such men as Francke, Knapp, Freylinghausen, and Schultze of Halle, are important reviews of the state of things in our churches in this country at the times referred to, and pastoral theology is most impressively taught in the recorded experience of a Mühlenberg, a Handschuh, a Brunnholtz, a Helmuth and a Kunze. Peculiarly rich in this respect, are the collections of "*Remarkable Examples*," or interesting cases of religious experience, &c., given by Dr. H. M. Mühlenberg from his pastoral experience. Every minister of the gospel, anxious to discharge his high duties with fidelity, will here find much to assist him. But we are straying from the object of this notice; viz: Rev. Richards' proposed translation of this work. Of his qualifications for this work, we need say nothing. Our readers can judge of this for themselves by referring to the several articles in this line that have already made their appearance in this Review in his translation of Dr. Mühlenberg's Journal of a voyage to Georgia, which, together with various other original documents, letters, &c., of his grand-father Mühlenberg, would make important addenda to the proposed work. The original work consists of some *sixteen hundred pages*, small 4to, and would, we suppose, occupy several considerable volumes in the translation. We shall await its appearance with impatience.

Erastus Pease & Co., of Albany, N. Y., have announced a new work from the pen of *Rev. Charles A. Smith*, of Rhinebeck, N. Y., entitled "*Illustrations of Faith drawn from the word of God.*" Mr. Smith is well known as a popular writer, one of the authors of the "Popular Exposition" of the New Testament, and his little work (180 pp. 18 mo.) will, we doubt not, be acceptable and edifying to a large class of readers. But we regret that a copy has not reached us so as to enable us to speak of it with more definiteness.

We have received the October and January Nos. of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, which are the first specimens of that work which we have had an opportunity of examining, although it has now reached the commencement of its thirty-second volume. The Nos. before us impress us very favorably in reference to its literary character and spirit, though we have no doubt that it has been greatly improved by the recent appointment of Dr. McClintock as its Editor, whose learning, literary taste and judgment are everywhere visible in it. This Review is "got up" (we are sorry we have not a better phrase to express this idea) in very handsome style throughout. The typography is exquisite—each No. contains a handsome engraving, and the contents are varied and interesting, and some of them of marked ability.— The following are the contents of the January No. 1. *Plutarch*; his life,

character and times. By Prof. W. S. Tyler. 2. *Oregon;* by Dr. E. G. Meek. 3. *Rev. Jesse Lee;* by Rev. Danl. Curry. 4. *Mark ix:* 49, 50; from the German of Dr. Bähr (an abridgement of the article which appeared in our second No.) 5. Life and Writings of the late Dr. Richards; by Z. Paddock, D. D. 6. Lowell's vision of Sir Launfal; by R. C. Pitman. 7. The Condition of the dead; by Rev. Jas. Porter. 8. Living authors of England; by G. W. Peck. 9. Hawk's Egypt and its Monuments. 10. Short Reviews &c. 11. Miscellanies (on several passages of Scripture.) 12. Religious Intelligence. 13. Literary Intelligence.

The third No. of the "*Moravian Church Miscellany*" has reached us. This is a new monthly publication, commenced on the first of January last, and edited by Rev. Henry A. Schultz, at Bethlehem, Pa., where it is "published for the church of the United Brethren," commonly called Moravians. Its object is to give intelligence relative to the proceedings of that interesting portion of the church, both in its home and in its foreign operations. We greet its appearance with a great deal of pleasure, for we have long been anxious to obtain reliable information relative to the present condition and movements of this branch of the church, in this country especially. The Miscellany bids fair to gratify all reasonable demands for information of this kind, and we find it increasing in interest as the work gets fairly under way. The following are the contents of the No. for March, and will give a very good idea of its matter generally: 1. Historical Sketches of Greenland, (with a handsome wood-cut of New Herrnhut;) 2. Home Missionary Department; 3. Monthly Leaves (of intelligence;) 4. Weekly Leaves and Foreign Intelligence; 5. Church Intelligence (the condition of various congregations during the past year;) 6. Obituaries; 7. Acknowledgments of Contributions (to various objects of benevolence;) 8. Appendix—Original Poetry, Historical Sketches.—In this last department under the head of "*Zinzendorf and the Evangelical Review,*" our Art. on "The Swedish churches on the Delaware," is noticed in a very flattering manner, whilst exception is taken to what we have there said of Pastor Nyberg and Count Zinzendorf. Having merely stated what we believed to be historical facts, we shall be very happy to be better informed, if we have made any mistake, and shall publicly correct any errors into which we have fallen, so soon as they are pointed out. But we must frankly state that we have as yet seen no reason to alter the statement to which exception has been taken. We have read with interest the remarks of the Editor and of Rev. Reichel, in the Miscellany, and also the article of the latter in Dr. Schaf's Kirchenfreund, March 1849, on "*Zinzendorf's Wirksamkeit in Pennsylvanien,*" without getting any new light upon the subject. On the contrary, we find a great deal in the last named article, to which we take exception, and various errors which we pledge ourselves upon some suitable occasion, and so soon as we can command the necessary leisure, to rectify.

*The doctrine of the Unity of the Human Race examined on the principles of science.* By John Bachman, D. D., LL. D., Prof. Nat. Hist. College of Charleston, &c. &c. &c. pp. 312, 8vo. Charleston, S. C., C. Canning 29 Pinckney St. 1850. This admirable work reached us too late to allow of our taking any more than the briefest notice of it. Yet we cannot forbear expressing the high degree of satisfaction with which we have read the greater part of it, and followed the plain and irrefragable chain of its argumentation. Differing widely from our learned and esteemed friend upon some of the points that have, somehow or other (we think very unnecessarily), become involved in this question of "The Unity of the Human Race," we must confess that we took up his book without any very strong prepossession in its favor. But we have laid it down with very different feelings. This book, if we are not mistaken, will mark an epoch in the scientific history of the problem which it discusses. For some years past Naturalists have seemed determined to rest satisfied with no other conclusion than the opposite of the Divine declaration that "*God hath made of one blood all nations of men.*"—

Our distinguished friend, Dr. Morton of Philadelphia, sometime since, and more recently, Prof. Agassiz, who enjoys so merited a reputation, have also lent the weight of their influence to give currency to the idea that there must have been various distinct creations, and consequently, equally distinct races of men as well as of other animals. And men of no science, whose prejudices and passions this notion strengthens, have eagerly seized upon it to fortify the position they occupy, as we see in the use that has recently been made of this theory in the Congress of the U. States. In reply to all this, Dr. Bachman's work is most opportune and conclusive. His position at Charleston, S. C., puts him beyond the reach of suspicion as a witness in the case, and his eminent qualifications as a Naturalist second to none in this country, must command the highest respect for his opinions. Entering into a detailed examinarion of the opposite argument, he shows most convincingly its untenableness at every point that bears upon this doctrine. The chapters upon hybridity are particularly searching, and, we think, set that subject at rest. The remarks upon the origin of the Indians of this continent also present that subject in a new and most satisfactory light. And throughout, the whole argument for the unity of the human species, is presented in a most able and convincing manner. But we do not intend entering into a discussion of the subject, or even to give an adequate notice of the book, to which we hope that some one more competent to the task will hereafter give the attention which it merits in this Journal.

## ERRATA.

Page 458, line 5 from bottom, insert "of" after "portion"
462, " 13 of the note, from the bottom, dele one of the words "are"
462, line 2, dele the comma after "Catholic"
463, " 10, from the bottom, for "these will" read "which will"
462, line 11, from the bottom, for "unnecessary" read "necessary"
469, line 3, do. do. for "John" read "I. John"
475, line 6 from bottom, place "rather" between commas, thus "not, rather, probable" &c.
476, line 14 from bottom, dele "an" before "any"
478, note, line 4 from bottom, for "1850" read "1849"
481, line 11, for "symbolatry" read "symbololatry"
551, " 13, from below, for "State" read "Province"
552, " 12, do. do. do.

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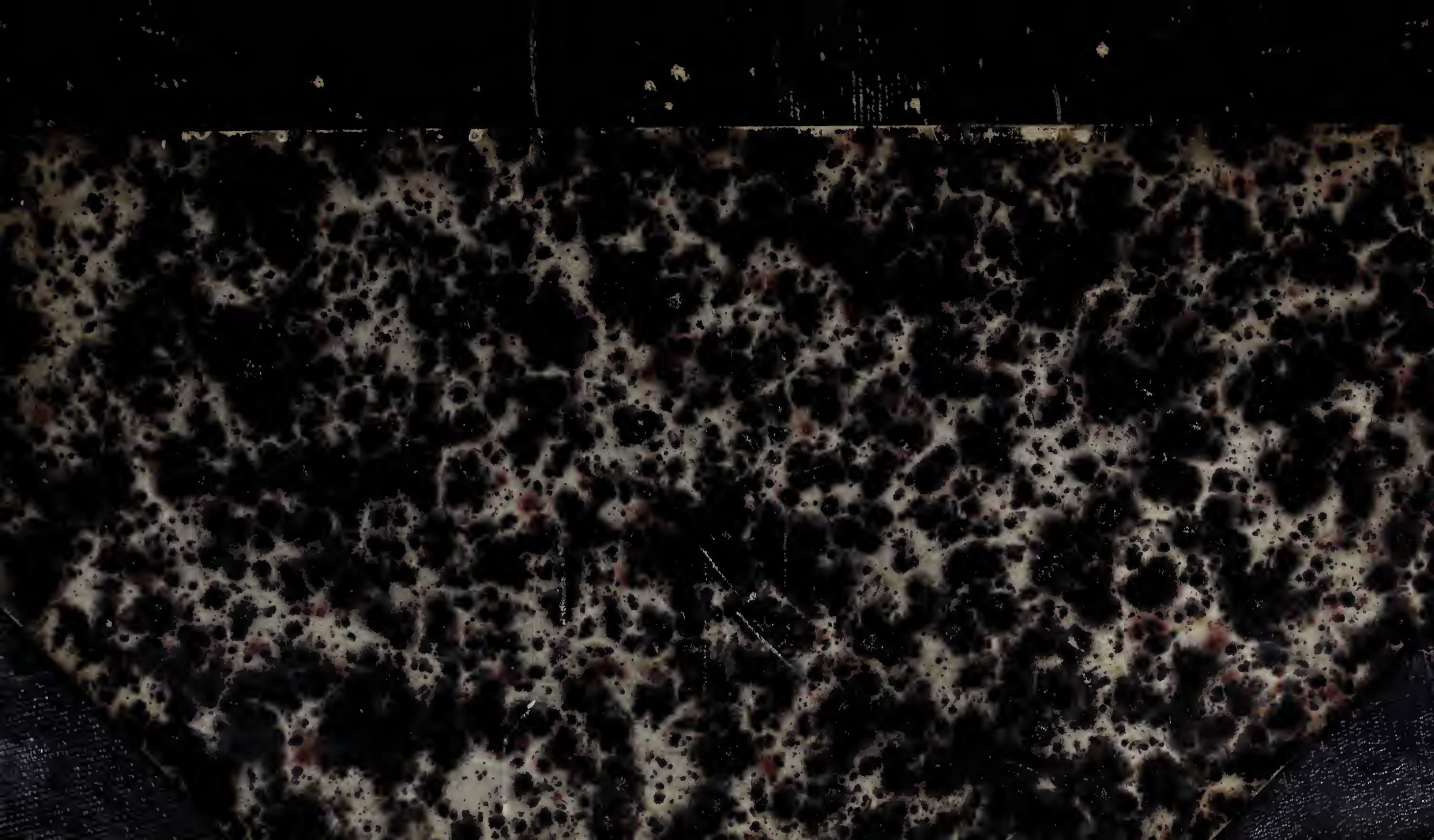
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